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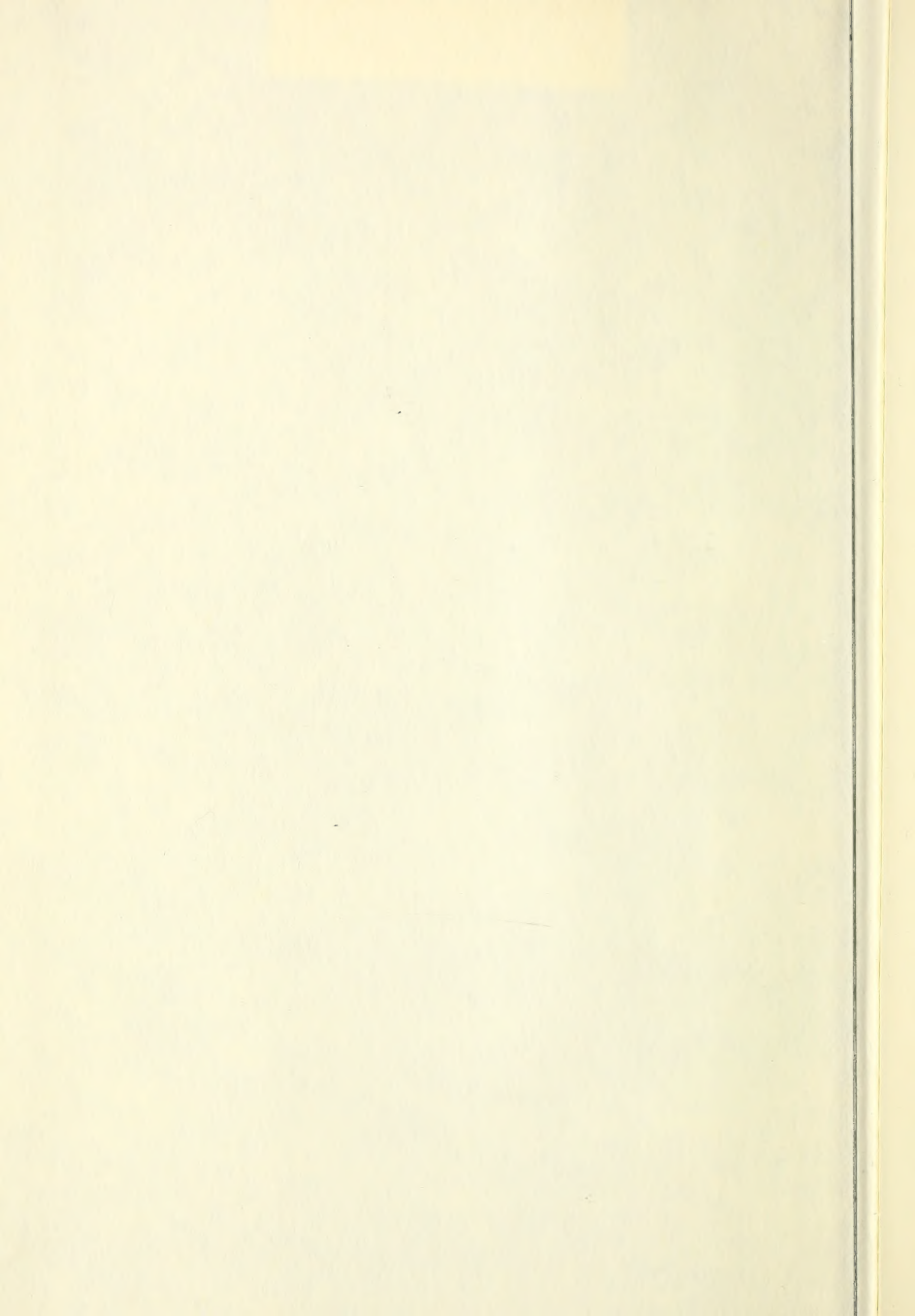
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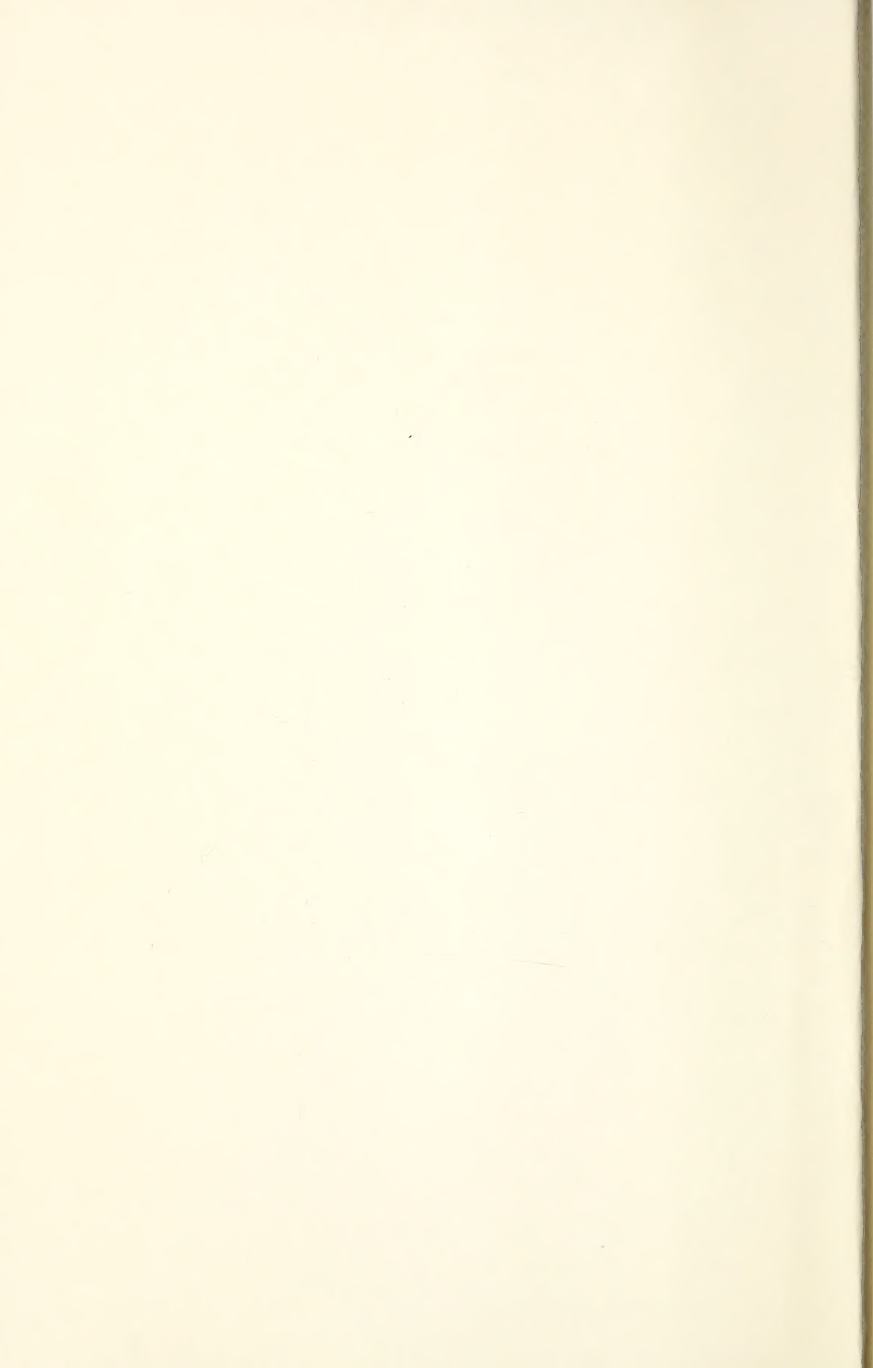
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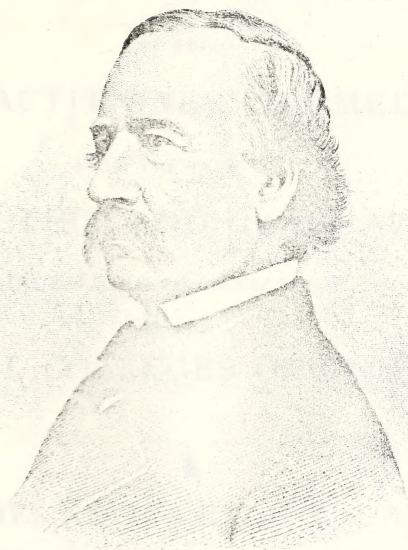
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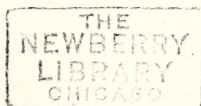
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EARLY MEDICAL CHICAGO

AN
HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE
FIRST PRACTITIONERS OF MEDICINE,
WITH THE PRESENT
FACULTIES, AND GRADUATES
SINCE THEIR ORGANIZATION,
OF THE
MEDICAL COLLEGES OF CHICAGO.

no. 11

BY JAMES NEVINS HYDE, A.M., M.D.,
LATE PASSED ASSISTANT-SURGEON, UNITED STATES NAVY; PROFESSOR
OF DERMATOLOGY, RUSH MEDICAL COLLEGE.



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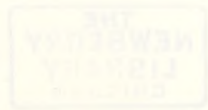
HISTORICAL SKETCH

FIRST PRACTITIONERS OF MEDICINE

FACULTIES AND GRADUATES

MEDICAL COLLEGES OF CHICAGO

BY JAMES KEVINS HYDE, A.M., M.D.
Late Professor of Anatomy, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois
in connection with the Chicago Medical College



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EARLY MEDICAL CHICAGO.

To assert to-day that the age of men and cities should be estimated, rather by the march of events than by the lapse of time, is to merely utter a truism. There are tapestries now hanging in the palaces of Venice, that have been undisturbed since the Venetian Dandolo carried the walls of Constantinople. How little of change has each succeeding half-century wrought in the apartments which now display the faded furnishings of a long-departed Doge! And yet, in the purview of history how venerable was the royal prophet of Israel in the Assyrian Court, who had exchanged the captivity of his childhood for the government of a province, and survived the rise and fall of three dynasties, when Cyrus entered the Babylonian capital by the bed of the Euphrates!

By the transit of time merely, Chicago may be counted as yet young, but she is really old in the measure of her experience. Dismissing for the moment the charge which is generally, and possibly justly, brought against her citizens, that they are prone to exaggerate the rapidity of her growth and the extent of her development, these are yet facts which challenge investigation. Here is a city of over half a million of inhabitants where, fifty years ago, was a morass, untenanted and almost untenantable. The great concentration of human energies requisite to effect such a rapid metamorphosis is difficult of realization. No better illustration of the rapidity of succession of events within this limited period can be found than in the fact that an experience of the early days of Chicago has come to be regarded with much of the veneration that attaches to a remote antiquity. And yet the child who first saw the light in the infancy of the city, should to-day be only in the meridian of life.

I purpose to present a brief sketch of the pioneers in this field—the predecessors of the large body of medical men who are now engaged in the practice of their profession in this great metropolis. The paucity and imperfection of these details are largely due to the difficulty inseparable from their collection.

The early history of Chicago, and the first records of its medi-

EARLY MEDICAL CHICAGO.

To assert to-day that the age of years and years should be estimated rather by the amount of money than by the length of time is to merely utter a truism. There are evidences now before us in the palace of Venice that show more vividly than the Y-menn Dandolo carved the walls of Constantinople. Every little change has each succeeding half-century wrought in the architectural which now depicts the faded language of a long-past age. And yet, in the process of history that resembles a royal prophet of Israel in the ancient times, who had foretold the captivity of his children by the government of a power, and survived the war and fall of Jerusalem, who a year ago saved the Babylonian empire by the power of his kingdom.

If the result of time really changes, as we are told, as we are told, but she is really old in the history of her country, and planning for the future the change which is necessary and possibly just, brought again her vision that she is now to enlarge the rights of her people and the rights of her development there are the first steps of change, development. Here is a city of over half a million of inhabitants, where the year ago was a modest settlement and a small university. The great concentration of human energies, together with a rapid metropolitan is difficult to understand. The better education of the majority of students within the limited period can be found than in the fact that an expansion of the early days of Chicago has come to be regarded with much of the attention that attached to a remote spot in the land, yet the child who has now the right in the history of the city should be that he only in the manner of life.

I propose to present a brief sketch of the progress in this field—the predecessors of the large body of medical men who are now engaged in the practice of their profession in this great metropolis. The quantity and importance of these details are largely due to the difficulty necessarily from their collection. The early history of Chicago, and the first records of its medi-

cal men and practice, are intimately associated with its old fort.

Even as early as the treaty of Greenville, O., which is dated August 3, 1795, there is some reference to a fort, built at the junction of the lake and the river.* This was, however, a small stockade erected for the protection of French traders, at the point where the north and south branches of the river unite, some remains of which were still to be seen in the year 1818.

Fort Dearborn† was built by the United States Government in 1804, and was provided with a subterranean passage and sally-port, extending from the parade-ground to the river.‡ The Indian name, which it bequeathed to the City, is variously interpreted as referring to the wild onion or the pole-cat; but the natives themselves asserted that it was the title of an Indian chief who had been drowned in the river. In the manuscript letter of M. de Ligney, at Green Bay, to M. de Siette, among the Illinois, dated in 1726, the name is spelled "Chicagoux."§

The narrative of the massacre at the Fort by the Indians, in 1812, has been detailed in such fulness, that it can not find a place here. It is now a matter of historical record. The account given by Mrs. Helm, however, in the very readable volume of Mrs. Kinzie,|| is interesting in this connection, as it relates in part to the surgeon of the fort—Dr. Isaac V. Van Voorhees.¶

It appears from Mrs. Helm's narrative, that Dr. Van Voorhees came up to her during the very hottest part of the engagement. He was severely wounded, having received a ball in the leg, and

* Sketches of the Country on the Northern Route, from Belleville, Ill., to the city of New York, and back by the Ohio Valley, with a sketch of the Crystal Palace. Jno. Reynolds. Belleville. 1854.

† In the papers of Mr. John H. Kinzie, and according to the statement of Mrs. Gen. Whistler, lately in Chicago, it appears that this fort was called by the name of Gen. Dearborn, as well as its successor. Mr. Kinzie's papers were destroyed in the Great Fire, which consumed the library of the Chicago Historical Society.

‡ The fort was then occupied by fifty men and armed with three pieces of artillery, transported thither on the U. S. schooner Tracy, Dorr, master. This vessel did not cross the bar and enter the river, but anchored half a mile from the shore and discharged its freight by boats, attracting the presence of some 2000 Indians, who came to view the "big canoe with wings." (See Chicago and its Suburbs, by Everett Chamberlin. Chicago. 1874. Also, Chicago Antiquities, No. 2, by H. H. Hurlbut, Esq. Chicago. 1875.)

§ The name is also spelled by various authorities, Chikajo, Checagua, and Chekagua. (See Frauquelin's map, 1684.)

|| Wau-bun; or "the Early Day" in the Northwest. By Mrs. Jno. H. Kinzie. New York and Chicago. 1857.

¶ His name is also given Voorhees, Voorhes, and Voorhis. See "My Own Times." By John Reynolds, Ill. 1855. Also, "Annals of the West." J. R. Albach. Pittsburgh. 1857.

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* Sketches of the Country on the Western Shore from Detroit
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 of the State of Ohio, by John H. Eliza, 1815.

† In the papers of Mr. John H. Eliza and accompanying papers
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 was destroyed in the Great Fire which consumed the town of the
 Historical Society.

2 The fort was then occupied by the army and named after the
 another, transported thither on the 15th of August 1793, from
 The fort did not cross the river and was the first fort
 sent from the shore and located at the mouth of the river, where the
 end of about 1800 Indians who came to meet the "Fort" with
 [See Eliza's and the narrative of the Fort, Randolph, Chicago,
 Also, Chicago, Randolph, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 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his horse had also been shot under him. Every muscle of his face was quivering with agony. Some conversation ensued between the two, when, writes Mrs. Helm, "a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside, I avoided the blow which was intended for my skull, but which alighted on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck, and while exerting my utmost strength to get possession of his scalping-knife, which hung from a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian. The latter bore me, struggling and resisting, to the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognized, as I passed them, the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him."

I have purposely omitted the conversation which is reported to have occurred between the two, and which is exactly repeated in almost every account of the massacre, since it reflects but little credit upon the wounded officer. It represents him as in an agony of terror, and his companion as reproaching him for his pusillanimity. But there are several circumstances which the professional reader cannot fail to consider, before consigning the name and reputation of Dr. Van Voorhees to historical obloquy. Without questioning the veracity of the writer, it is evident that the incidents narrated rest upon the recollection of a single individual, and that individual a woman surrounded by circumstances of extreme peril and excitement. She appears as the heroine of the story, and on that account due allowance should be made for partiality of statement. Dr. Van Voorhees, moreover, was evidently suffering from his wounds. What other injuries he may have sustained, whether of the brain, chest, or abdomen—we can not know. Whether, indeed, he was wounded unto death, and sank lifeless to the ground soon after, rather as the result of this than from the blow of a tomahawk, cannot be determined. Jurists, as well as medical men, learn to accept with great reserve statements made either *in articulo mortis* or in the immediate peril of violent death. Too many surgeons have exhibited not only a consummate skill, but a splendid courage upon the field of battle, for their professional brethren to doubt the compatibility of these virtues. They will only remember, therefore of their martyred representative in the massacre of Chicago, that he was sorely wounded in the discharge of his professional duties, and that he died the death of a soldier.*

* In the official account of the engagement, the loss of Dr. Van Voorhis (for so his name is given by Captain Heald) is deeply deplored, and nothing is said that reflects in the slightest degree upon his character as an officer and surgeon.

his horse had also been shot under him. Every minute of his life was passing with agony. Some consolation would be found in the fact that the Indian was a young Indian, and his comrade at me. By speaking words I avoided the blow which was intended for my skull, but which slipped on my head. I seized him around the neck and while crying my utmost strength to get possession of his scalp, which was hanging from a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from the group by another and an older Indian. The latter took me away and led me to the lake. Notwithstanding the combat with which I was hunted along, I recognized as I passed, that the Indian names of the unfortunate victim. Some Indian names had attached him upon the very spot where I had been shot. I have purposely omitted the circumstances which is reported to have occurred between the two, and which is now reported in almost every account of the massacre, since it reflects but little credit upon the wounded officer. It is reported that he was a agent of terror, and his reputation as representing him for the punishment, but there are several circumstances which the professional reader cannot fail to consider before concluding the name and reputation of Dr. Van Tassell as indicated in the obituary. Without discussing the veracity of the writer, it is evident that the incidents narrated rest upon the recollection of a single individual, and that individual a woman surrounded by circumstances of extreme pain and excitement. The speaker as the heroine of the story, and on that account the allowance should be made for possibility of error. Dr. Van Tassell, moreover, was evidently suffering from the wounds. What other injuries he may have sustained, whether of the head, chest, or side, we can not know. Whether indeed he was wounded unto death, and sank hidden to the ground soon after, rather as the result of this than the blow of a tomahawk, cannot be determined. Justice as well as medical men have to accept with great reserve statements made either in words or in the immediate form of violent death. The same surgeon has exhibited not only a commendable skill but a splendid courage upon the field of battle, for their professional brethren to doubt the competency of these others. They will only remember, therefore of their honored representative in the massacre at Chicago, that he was surely wounded in the discharge of his professional duties, and that he died the death of a soldier.*

* In the official account of the massacre, the loss of Dr. Van Tassell is the most of those of Chicago. He was a highly skilled and willing man, and that reflects in the highest degree upon his character as an officer and surgeon.

After the encounter, the survivors must have sadly missed the attentions of the dead surgeon. Mr. Kinzie soon applied to an old Indian chief, who was reputed to possess some skill in these matters, to extract a ball from the arm of Mrs. Heald—the wife of the captain who had commanded the fort. “No, father,” was the response, “I cannot do it, it makes me sick here,”—said the Indian, pointing to his heart. Mr. Kinzie then performed the operation himself with his penknife. The accoutrements of the surgical department had meantime fallen into possession of the Indians. Later, we learn that a French trader, a M. du Pin, was in the habit of supplying medicines as well as medical advice to those in need of either; and, on one occasion, we hear of his prescribing for the infant of a Mrs. Lee, who was one of the captives. It appears that his efforts were not unattended with success.

In the year 1816, the fort was rebuilt by the Government, under the supervision of Captain Hezekiah Bradley, who is reported to have been so zealous in the discharge of his duties, that he enlisted officers as well as soldiers in the prosecution of the work, and even had wooden pins fashioned, in order to fasten together the timbers of the buildings, and thus economize his supply of spikes and nails. At this time, also, the entire tract of land was ceded to the United States by the Pottawatomies. With them, according to Judge John Dean Caton,* Chicago had ever been a favorite resort. Here, they had chosen to hold their great councils, and here, they concluded both the first and last treaty with our Government.

In the year 1818, the place was visited by Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, who is now a resident of Chicago, and the oldest representative of its early days. At that time, besides the fort, there were but two residences standing, one that of Mr. John Kinzie, the other of Antoine Ouilmette.† It may be mentioned here that Mr. Hubbard, at a later period, 1834, erected the first brick building ever reared in Chicago.‡

Two years later, we find recorded the name of another medical gentleman, Dr. Alexander Wolcott, of Connecticut. He was born on the 14th of February, 1790, at Windsor, Ct., and was the son of Alexander Wolcott, the second of that name, and Frances

* “The Last of the Illinois, and a Sketch of the Pottawatomies.” By John Dean Caton, LL.D. Chicago. 1870.

† The names Houilmette, Ouilnette and Willamette are merely different renderings of the same original.

‡ This building stood on the s.w. cor. of South Water and LaSalle Streets, and was for some time known as “Hubbard’s Folly.”

EARLY MEDICAL CHICAGO.

Burbank. His father was, with the writer of these pages, a descendant of Wm. Hyde, of Hartford, Ct., (1636,) and was graduated at Yale College, becoming afterward a distinguished lawyer and justice of the peace in Windsor. He subsequently removed to Middletown, Ct., where he was appointed collector of the customs and member of the constitutional convention of 1818. President Madison subsequently nominated him as a justice of the supreme court of the United States, but the federalists in the Senate succeeded in preventing the appointment.* The distinguished Governor, Henry Wolcott, was his near relative.†

Dr. Wolcott was graduated at Yale College in 1809,‡ and must have received his degree in medicine elsewhere, as the medical department of that University was not established until 1814. He came to Chicago in 1820, as an Indian agent of the Government, succeeding to the position of Mr. Charles Jewett, and was soon after married to Ellen Marion Kinzie, then sixteen years old, by John Hamlin, a justice of the peace, summoned to the village in order to perform the ceremony. The young lady was the daughter of John Kinzie, Esq., and was born in Chicago in the month of December, 1804, being indubitably the first child of white parents born on the soil. Dr. Wolcott died in 1830, and his widow was united in a second marriage to the Hon. Geo. C. Bates, of Salt Lake City. Through the kindness of Henry H. Hurlbut, Esq., of Chicago, I am enabled to present this *fac simile* of the lady's autograph:

Ellen M Bates

By a stupid act of our local legislators the name of Wolcott Street, which served as an historical landmark of this early residence, was changed to North State Street.

I am informed by the Hon. John Wentworth, of this city, in a recent letter, that Dr. Wolcott during his lifetime served in the capacity of an army-surgeon. It seems, however, tolerably clear that he performed the duties first named, residing as he did outside of the fort; though it may well be believed that there must have been a demand for his professional services such as he could not but gratify, and indeed his selection for such a post must have resulted in part from his attainments as a physician.

* Genealogy of the Hyde Family, by Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth, LL.D., Albany, N. Y. 1864. Vol. 2, p. 1121.

† History of Connecticut, by G. H. Hollister. New Haven. 1855.

‡ Catalogus Collegii Yalensis in Novo-Portu in Republica Connecticutensi. MDCCCLXV.

Butler. His father was with the army of three years a descendant of Wm. Hall of Hartford, Ct. (1630), and was graduated at Yale College, becoming afterward a distinguished lawyer and justice of the peace in Butler. His subsequently removed to Middletown, Ct., where he was appointed collector of the customs and member of the constitutional convention of 1818. President Madison subsequently appointed him as a justice of the supreme court of the United States, but the objection in the Senate succeeded in preventing the appointment. The distinguished Governor Henry Wheaton was his own relative.

Dr. Watson was graduated at Yale College in 1822, and must have received his degree in medicine somewhere in the medical department of that University, was not graduated until 1824. He came to Chicago in 1826, as an Indian agent of the Bureau, and succeeded to the position of John Kinzie, Jr., then sixteen years old, soon after married to Ellen Maria Kinzie, then sixteen years old by John Kinzie, a justice of the peace, and in 1827, in order to perform the ceremony. The young lady was the daughter of John Kinzie, Esq., and was born in Chicago in the month of December, 1826, being probably the first child of white parents born in the city. Dr. Watson died in 1857, and his widow was united in a second marriage to the Hon. Geo. H. Bates of Salt Lake City. Through the kindness of Henry H. Hubbard, Esq., of Chicago, I am enabled to present the following of the lady's biography:

Ellen H. Bates

By a stupid act of our local legislator the name of Watson Street, which served as an hospital landmark at the city, was changed to North State Street.

I am informed by the Hon. John Wentworth, of the city, in a recent letter, that the Watson family had been served in the capacity of an arranger. It seems, however, contrary to what he performed the duties of an arranger, holding as he did one side of the force, though it may well be believed that there must have been a demand for his professional services, and as he could not but gratify, and indeed his selection for such a post must have resulted in part from his attainments as a physician.

* Geography of the State of Illinois, by Charles Kendall Smith, published by the State of Illinois, 1857.
 † History of Cook County, by J. H. Johnson, New Haven, 1877.
 ‡ Chicago College, Volume in Two Parts in Reprint from the Chicago Medical Journal.

The outside world must have known but little of the infant settlement in 1823. For in a *Gazetteer** published at that date, the information respecting Chicago is extracted from an account given in "Shoolcraft's Travels." It appears that some twelve or fifteen houses had been erected, which were occupied by some sixty or seventy inhabitants. "The country around is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined. It consists of an intermixture of woods and prairies, diversified with gentle slopes, sometimes attaining the elevation of hills (!), irrigated with a number of clear streams and rivers, which throw their waters partly into Lake Michigan and partly into the Mississippi River. It is already the seat of several flourishing plantations."

During the year 1822, there were eighty-seven men in the garrison, and one death occurred; during the ensuing year, there were ninety-five men, and of these, three died. The fort was then abandoned, but occupied again in 1828, one year after the passage of a bill in the legislature for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. This was the genial warmth that hastened the germination of the seed destined to produce so worthy a harvest. Game was abundant, the land was fertile, and corn easily grown. Occasionally, the mail was brought from Peoria on horseback. But Chicago was yet unborn.

It must be admitted that the infant first opened its eyes upon Lake Michigan, in an uneventful period of history. No great war was in progress, and commonplace men were in power. William IV., plainest and homeliest of royal blood, was seated on the British throne, and co-operating with the Whig party in reforming parliamentary representation, and in restricting the operation of the oppressive corn-laws. During the Revolutionary war, he had, as Prince William, figured in the dance, at No. 1 Broadway, with the loyalist belles of New York City. The triumph of the constitutional party in France had made a king of Louis Phillippe—a man as incapable of exciting the affections of others as he was destitute of magnanimity himself. He still preserved the recollection of his wandering tour in America. General La Fayette, now seventy years old, had returned to France, rewarded with the friendship of Washington and the substantial gratitude of the United States. Otho I. had just been bolstered up on the throne of Greece. Poland had sunk down disarmed—the helpless victim of the iron sceptre of the Muscovite. Then, as now, a Don Carlos, at the head of a faction of Carlists, was agitating Spain. Perhaps the only man in Europe, who was making him-

* *Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Mississippi*, by Lewis C. Beck. 1823.

self felt as a power, was Daniel O'Connell, who was threatening the repeal of the National Union in Parliament, at the head of a legion of Irishmen.

It seemed as though the succession of splendid events, that had culminated at Waterloo, and even lighted up by reflection the gloom of St. Helena, had been followed by a general reaction in which all the great States participated.

In our own country also, the hero of the battle of New Orleans had laid aside his sword in order to discharge the more peaceful duties of the chief magistracy. The population of the country, according to its then recently-taken census, amounted to twelve and one-half millions, a figure three times greater than that obtained by the first colonial census, and yet but one-fourth of that which should represent the people of the United States in 1870. It was the semi-centennial decade of our first hundred years of national life. Already the sentiments and passions, that were later to flame into civil war, had been expressed in the halls of Congress. The great speeches of Webster and Hayne had been delivered. South Carolina had commenced to mutter the maxims of her political heresy, which precipitated soon after the rupture between the President and the Vice-President—Mr. John C. Calhoun.

With even a cursory glance at the condition of the medical profession in the United States, we discover that great advance had been made since the first resident-physician in the country, Dr. Walter Russell, came from England to the Colony of Virginia in 1608. Drs. John Bard and Peter Middleton had, in 1750, been first to inject and dissect the body of a criminal for anatomical purposes; and in fifteen years thereafter the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania had been organized—the pioneer of all the medical colleges in the land. The profession venerated the name of the heroic Dr. Warren, who fell at the battle of Bunker Hill, as well as that of Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Physick had invented the tonsillotome which is now in general use, and established his reputation as one of the most eminent surgeons in the United States. Dr. McDowell, in 1809, had performed ovariectomy, and lithotomized the poor lad who subsequently became President James K. Polk. Operations had been recorded for ligation of the carotid, subclavian, brachial, femoral, internal, external, and common iliac arteries; amputations had been accomplished at the hip and shoulder joints; the radius, clavicle, head of the humerus, femur, the astragalus, and the fifth and sixth ribs had been excised; the tumor of spina bifida, the

tongue, the spleen, and the parotid gland had been excised; lithotripsy and staphyloraphy had been done; the hydrocephalic head had been tapped.

Thirty-two medical works* had been issued from the American press—some of them, translations from foreign authors; some, reprints of foreign editions; some, from the pen of native-born physicians and surgeons. Thirty medical periodicals had been established, but, at the date to which I refer, of these, but ten had survived.†

The county of Cook, in Illinois, was organized in the year 1831, and that may properly be considered the date of the commencement of the medical and general history of Chicago.‡ For a description of the place at that time, I am largely indebted to the work of Mrs. John H. Kinzie, to which reference has been made.

The fort was enclosed by high pickets, with bastions at the alternate angles, and large gates opening to the north and south; while here and there were small sally-ports for the accommodation of the inmates. Beyond the parade ground which extended south of the pickets, were the company-gardens, well filled with currant-bushes and young fruit-trees. The fort itself was stationed on the south bank of the river, near what is now its mouth, but at this time, the river itself swept around the little promontory on which the stockade was erected, and, passing

* See the Principles and Practice of Surgery by Henry H. Smith, M.D., Phil. 1863, from which these details have been obtained. The works of American authorship referred to, are: Review of Medical Improvements in the 18th Century, by David Ramsey (1800); Martin on Goitre (1800); Barnwell's Causes of Disease in Warm Atmospheres (1802); Parrish on Ruptures (1811); Dorsey's Elements of Surgery (1813); Hosack's Surgery of the Ancients (1813); Mann's Medical History of the Campaigns of 1812-14 (1816); Anderson's System of Surgical Anatomy (1822); Gibson's Institutes and Practice of Surgery (1824); Barton's Treatment of Anchylosis by Formation of Artificial Joints (1827); Darrach's Anatomy of the Groin (1830); and Gross's Anatomy, Physiology, and Diseases of Bones and Joints (1830).

† These survivors were: Transactions of the College of Physicians of Phila., 8vo, Phil. (1793-1850); North American Medical and Surgical Journal, Phila. (1826-1831); American Journal of the Medical Sciences, 8vo, Phila. (1827-1876); Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, 8vo, (1828); Transylvania Journal of Medical and Associated Science, Lexington, Ky. (1828-37); New York Medical and Physical Journal (1829-31); Maryland Medical Recorder, 8vo, Baltimore, Md. (1829-32); New York Medical Inquirer and American Lancet (1830); and the New York Medico-Chirurgical Bulletin (1831-2).

‡ The map of the original town, by James Thompson, Surveyor for the State Canal Commissioners, is dated Aug. 4, 1830. It provided for a public levee from South Water Street to the River, the plan of which was subsequently abandoned.

southward, joined the lake at a point less than half a mile below, where Madison Street now extends. The left bank of the river was formed by a long sand-spit, extending southward from the northern shore. This was cut through by the engineers of the United States in 1833, for the purpose of improving the harbor; and thus was formed the present river-mouth. The old fort stood like a faithful sentinel at his post till 1856, when it was demolished, after having witnessed the growth of its *protégé* into the encroaching city that enforced its destruction.

Between the gardens and the river bank was a log-cabin, erected in 1817. It had been the residence of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, a native of San Domingo, who located here in 1796, and thus occasioned the utterance of the Indian-Hibernicism that "the first white man in Chicago was a negro."

Further to the south was a rickety tenement, built several years before by John Dean, a post-sutler, and now used by his family as a school-house and residence. It had been so far undermined by the lake as to have partially fallen backward.

On the northern bank of the river and directly in front of the fort, stood the residence of Mr. John Kinzie. It was a long, low building, with a piazza extending along its front, overlooking a broad, green space which stretched between it and the river. It was shaded by a row of Lombardy poplars in front, and two immense cotton-wood trees in the rear; a fine and well-cultivated garden showing on one side, with dairy, stables, and other out-houses adjacent. This cabin had been in the possession of an Indian trader, named Le Mai, (Point au Sable,) from whom it had been purchased by Mr. Kinzie.

Still further to the north, stood a small but substantial building of hewed and squared logs, known as the Agency-house. On either side of its two wings were the residences of the Government employes—blacksmiths and laborers—mostly half-breed Canadians, with an occasional Yankee among them. There was but one other building on the north side, and that was at this time vacant. It had been erected by a former resident, named Samuel Miller, opposite Wolf Point.

On the southern bank of the river, between the fort and the point where the river divides, there was no dwelling-house. The prairie here was low and wet—in the driest weather affording a poor foot-path for the pedestrian, and often overflowed in the rise of the river-water. Mrs. Kinzie states that a horseman who once made the trip had gotten his feet wet in the stirrups, and declared that he, "would not give a sixpence for an acre of it." A muddy streamlet wound around from the present site of the

southward, joined the lake at a point less than half a mile below where Madison street now extends. The left bank of the river was formed by a long sand-spit extending southeast from the northern shore. This was cut through by the opening of the United States in 1834 for the purpose of improving the harbor, and thus was formed the present river-mouth. The old bar channel like a funnel entered at its foot till 1846, when it was closed, which after having witnessed the growth of its banks into the encroaching city that witnessed its destruction.

Between the gardens and the river bank was a log-cabin erected in 1834. It had been the residence of John Hays, a native of San Francisco, who located here in 1834, and thus commenced the residence of the Indian-Hill family. The first white man in Chicago was a negro.

Further to the south was a rocky, prominent hill several years before Dr. John Hays a post-office and now used by his family as a school-house and residence. It had been at the time uninhabited by the Indians, but was called Indian Hill.

On the northern bank at the river foot directly in front of the lot, stood the residence of Mr. John Hays. It was a large, two-story building with a piazza extending along its front, overlooking a broad, green space which stretched between it and the river. It was shaded by a row of Lombardy poplars in front and two or three massive cotton-wood trees in the rear. A row and well-kept garden sloping on one side with elms, ash, and other garden-houses adjacent. The cabin had been in the possession of an Indian trader, named La Motte (Point au Saumon) from whom it had been purchased by Mr. Hays.

Still further to the north, stood a small but substantial building of heavy and squared logs, known as the Agency-house. On either side of its two wings were the residences of the Government employes—blacksmiths and laborers—mostly half-breed Canadians with an occasional Yankee among them. There was but one other building on the north side and that was at this time vacant. It had been erected by a French merchant named Samuel Miller, opposite Wolf Point.

On the southern bank of the river between the lot and the point where the river divides there was no dwelling-house. The prairie here was low and wet—in the heavy weather allowing a poor foot-path for the pedestrian, and often overgrown in the time of the river-swells. Mr. La Motte states that a houseman who once made the trip had gotten the foot wet in the swamp and declared that he would not give a sixpence for the wet side of the A middle street, now wound around from the present site of the

Tremont House, to join the river at the foot of State Street.

The projection of land between the north and south branches was variously known as "The Point," "The Forks," or "Wolf Point"—the latter term having been derived from the name of an old Indian chief. Here was a canoe-ferry for the accommodation of passengers. The residence of Mark Beaubien, distinguished by its additional upper story and bright blue window-shutters, stood upon the Point, and was the admiration of the little community in consequence of these modern improvements. Facing down the river from the west, was a small tavern, kept by Mr. Elijah Wentworth, and near it lay several log-cabins, occupied by Alexander Robinson, the half-breed Pottawatomie chief, his wife's connections, Billy Caldwell—the "Sau-ga-nash," and the wife of the latter, who was the daughter of "Nee-scot-nee-meg." Gholson Kercheval, a small trader, occupied one of these cabins, and, in close proximity, stood the school-house, a small log-cabin, used occasionally as a place of public worship. Here, we learn that a blacksmith named William See did violence to the King's English on Sundays, when opportunity offered. Some distance up the north-branch, was located the Clybourn residence, and an old building, erected some time before by a settler named Russell E. Heacock, was still standing, at a point four miles distant up the south-branch. This house had some interest attaching to it, in consequence of its connection with the old Indian massacre.

At the time to which we refer, the fort was occupied by two companies of soldiers, under the command of Lieut. David Hunter, in the absence of Major Fowle and Captain Scott. Lieut. Furman had died during the preceding year. The subordinate officers were Lieutenants Engle and Foster. The Kinzie family then occupied the Agency-house, and Postmaster Bailey was quartered in their residence.

In the brief description above given are enumerated, it is believed, all the buildings then erected, and all the residents occupying them, with the single exception of Dr. Harmon, to whom we hasten to give our attention:

Elijah Dewey Harmon was born on the 20th day of August, 1782, in the town of Bennington, Vermont. After completing his education as far as possible in that place, he resorted to Manchester, in his native State, where he pursued the study of medicine in the office and under the direction of a noted practitioner of the place, named Swift.* At the expiration of the two or three

* The three medical schools of Vermont had not then been founded. Castleton Medical College was established in 1818; the Medical Department of the University of Vermont in 1822; and the Vermont Medical College in 1827.

Tarrant House, to join the staff at the end of 1894. The position of head between the north and south branches was variously known as "the post," "the house," or "the point"—the latter term having been derived from the name of an Indian chief. There was a connection for the management of passengers. The apartment in that branch was distinguished by its additional upper story and higher level windows, and stood upon the point, and was the apartment of the chief, usually in consequence of these modern improvements. It was done the first time the west was a much better place by a high window, and now it is an ancient building. Alexander Kibben, the last of the branch, told him the connection, but it is not the "house" and the "point" the latter was the design of "the house" and the "point" son Kibben, a well known, engaged one of these cases in close partnership, and the "house" was a small building, occasionally as a place of public worship. There was a blacksmith named William Kibben, who was the chief of the branch, who was the chief of the branch, and the north branch was located in the branch, and the old building erected some time before in a small room. E. Kibben, was still standing at a point, and the branch was the south branch. This house had some lower windows, and in consequence of its connection with the old Indian apartment, at the time to which we refer, the two were connected by a company of soldiers, under the command of John Kibben, in the space of Major Kibben and Captain Kibben. The apartment had died during the preceding year. The apartment officers were Lieutenant Kibben and Kibben. The Kibben then occupied the agency house, and Kibben, Kibben, and Kibben in their respective. In the last description above given are represented as having all the buildings then erected, and the modern was being then with the single apartment of the Kibben, in which we hasten to give the attention.

John Kibben, Kibben was born on the 10th day of August, 1782, in the town of Kibben, Vermont. After completing his education as far as possible in that place, he came to the branch, in his native land, where he pursued the study of agriculture in the office and under the direction of a noted physician of the place named Smith. At the expiration of the two or three

years, which were employed in acquiring a knowledge of his profession, he removed to Burlington, Vt., at the early age of twenty-five years, and began to practise medicine in connection with the business of a drug store, as was customary at that time.* Here he remained until the occurrence of the war of 1812, when he hastened to offer his services as a volunteer-surgeon. Dr. Harmon, during this period, had the distinguished honor of serving as a surgeon on board the flag-ship of the gallant Commodore McDonough, in the battle of Plattsburgh, on the 11th day of September, 1814. If the terrific fire to which the *Saratoga* was exposed in that engagement be remembered, we may well believe that the doctor's skill and courage must have been put to a severe test.

At the close of the war, the doctor returned to Burlington, where he continued in civil practise with a success which contributed not only to his financial prosperity, but to the establishment of his reputation. In the year 1829, however, he suffered some pecuniary losses in consequence of his speculations connected with a marble-quarry, and he determined, as many of his successors have done since then, to advance his fortunes in the far West. During that year, therefore, he spent several months in Jacksonville, Ill., engaged in the selection of a suitable locality in which to settle. After returning to his native State and completing his arrangements for a final removal, he left a second time, and proceeded directly to Chicago, travelling on horseback from Detroit, and arriving here in the fall of 1830. His family joined him in June of the succeeding year.

It happened that Dr. J. B. Finley, the surgeon of the garrison, was, at this time, absent from the post, and thus Dr. Harmon came to be at once installed in his position—he and his family taking up their residence in the fort, which was then held by two companies of United-States troops. Little must have occurred to disturb the monotony of his new duties, until the succeeding spring, when the country became agitated again in consequence of the Black-Hawk war.

In May of the year 1832, cholera made its appearance upon the New-England coast, and extended rapidly westward along the water courses of our northern frontier, one branch apparently diverging by way of the Hudson River to New-York City. Five companies were at once hurried, in consequence of the exigen-

* I am indebted for these details to his son, still a resident of Chicago, Mr. I. D. Harmon. Unfortunately, most of the family documents were destroyed in the Great Chicago Fire, and among them was the diploma of the University, which conferred upon the doctor his degree in medicine.

years which were employed in acquiring a knowledge of the profession, he removed to Burlington, Vt. at the early age of twenty-five years, and began to practice medicine in connection with the business of a drug store, as was customary at that time. Here he remained until the occurrence of the war of 1812, when he hastened to offer his services as a volunteer surgeon. The first two, during this period, had the distinguished honor of serving as a surgeon on board the flagship of the gallant Commodore McDonough, in the battle of Plattsburgh, on the 11th day of September, 1814. In the service for to which the surgeon was exposed in that engagement he rendered, as may well believe that the doctor's skill and courage must have been put to a severe test.

At the close of the war, the doctor returned to Burlington, where he continued in civil practice with a success which entitled him not only to his financial prosperity, but to the estimation of his reputation. In the year 1819, however, he received some pecuniary losses in consequence of the speculations connected with a manufacturing, and he determined, as many of his successors have done since then, to advance his fortunes in the West. During that year, therefore, he spent several months in Jacksonville, Ill., engaged in the selection of a suitable locality in which to settle. After returning to his native State and completing his arrangements for a final removal, he left a family consisting of five children, to Chicago, residing on Broadway near Detroit, and arriving here in the fall of 1820. His family joined him in June of the succeeding year.

It happened that Dr. J. H. Finney, the surgeon of the garrison, was, at this time, absent from the post, and that Dr. Johnson came to be at once installed in his position—in and the family taking up their residence in the first which was then held by two companies of United States troops. I think must have ventured to disturb the tranquility of his new abode, until the succeeding spring, when the country doctor again appeared in consequence of the black illness.

In May of the year 1825, cholera made its appearance upon the New-England coast, and extended rapidly westward along the water courses of our northern frontier, and was especially diverging by way of the Hudson River to New-York City. Two companies were at once hurried, in consequence of the exigency

* I am indebted for these details to his son, and a nephew of Chicago, Mr. J. H. Finney. Unfortunately, most of the family documents were destroyed by the Great Chicago Fire, and among them was the original of the University which contained upon the doctor's biography in medical

cies of the time, from Fortress Monroe to Chicago, and traversed the entire distance of 1800 miles in eleven days, a transportation which was then considered unprecedented in rapidity, and which was really marvellous in view of the facilities then attainable. Gen. Winfield Scott arrived with this detachment in a steamer,* on the tenth day of July, 1832, and, as might have been expected, cholera rapidly spread through his command, one man out of three being attacked, and many dying.

It was then wisely decided to separate the two companies in the fort from those which had newly arrived, and thus, if possible prevent the extension of the disease among the former. These two companies, accordingly, were encamped at a short distance from the stockade, and placed under the professional charge of Dr. Harmon. While due allowance is, of course, to be made for the favorable circumstances in which this isolated detachment was placed, it certainly reflects great credit upon their surgeon, that among the men affected with cholera under his charge, but two or three deaths occurred. It may be here remarked that the doctor attributed his success to the fact that he did not employ calomel in the treatment of the disease. Of the treatment employed in the fort, and its results, we shall have something to say hereafter.

Some misunderstanding seems to have occurred at this time between Gen. Scott and Dr. Harmon, in reference to the line of conduct pursued by the latter. The general, like a great many military men since his day, desired the surgeon to devote his attention exclusively to the companies under his care, while the good-hearted doctor could not but heed the demand for his services by civilians, and others not in the military camp. Certain it is that he endeared himself to the citizens of the little town by his conduct at this time, and we are not surprised to learn that after the epidemic had entirely subsided, General Scott and his command had pushed farther south, and the monotonous routine of garrison-life had been endured, until in the spring of the ensuing year, Dr. Harmon, having secured the Kinzie-house as a place of residence, removed to it with his family.

Before concluding, however, the narrative of Dr. Harmon's military career, it is proper to mention the fact that he performed an amputation in the fort during the winter of 1832. This is certainly the first record that we possess of any capital operation in Chicago; and it is probable that it was, in point of fact, the first

* This vessel, the *Sheldon Thompson*, was the first steamer to visit Chicago but it did not enter the river because there was no harbor.

cies of the time from Eastern Missouri to Chicago, and the entire distance of 1800 miles in eleven days a feat which was then considered unprecedented in rapidity which was really marvellous in view of the facilities then available. Gen. Winfield Scott arrived with this detachment "on the fourth day of July, 1831, and as several hundred cholera rapidly passed through his camp the men out of three being attacked and many dying."

It was then wisely decided to separate the two companies from those which had nearly arrived and thus to prevent the extension of the disease among the former. Two companies accordingly were detached at a short distance from the stockade and placed under the professional charge of Dr. Hannon. While due allowance is of course to be made for the favorable circumstances in which the medical staff was placed, it certainly reflects great credit upon them that among the men affected with cholera under his charge two or three deaths occurred. It may be here remarked that doctor succeeded in the success in the fact that he did not employ in the treatment of the disease. Of the treatment employed in the fact and its results we shall have something to say hereafter.

Some misunderstanding seems to have occurred at this time between Gen. Scott and Dr. Hannon in reference to the conduct pursued by the latter. The general gave a great military man since his day desired the surgeon to devote himself exclusively to the company under his care, while good-hearted doctor could not but heed the demand for his services by civilians and others not in the military camp. It is that he expended himself to the extent of the time then in his conduct at this time, and we are not surprised to learn that after the epidemic had entirely subsided General Scott and command had pushed further west, and the detachment of Garrison, who had been ordered north to the spring of the spring near Dr. Hannon, having secured the latter home in place of residence removed to it with his family.

Before concluding, however, the services of the Hannon military career it is proper to mention the fact that he performed an important service in the fall during the winter of 1832. This is the first record that we possess of any rapid epidemic in Chicago; and it is probable that it was in point of fact the

* This vessel, the *Edwin V. Spence*, was the first steamer to visit Lake Erie and did not enter the river because there was no harbor.

surgical operation of any magnitude ever attempted in the place. A half-breed Canadian had frozen his feet, while engaged in the transportation of the mail on horseback from Green Bay to Chicago.* The doctor, assisted by his brother, tied the unfortunate man to a chair, applied a *tourniquet* to each lower extremity, and with the aid of the rusty instruments which he had transported on horseback through sun and shower from Detroit to Chicago, removed one entire foot and a large portion of the other. Needless to say those were not the days of anæsthetics, and the invectives in mingled French and English, of the mail-carrier's vocabulary, soon became audible to every one in the vicinity of the stockade. It is gratifying to note that the first recorded amputation in Chicago was crowned with a most satisfactory success.

Dr. Harmon may properly be called the Father of Medicine in Chicago. For, in the removal and establishment of himself and his family in the Kinzie-house, we find the first trace of the settlement of a civil practitioner in the community. His object in effecting this change was to engage in the practice of medicine—all other transactions having been made subordinate to this.

A brief glance at his surroundings at this time might prove interesting. His office and residence combined was a cabin whose floor and walls were constructed of hewn logs—the former, of course, innocent of carpets. It contained twelve rooms, lighted by small panes of glass, and heated by wood burned in stoves brought from Detroit. His food was largely bacon, transported from the valley of the Wabash in the now traditional “prairie-schooner,” with lard as a substitute for butter—and an occasional slice of venison, or a wild-turkey, as an *entremets*. His medicines he had brought with him from Vermont, together with the rusty instruments of which mention has been made. But his medical library—to his honor be it said—was the chief part of his armamentarium. It consisted of over one hundred volumes, and some of these have, without doubt, been enumerated in the foot-note upon another page, giving the list of works published in America before this date. How many of his successors have engaged in the practice of medicine, with far less provision for the refurnishing of the storehouse of professional science!

The doctor's visits must have been made largely on foot; as Beaubien is reported to have possessed the only vehicle on wheels to be found in the town,† and that, judging from the description,

* The winter of this year was unprecedentedly severe. There is abundant collateral evidence on this point.

† It is said that the villagers upon the arrival of this vehicle from the East, paid it distinguished honor, “turning out in procession and parading the streets.”—*Chicago Antiquities*. No. 2.

surgical operation of any magnitude ever attempted in the place. A half-breed Canadian had taken his feet while engaged in the transportation of the mail on horseback from Green Bay to Chicago. The doctor assisted by his brother, and the unfortunate man to a chair, applied a saw to each lower extremity, and with the aid of the truly instruments which he had transported on horseback through gun and shaver from Illinois to Chicago, removed one entire foot and a large portion of the other. Was less so say those were not the days of amputation, and the lives then in medical French and English of the well-known surgeons, lay soon became available to every one in the vicinity of the stockade. It is gratifying to note that the first recorded amputation in Chicago was attended with a most satisfactory success.

Dr. Harrison may perhaps be called the father of Medicine in Chicago. For in the removal and establishment of himself and his family in the Prairie-house, we find the first record of the advent of a civil practitioner in the community. His object in effecting this change was to engage in the practice of medicine—all other occupations having been made subservient to this.

A brief glance at his surroundings at this time would give an interesting. His office and residence combined was a cabin whose floor and walls were constructed of brown logs—the former of course, innocent of carpets. It contained twelve boxes, lighted by small panes of glass and heated by wood burning stoves brought from Detroit. His food was largely Indian, transported from the valley of the Wisconsin in the now traditional "pottery schooner," with but as a substitute for butter—and an occasional slice of salmon, or a wild turkey, as an奢侈品. His medicines he had brought with him from Vermont, together with the instruments of which mention has been made. But his medical library—in his house he it said—was the chief part of his maintenance. It consisted of over one hundred volumes, and some of these have, without doubt, been mentioned in the foot-note upon another page, giving the list of works published in America before this date. How many of his medicines have remained in the practice of medicine, with few exceptions for the subsiding of the storehouse of professional science!

The doctor's store must have been made largely on foot, as he is reported to have possessed the only vehicle on wheels to be found in the town, and that judging from the description,

* The owner of this car was exceptionally brave. There is a story collected elsewhere for this fact.
† It is said that the village gave the name of this vehicle from the fact that it resembled a canoe, "being out in possession and passing the river."—Chicago Dispatch, Dec. 2.

must have greatly resembled the "one-hoss shay," so graphically delineated by another member of our profession. When he had occasion to cross the river, it was necessary to paddle himself over, in one of the dug-out canoes, which were generally tied in front of each residence, or resort to "Wolf Point," where a canoe-ferry offered merely the same facilities.

Some idea may be formed of the general character of the doctor's patients, from a criticism written by Latrobe in the autumn of 1833.* He describes "a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land-agent and five or six hotel-keepers; these may be considered the stationary occupants and proprietors of the score of clap-board-houses around you; then, for the birds of passage, exclusive of the Pottawatomies, you have emigrants, speculators, horse-dealers and stealers; rogues of every description, white, black, and red; quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all; dealers in pigs, poultry, and potatoes; creditors of Indians; sharpers; peddlers; grog-sellers; Indian-agents, traders and contractors to supply the Post"—certainly not a highly encouraging picture of a *clientèle*.

Medical examinations for life-insurance, which have since proved a source of remuneration to the profession, were then unknown. It would appear from an article published during the ensuing year in a literary periodical, not only that the general subject of life-insurance was little understood in the West, but that the basis upon which policies were issued to the assured, was the statement of the applicant, endorsed by his family physician only.†

As for the fees given in remuneration of professional services, perhaps the less said upon the subject the better. But it is pleasant to note that a precedent had been established in the country, for the encouragement of the humble toilers on the Lake Shore. Dr. McDowell had even then received fifteen hundred dollars for the performance of ovariectomy‡—a reward which, considering the scarcity of money and the price of labor and food, was fully equal to the famous fee paid Sir Astley Cooper by Mr. Hyatt, and only surpassed by the munificent honorarium, given to a contemporary surgeon, as recently reported in the secular press.

Mrs. Kinzie describes the doctor as she used to see him, when she and her friends made little excursions on horseback in the

* Western Portraiture and Emigrants' Guide. Daniel S. Curtis. New York. 1852.

† See the Western Monthly Magazine, Vol. 2, 1834. Cincinnati, Ohio.

‡ Lives of Eminent American Physicians and Surgeons of the 19th Century. S. D. Gross, M.D. Philadelphia. 1861. Page 228.

vicinity of their residence.* On one occasion, he was engaged in superintending the construction of a sod-fence near the lake, and planting fruit-stones, with a view to a prospective garden and orchard, under the branches of the trees that arched overhead. "We usually stopped," she remarks, "for a little chat. The two favorite themes of the doctor were, horticulture and the certain future importance of Chicago. That it was destined to be a great city, was his unalterable conviction, and indeed, by this time, all forest and prairie as it was, we half began to believe it ourselves."

"The glorious dreams of good Dr. Harmon," as they were called, produced a practical result in his case. In the spring of 1833, he secured by pre-emption, one hundred and thirty acres of land lying next to the lake and just south of what is now 16th Street. In order to make good the title, he built a small log-cabin upon his property, and resided there until the spring of 1834, when he left the State for Texas. To-day the doctor's farm is worth between five and six millions of dollars.† Had his sons possessed the same confidence in the future of Chicago as that felt by their father, they would now be enjoying the fruit of his wise providence. One of them, however, had been entrusted with a power-of-attorney for the sale of this property, and accordingly, contrary to the advice and counsel of its pre-emptor, it was sold for a sum which then seemed an enormous price for the land, but which was in fact a paltry consideration for the magnificent squares which are now covered by elegant metropolitan residences. It is, however, somewhat gratifying to reflect that the most valuable residence-property in Chicago, was once, in fee simple, the homestead of its earliest resident-physician.

Dr. Harmon died on the 3d day of January, 1869, after having made several trips to Texas, where he not only engaged in the practice of medicine, but invested in real estate, which has since greatly appreciated in value.

It will be seen from what has preceded, that he was of an adventurous disposition—an essential element in the character of all successful pioneers. A recent historiographer has said that the early settlers of the West made the name adventurer forever respectable—and he has wisely spoken. Out of their loins came a commonwealth—most of its virtues are hereditary, and its vices have been chiefly acquired.

Dr. Harmon, during his life, served, in conjunction with Col. Richard J. Hamilton and Mr. Russell E. Heacock, officiated in

* Opus cit.

† This is the value as estimated by W. D. Kerfoot, Esq., of Chicago.

vicinity of their residence." On one occasion he was engaged in superintending the construction of a residence upon the lake and planting fruit-trees with a view to a prospective garden and orchard, under the branches of the trees that would overhang "We usually stopped," she remarks, "for a little chat. The two favorite themes in the doctor's conversations and the certain future importance of Chicago. That it was destined to be a great city was his unshakable conviction and indeed by this time, all forest and prairie as it was, we had begun to believe it ourselves." "The greatest dream of good Dr. Harrison," as they were called, produced a practical result in his case. In the spring of 1832 he secured by purchase one hundred and thirty acres of land lying next to the lake and just south of what is now 10th Street. In order to make good the idea he built a small log cabin upon his property, and resided there until the spring of 1834, when he left the State for Texas. To-day the doctor's home is worth between five and six millions of dollars. Had he ever possessed the same conditions in the State of Chicago as that felt by their father, they would now be enjoying the fruit of his wise investments. One of them, however, had been entrusted with a power-of-attorney for the sale of his property, and accordingly, contrary to the advice and counsel of its proprietor, it was sold for a sum which then seemed an enormous price for the land, but which was in fact a paltry consideration for the present value of the property which was now covered by elegant residences and houses. It is, however, somewhat gratifying to reflect that the most valuable residence property in Chicago was once in the hands of the descendants of its earliest medical pioneer.

Dr. Harrison died on the 3d day of January, 1860, after having made several trips to Texas, where he had well earned in the practice of medicine, but invested in real estate, which has since greatly appreciated in value.

It will be seen from what has preceded that he was in an adventurous disposition—an essential element in the character of all successful pioneers. A recent biographer has said that the early settlers of the West made the same adventurous journey respectively—and he has wisely spoken. Out of their ranks came a commonwealth—most of its virtues are foreign-born and its vices have been chiefly acquired.

Dr. Harrison, during his life, passed in cooperation with Drs. Richard J. Harrison and McKeen B. Heston, officiated in

* One of
† This is the value as estimated by W. B. Ketchum, Esq., of Chicago.

the first board of school-commissioners, organized under the law. The Doctor's strong conviction of the immense prospective value of the land known as the school-section, led him here also to strenuously oppose its sale. In this matter, as in the disposition of his own property, his judgment was overruled by others, and but forty thousand dollars were for this reason realized from the sale of six hundred and forty acres of land, the value of which to-day is more than fifty millions of dollars.

In person, Dr. Harmon possessed a commanding figure, and his features were such as proclaimed at a glance both his parentage and his profession. There were the strong outlines of the New-England face, with the beard shaven in the manner adopted by the profession in France—a face whose like is often seen in the portraits of the heroes of the Revolution. There were, besides, the evidences of broad culture, high attainments and wide experience—the traits of one, whose mental horizon is not bounded by the definitions of other men. He was also a gentleman having a generous, whole-hearted disposition. One of the streets of our City still bears his son's name. The profession have little need to be ashamed of their first civil representative in Chicago.

In order to a correct understanding of this narrative, it is now necessary to retrace our steps to the old fort, which we left at the time of the exodus of Dr. Harmon and his family. In response to my inquiries (for the answers to which I am greatly indebted to Assistant-Surgeon John S. Billings, U. S. A., now of the surgeon-general's office,) it is made clear that there is no record of any medical officer stationed at the fort, prior to the time of Assistant-Surgeons S. G. J. DeCamp, of New Jersey. Of Dr. Van Voorhees and Dr. J. B. Finley, no information can be obtained at the War Department. Dr. DeCamp was appointed assistant-surgeon, October 10, 1823; promoted surgeon, December 1, 1833; retired in 1862, and died at Saratoga Springs, New York, September 8, 1871. As it is he who makes the official report of the cholera cases in the fort, during the prevalence of the epidemic,* it seems probable that it was he who was present and responsible for the treatment and its results. According to this report, two hundred cases were admitted into hospital in the course of six or seven days, out of the entire force of one thou-

* Statistical Report on the Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States, prepared under the direction of Thomas Lawson, M. D., Washington, 1840. This appears to be the first of the brilliant series of publications issued from the Surgeon-General's office; and I am indebted for this, also, to the kindness of Assistant-Surgeon John S. Billings, U. S. Army.

sand, fifty-eight of which terminated fatally. All the cases were treated by calomel and bloodletting, and, according to Surgeon DeCamp, this proved so efficacious in his hands, that he regarded the disease as "robbed of its terrors"(!). He inclines to the opinion that the disease was contagious, in consequence of the fact that several citizens of "the village" died of cholera, although, prior to the arrival of the steamer, no case had occurred, either in the fort or the village. He notes the predisposition to the disease, evident in those of intemperate habits.

The table which is appended in a note,* is compiled from reports of each quarter of the year, published in the volume referred to above. Although it is a return from a military garrison, it is interesting, as it is probably the first contribution to vital statistics ever prepared in Chicago.

The inhabitants of the little town did not soon forget the ravages of the epidemic which had visited them. After a year had elapsed, the boatman who paddled up the river in his dug-out canoe, could perceive the ends of the bark coffins† projecting from the sand-hills on the right bank, and even occasionally note their exposed contents.

The next medical incumbent at the fort was Dr. Phillip Maxwell,‡ who was born at Guilford, Windham county, Vt., on the

* Abstract exhibiting principal diseases at Fort Dearborn for ten years:

Years	1829.	1830.	1831.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	TOTALS.
Mean Strength.....	91	90	92	104	91	96	104	668
DISEASES:								
Intermittent Fever.....	17	18	---	19	32	19	31	136
Remittent Fever.....	---	15	1	1	2	5	2	26
Synochal Fever.....	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	2
Diseases of Respiratory Organs...	11	8	1	10	22	14	23	89
" Digestive Organs.....	30	22	9	69	84	53	42	309
" Brain and Nervous Sys- tem.....	2	3	---	---	3	---	1	9
Rheumatic Affections.....	---	10	3	7	3	7	15	51
Venereal Affections.....	---	1	3	---	---	---	2	7
Ulcers and Abscesses.....	16	12	---	9	8	5	7	57
Wounds and Injuries.....	19	15	10	41	19	10	14	128
Ebriety.....	4	---	---	11	2	4	8	29
All other Diseases.....	12	5	2	26	10	20	15	90
TOTALS.....	118	119	30	193	185	137	160	933

The post was unoccupied during the year 1832, and abandoned in 1840.

† These are erroneously reported as "uncoffined," in the history of Illinois from 1673 to 1873, by Alexander Davisson and Bernard Stuvé, Springfield, Ill., 1874. It is probably true, however, that the sepulture was often as half-dug and informal as there described.

‡ The information given above has been obtained through the kindness of his son-in-law, Mr. Joel C. Walter, of Chicago.

sand, fifty-eight of which terminated fatally. All the cases were treated by calomel and bleeding, and according to Dr. George DeCamp this proved so efficacious in his hands that he regarded the disease as "nothing but its terrors" (!). His opinion is the opinion that the disease was contagious, in consequence of the fact that several citizens in "the village" died of cholera, although prior to the arrival of the steamer no case had occurred, either in the fort or the village. He notes the participation in the disease evident in those of indigenous habits.

The table which is appended in a note* is compiled from reports of each quarter of the year, published in the volumes referred to above. Although it is a year from a military point of view it is interesting, as it is probably the first contribution to vital statistics ever prepared in Chicago.

The inhabitants of the little town did not soon forget the ravages of the epidemic which had visited them. After a year had elapsed, the boatman who paddled up the river in his dugout canoe, could perceive the ends of the dark coffins projecting from the sand-bills on the right bank, and even occasionally note their exposed contents.

The next medical incident at the fort was Dr. Philip Allen Wells, who was born at Guilford, Windham county, Vt., on the

* Abstract exhibiting tropical diseases at Fort Jackson for ten years.

Year	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	Total
Male Deaths	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Female Deaths	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Infants	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Smallpox	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Scarlet Fever	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Dysentery	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Typhoid Fever	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Infantum	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Asiatica	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Morsum	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Trachealis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Stomaci	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Intestinalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Hepatica	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Vesicalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Uterina	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Testicularis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Ovarialis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Splanchnica	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Cerebralis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Cardialis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Pulmonalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Renalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Vesicularis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Urinaria	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Sanguinea	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Lymphatica	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Nervosa	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Muscularis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Cutanea	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Oculi	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Auris	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Nasus	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Os	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Stomaci	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Intestinalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Hepatica	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Vesicalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Uterina	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Testicularis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Ovarialis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Splanchnica	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Cerebralis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Cardialis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Pulmonalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Renalis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Vesicularis	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Urinaria	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Sanguinea	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Lymphatica	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
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Cholera Oculi	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Auris	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Nasus	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120
Cholera Os	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	120

The fort was incorporated during the year 1871, and abandoned in 1874.

† There are numerous reports of "cholera" in the history of Illinois from 1673 to 1874. Dr. Alexander Leitch and Howard M. Henshaw, Ill., 1874. It is probably true, however, that the epidemic was not so heavy and fatal as those elsewhere.

‡ The information given above has been obtained through the kindness of his son-in-law, Mr. John C. Warner of Chicago.

3rd of April, 1799. He studied medicine with Dr. Knott of New York City, but took his degree in one of the medical universities of his native State.* Commencing the practice of his profession in Sackett's Harbor, New York, he temporarily abandoned it when elected a member of the State Legislature. In the year 1832, he was appointed an assistant-surgeon in the U. S. Army, and was first placed on duty in Green Bay, Wisconsin. Having been ordered to report at Fort Dearborn, on the 3rd day of February, 1833, he arrived here on the 15th of the next month, remaining until official orders were received for the discontinuance of the post, on the 28th of December, 1836. During the time in which he was on duty in camp at Wisconsin, he was so impressed with the beauty of the country in the neighborhood of Geneva Lake, that he subsequently purchased the entire township, and it is now the seat of the elegant homestead of his family descendants. He was promoted to the surgeoncy, July 7, 1838, and subsequently served with Gen. Zachary Taylor, at Baton Rouge, La., and on the St. John's River in Florida. Like Dr. Harmon, he became a civil practitioner in Chicago after resigning his commission, and from 1845 to 1855, was in partnership with Dr. Brockholst McVickar, who is still engaged in the practice of medicine in this City.

Dr. Maxwell had such a physique as one can admire to-day in some of the older of our army officers. He was straight and portly in figure, six feet and two inches in height, two hundred and seventy-five pounds in weight. For all this, according to Mr. B. F. Taylor, who has drawn several pictures of early Chicago in his graphic and entertaining style, "his step was as light as that of a wisp of a girl." Judge Caton still remembers his appearance in the year 1836, when engaged in dancing at a ball dressed in full regimentals with epaulets. On this occasion his partner was one of the servant-maids of his host. Whether this occurred through inadvertence or in consequence of the well-known scarcity of ladies in the early days on the frontier, may not perhaps be determined. Hoffman is also supposed to refer to Dr. Maxwell in his characteristic account of one of the first balls given in Chicago, when he describes "the golden aiguillette of a handsome surgeon, flapping in unison with the glass beads upon a scrawny neck of fifty."†

Dr. Maxwell died on the 5th of November, 1859, aged 60 years. His name will ever be honored in Chicago as the second

* The names of these institutions, with the date of their foundation, will be found in a note upon page 12.

† Winter in the West. Charles Fenno Hoffman. 1834.

in its line of medical succession; and his portrait may still be seen with those of the twelve gentlemen who are counted among its oldest residents.*

Long before Dr. Maxwell settled in private practice, the development of the town had induced other physicians to engage in professional business within its limits. This development, however, was at first feeble and protracted. At the time of the sale of land by the commissioners in 1830, the town lots, eighty by one hundred and eighty feet, sold for between forty and sixty dollars. In the year 1832, the assessment for taxes amounted to but \$357.78; and the first public improvement was an estray pen, erected on the site of the present court-house at an expense of twelve dollars. Not many vessels had entered the harbor, since the schooner *Marengo*, foremost of a mighty fleet, floated into the river from Detroit in 1831.† It was not, indeed, till the year 1834 that one could see any arrangement of houses in such an order as to form a street. And yet, at that date, there was a marked increase in the population, according to the figures given in a *Gazetteer of the State*, then published.‡ It was estimated that there were one thousand inhabitants of the town—an increase of nearly eight hundred since the preceding year. There were “three houses for public worship, an academy, *an infant* and other schools, twenty-five or thirty stores, some of them doing a *large* business, several taverns, and a printing office.”§

Of the physicians who succeeded those heretofore noticed, space forbids much more than a passing mention. In an address delivered before the Rock-River Medical Society, at the time of its organization,|| Dr. Josiah C. Goodhue spoke as follows: “Dr. Harmon was the pioneer among the medical faculty of this corner of Illinois; Dr. Edmund S. Kimberly was the second, then came Dr. Jno. T. Temple; Dr. Henry Clarke next; Drs. W. B. Egan, John W. Eldridge, and myself, soon followed, at about the same time. This brings us to the spring of 1834, when a perfect flood of immigration poured in, and with it a sprinkling of doctors. Prior to 1840, nine-tenths of all the physicians who had located themselves in this region, had done so with reference to pursuing

* This picture was taken by the photographer, A. Hesler, in 1856. It includes the faces of Wm. B. Ogden, the first mayor of Chicago, John H. Kinzie, Mark Beaubien, Geo. W. Dole, Jacob Russell, Benj. W. Raymond, G. S. Hubbard, Jno. P. Chapin, Dr. Philip Maxwell, Dr. Wm. B. Egan, and others.

† See Reynolds' Sketches, op. cit.

‡ *A Gazetteer of Illinois*; J. M. Peck, Jacksonville, 1834.

§ *The Chicago Democrat*—established by John Calhoun, Oct. 28, 1833.

|| *Illinois and Indiana Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 260.

agriculture, and with the avowed intention of abandoning medical practice; most of whom, either from the necessities of the case, or from finding more truth than poetry in pounding out rails, resumed their profession and divided their attention between farming and medicine." In the last sentence, Dr. Goodhue of course refers chiefly to practitioners settling in that part of the country where the Rock-River Medical Society proposed to hold jurisdiction.

Of the physicians named above, few are now living. Dr. Eldrige, now resides in this city; all of them, however, were more or less known to many of the citizens of Chicago who have survived them. Dr. Jno. T. Temple, who removed to the city in 1833, was a graduate of Middlebury College, Castleton, Vt., (Dec. 29, 1830), and seems for a time to have done duty as a volunteer-surgeon of the garrison. So far as is known, he should be credited with the performance of the first autopsy made in the city, as well as with the rendition of the first medico-legal testimony in court. An Irishman had been indicted for murder; and Dr. Temple was summoned to make a *post-mortem* examination of the victim. The ease with which he separated, by a few skillful touches of his knife, the bones concerned in the sterno-clavicular articulation, is still remembered by those who witnessed the unusual spectacle. The attorney for the defense, however, on this occasion, succeeded in proving that his client had been guilty of manslaughter, and in securing his acquittal on the ground that he was innocent of murder as charged in the indictment! In comparing the two professions, as they here appear in their representatives, it may be fairly inferred that the anatomical knowledge of the expert was more than equal to the legal acumen of the judge!

Dr. Temple soon after, secured a contract from the Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, for carrying the mail between Chicago and Ottawa. He obtained an elegant, thorough-brace post-carriage from Detroit, which was shipped to this port *via* the lakes, and, on the 1st of January, 1834, drove the first mail-coach with his own hand from this city to the end of the route for which he had received a contract. On this first trip, he was accompanied by the Hon. Jno. D. Caton, to whom I am greatly indebted for many of these details. The demand for this accommodation could not then have been very great, as there was *no mail matter for transportation in the bag carried on this first trip!**

* Dr. Temple died in St. Louis, Feb. 24, 1877, aged 73 years; he was engaged in homœopathic practice.

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cal practice; men of whom, either from the necessity or
case, or from being more than partly in possession
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one of course relied chiefly to the farmers' calling in that
the country where the Rock-River Medical Society pro-
posed institution.

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ination of the victim. The case which he witnessed by a
skilled touch of his knife, the bones fractured in the at-
tempted dissection, is still remembered by those who witness
the annual spectacle. The attempt for the dissection, however,
this mission succeeded in proving that the victim had
guilty of manslaughter and in securing the acquittal of
ground that he was innocent of murder as charged in the in-
dictment. In consequence, the two physicians, as they have ap-
their representatives it may be fairly inferred that the nature
knowledge of the expert was more than equal to the legal know-
of the judge.

Dr. Temple soon after secured a contract from the Board
General James Kendall for carrying the mail between Chi-
ago and Chicago. He obtained an elegant stagecoach from
Chicago from Detroit which was shipped to this port for the
and on the 1st of January, 1824, drove the first mail stage
his own hand from this city to the end of the route for which
had received a contract. On this first trip he was accompanied
by the Hon. Geo. A. Catton to whom I am greatly indebted
many of these details. The demand for this route could
could not then have been very great as there was no mail
for transportation in the day carried in this first trip.

* Dr. Temple died in St. Louis, Feb. 24, 1877, aged 77 years. He
engaged in homoeopathic practice.

Dr. William Bradshaw Egan was born "on the banks of the beautiful Lake of Killarney," September 28, 1808, and was the second cousin of Daniel O'Connell, whose name has already appeared in these pages. His medical studies were begun with Dr. McGuire, a surgeon in the Lancashire collieries, but were also pursued in London and in the Dublin Lying-in-Hospital.* After his arrival in this country, he was licensed as a physician by the Medical Board of the State of New Jersey, in the spring of 1830, and began his professional career in Newark and New York, having been associated in the latter city, with Prof. McNeven and Dr. Busche. Here also he was married to Miss Emeline M. Babbatt, who accompanied him to Chicago in the fall of 1833. In the year 1846, he purchased for three dollars per acre, the beautiful property in the west division of the City, comprising three and one-half acres, which is to-day the residence of his family; and also laid out his farm—Egandale Park, on the Lake shore, about six miles distant from the court-house. At one time, he was also in possession of the land upon which the Tremont House now stands. During the sessions of 1853-4, he was a member of the lower house of the State legislature; and also during his life-time served as recorder of the city and county.

Dr. Egan was, as has been often remarked, a perfect specimen of the "fine old Irish gentleman." He had a noble presence and a commanding figure; but that which especially attracted his associates, was his exuberant fancy, his sparkling wit, and his keen perception and graphic delineation of the ludicrous.

He not only established an excellent professional reputation in Chicago, but was much esteemed socially; not more so, however, than his wife, whose graces of person and character were the admiration of the circle in which they both moved. Mr. Joseph Grant Wilson, in some sketches recently published in Appleton's Journal, describes the doctor, as he once appeared after the girth of his saddle had given way during a wolf-hunt, and his full-blooded Kentucky racer had left him: "standing on the prairie, a large fur cap on his head, an enormous Scotch-plaid cloak (purchased at the 'store' of Mr. G. S. Hubbard) belted around his Brobdignagian waist, and shod with buffalo overshoes." It is of Dr. Egan that the story is told which has lately been revived and gone the rounds of the medical press. He had engaged extensively in the purchase and the sale of real estate, the conditions of transfer at that day being generally dependent on what was known as "canal-time." It is said that the doctor having been,

† Chicago Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 3; May, 1857.

Dr. William Henshaw Ryan was born "on the banks of the beautiful Lake of Killarney," September 25, 1808, and was the second cousin of Daniel O'Connell, whose name has already appeared in these pages. His medical studies were begun with Dr. McGinnis, a surgeon in the Lancasterian collection, but were also pursued in London and in the Dublin Lying-in Hospital. After his arrival in this country, he was licensed as a physician by the Medical Board of the State of New Jersey, in the spring of 1830, and began his professional career in Newark and New York, having been associated in the latter city with Irish McKeown and Dr. Bunch. Here also he was married to Miss Langdon, M. D. Henshaw who accompanied him to Chicago in the fall of 1833. In the year 1836, he purchased for three dollars per acre, the beautiful property in the west division of the City, comprising three and one-half acres, which is today the residence of his family; and also bid on his farm—Kilgobbin Park, on the Lake shore, about six miles distant from the city limits. At one time he was also in possession of the land upon which the Tremont House now stands. During the session of 1833-4, he was a member of the lower house of the State Legislature; and also during his lifetime acted as recorder of the city and county.

Dr. Ryan was as has been often remarked, a person of "an old Irish gentleman." He had a noble presence and a commanding figure; but that which especially attracted his associates was his constant buoy, his sparkling wit and his keen perception and graphic delineation of the ludicrous.

He not only established an excellent professional reputation in Chicago, but was much esteemed socially; not more so, however, than his wife, whose grace of person and character were the admiration of the circle in which they both moved. Mr. Joseph Grant Wilson, in some sketches recently published in *Appleton's Journal*, described the doctor as he once appeared after the death of his wife, but given very during a walk, and his tall, blooded, remarkably more and less than "standing on his own legs," a large fur cap on his head; an enormous bow-tie, which he carried as the "star" of Mr. C. S. Henshaw's (which seemed his bloodstained waist; and shod with high-heeled shoes. It is not Dr. Ryan that the story is told which has lately been revived and gone the rounds of the medical press. He had engaged actively in the purchase and the sale of real estate, the conditions of transfer at that time being generally dependent on what was known as "cash-in-hand." It is said that the doctor having been

on one occasion, asked by a lady, who was his patient, how she should take the medicine ordered for her, the response was: "a quarter down and the balance in one, two, and three years"! At the time of the first breaking of ground for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, on the 4th of July, 1836, Dr. Egan was selected to deliver the oration; and this is only one of several evidences of his great popularity. We find the beauty of his garden and his genial hospitality extolled in complimentary terms in a work which appeared a few years before the date of his death.* This event occurred in Chicago, Oct. 27th, 1860.

Dr. Josiah C. Goodhue came to Chicago directly from Canada, but was the son of an American physician, the first president of the Berkshire County Medical College, of Pittsfield, Mass.† He enjoyed a very large and lucrative practice while residing in this City, but subsequently removed to Rockford, Ill., where he died later in consequence of an accident. Drs. Stuart and Lord were among the physicians first succeeding those enumerated above—the former having enjoyed the reputation of being the Beau Brummel of the profession, and the latter having distinguished himself by securing a patent for a labor-saving pill-machine.

It would be unjust in this connection to leave unmentioned the name of the first druggist in Chicago. Mr. Philo Carpenter was a native of Massachusetts, born on the 27th day of February, 1805. In the year 1827, he commenced the study of medicine, which he prosecuted for two or three years under the direction of Dr. Amatus Robbins, of Troy, New York. He arrived in Chicago in the month of July, 1832, just at the time when the cholera-stricken troops under the command of Gen. Scott, had been transported to the fort. Mr. Carpenter had abandoned his medical studies in order to pursue the more congenial business of an apothecary, but in the present emergency, he attended many cases of cholera and rendered an assistance which was very highly appreciated. Soon after, he opened a drug and general store in a small log-cabin near the eastern end of the present Lake-Street bridge, from which, as his business increased, he removed into a more pretentious frame building on South Water Street. In the spring of 1833, Dr. Edmund Stoughton Kimberly, of Troy, N. Y., alluded to in Dr. Goodhue's address, in company with Mr. Peter Pruyn, opened a second druggists' establishment. Dr. Kimberly was registered in the year 1833, among those who

* Summer Rambles in the West. Mrs. Ellet. New York. 1853.

† Extracts from Journal of Rev. Jeremiah Porter; recently published in the *Chicago Times*.

on one occasion, asked by a lady, who was his patient, how should take the medicine ordered for her, the response was: "quarter down and the balance in one, two, and three years!" the time of the first breaking of ground for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal on the 4th of July, 1848. Egan was selected to deliver the oration; and this is only one several evidences of his great popularity. We find the Egan his garden and his general hospital, extolled in comparison terms in a work which appeared a few years before the date of his death.* This event occurred in Chicago, Oct. 27th, 1860.

Dr. Joseph C. Goodhue came to Chicago directly from Kansas but was the son of an American physician, the first president of the Berkshire County Medical College at Fitchburg, Mass.† enjoyed a very large and lucrative practice while residing in City, but subsequently removed to Rochester, Ill., where he died later in consequence of an accident. The student and I, who were among the physicians first attending these examinations, above the former having enjoyed the reputation of being the Egan of the profession, and the latter having distinguished himself by securing a patent for a life-saving pill machine.

It would be unjust in this connection to leave unmentioned the name of the first druggist in Chicago. Mr. Philip Carpenter, a native of Massachusetts, born on the 27th day of February, 1827. In the year 1857, he commenced the study of medicine which he prosecuted for two or three years under the direction of Dr. Amasa Robbins of Troy, New York. He arrived in Chicago in the month of July, 1861, just at the time when cholera-stricken troops under the command of Gen. Sigel, had been transported to the fort. Mr. Carpenter had obtained medical studies in order to pursue the more congenial business as apothecary; but in the present emergency, he stepped in as a case of cholera and rendered an assistance which was highly appreciated. Soon after he opened a drug and general store in a small log-cabin near the corner and of the present Lake Street bridge, from which, as his business increased, removed into a more pretentious frame building on South Wabash Street. In the spring of 1872, Dr. Johnson Goodhue, of Kansas, of Troy, N. Y., alluded to in the Goodhue's address in connection with the first Fort, opened a second drugstore establishment with Dr. Kimbark was registered in the year 1875 among those

* Southern Reporter in the West. Mr. Egan. New York, 1872.
† Extract from Journal of Rev. Joseph Foster, recently published in the Chicago Times.

voted for the incorporation of the town. He died at his late residence in Lake County, Illinois, Oct. 25, 1874, aged seventy-two years.

Without pausing to comment further upon the history of the medical gentlemen who rapidly succeeded those already mentioned, I hasten to present a brief sketch of the remarkable man, who, perhaps to a greater extent than any of his professional peers in Chicago, achieved a national reputation. Through the kindness of the Hon. Edward Huntington, of Rome, N. Y., I have obtained access to some notes prepared on the subject by Calvert Comstock, Esq., from which the subjoined details have been in part supplied.

Daniel Brainard was born on the fifteenth day of May, 1812, in the town of Western,* Oneida Co., N.Y. His father, Jephthai Brainard,† the second of that name, was a farmer in comfortable pecuniary circumstances and of excellent character, while his mother was a most exemplary woman, whose influence was deeply impressed upon her children, and doubtless did much in awakening the genius and inspiring the aims of the son in his early life. He was given a good common-school and academic education, which laid the foundation for that exact and exhaustive method of investigation which characterized his subsequent professional studies. Having chosen the profession of medicine, he entered the office of Dr. Harold H. Pope, a distinguished physician and surgeon of Rome, N.Y., pursuing his studies also in Whitesboro, and New York City, and obtaining his degree of Jefferson College, Philadelphia, Pa., in the year 1834. During this preparatory career he delivered some lectures of a scientific character in Fairfield, N.Y., and in the course of the two years succeeding his admission to the profession, he delivered another series of lectures on anatomy and physiology in the Oneida Institute. He commenced the practice of medicine in Whitesboro, N.Y. Here he remained for some two years in partnership with

* In some biographical notices the place of his birth is erroneously stated to be Whitesboro, in the same county.

† In a Genealogy of the Brainard Family, by the late Rev. David D. Field, 1857, it appears that the first individual who bore the name in America, was a Daniel Brainard, of Haddam, Ct. (1662). But, according to Mr. Hurlbut, in whose possession the volume is, in spite of the industrious labors of Mr. Field, the materials it contains are so wretchedly arranged, misplaced, and mystified, that the work is of comparatively little value; and it is almost impossible to trace with any clearness the line of ancestry, from the records there given.

Dr. R. S. Sykes,* a gentleman who had directed his medical studies before his departure from the village.

Henry H. Hurlbut, Esq., of Chicago, who has kindly furnished several facts of interest in this connection, informs me that he was recently shown by a lady a small quarto volume which affords a glimpse of the literary annals of the little village. It is the record of proceedings of the "Mæonian Circle"—composed of young ladies and gentlemen—and contains the signature of Dr. Brainard as an officer of the Club in the autumn of 1834. Among the names of members appears that also of Miss F. M. Berry, the subsequent authoress of the "Widow Bedott Papers."

Soon after this, Dr. Brainard determined to remove to the West. His advent and earliest history in Chicago, are best described in the language of the Hon. J. D. Caton, to whom I have already had occasion to express my obligations for valuable aid in the preparation of this sketch:

"About the first of September, 1835, Dr. Brainard rode up to my office, wearing pretty seedy clothes and mounted on a little Indian pony. He reported that he was nearly out of funds, and asked my advice as to the propriety of commencing practise here. We had been professional students together in Rome, N.Y., when he was there in the office of Dr. Pope. I knew him to have been an ambitious and studious young man, of great firmness and ability, and did not doubt that the three years since I had seen him, had been profitably spent in acquiring a knowledge of his profession. I advised him to go to the Indian camp, where the Pottawatomies were gathered, preparatory to starting for their new location west of the Mississippi River, sell his pony, take a desk or rather a little table in my office, and put his shingle by the side of the door, promising to aid him, as best I could, in building up a business. During the first year, the doctor's practice did not enter those circles of which he was most ambitious. Indeed it was mostly confined to the poorest of the population, and he anxiously looked for a door which should give him admission to a better class of patients. While he answered every call, whether there was a prospect of remuneration or not,† he felt that he was qualified to attend those who were able to pay him liberally for his services. At length the door was opened. A schooner was wrecked south of the town, on which were a man and his wife, who escaped with barely their clothes on their

* Dr. Sykes is said to be now living in Chicago, aged 86 years.

† The late Dr. J. W. Freer informed me that this was true of Dr. Brainard in the height of his prosperity.

Dr. H. S. Sykes*, a gentleman who had directed his studies before his departure from the village.

Henry H. Hubbard, Esq., of Chicago, who was kindly furnished with a list of interest in the connection informs me that a copy of the history of the village of the little village. It is a record of proceedings of the "Mannan Club"—composed of young ladies and gentlemen—and contains the signature of Hubbard as an officer of the Club in the summer of 1834. At the names of members appears that of Miss H. M. Hubbard, subsequent settlement of the "Woman's Liberator."

Soon after that Dr. Hubbard determined to remove to West. His subsequent and conflict history in Chicago are but recorded in the language of the Hon. J. H. Canon to whom I already had occasion to express my obligations for valuable in the preparation of this sketch.

"About the first of September 1835 Dr. Hubbard told me my office wearing many ready clothes and mounted on a Indian pony. He reported that he was nearly out of funds asked my advice as to the propriety of communicating practice. We had been professional students together in Rome, N. Y. he was there in the office of Dr. Pope. I knew him to have an ambitious and studious young man of great talents and energy and did not doubt that the three years since I had seen him had been profitably spent in acquiring a knowledge of his profession. I advised him to go to the Indian camp where Fortwarrones were gathered, preparatory to starting for new location west of the Mississippi River and his going, that or rather a little while in my office and pay his share of the debt promising to call him as fast as I could holding up a business. During the first year the doctor's fee did not enter these circles of which he was most ambitious. Indeed it was mostly confined to the houses of the pupils and he occasionally looked for a share which should give him a share to a better class of patients. While he answered every question there was a request of remuneration or not? he that he was qualified to attend those who were able to pay liberally for his services. At length the door was opened and he was attended south of the town on which were a and his wife who escaped with barely their clothes on

* Dr. Sykes is said to be now living in Chicago aged 80 years.
† The late Dr. J. W. Hubbard informs me that this was one of Dr. and in the height of his prosperity.

backs. They were rather simple people, and belonged to the lowest walks of life. They started for the country on foot, begging their way, and, when distant some twelve miles, encountered a party of men with a drove of horses, one of whom pretended that he was a sheriff, and arrested them for improper purposes. When they were set at liberty, they returned to the town, and came to me for legal advice, the woman being about five months advanced in pregnancy. I commenced a suit for the redress of their grievances, and the doctor took an active interest in their welfare. He procured for them a small house on the north-side, and made personal appeals to all the ladies in the neighborhood, for provision for their needs. Mrs. John H. Kinzie became particularly interested in their case, and paid frequent visits to the cabin with other ladies. The nervous system of the woman had had been greatly shattered, and a miscarriage was constantly apprehended. The doctor was unremitting in his attentions, and finally carried her through her confinement with marked success, exhibiting to the ladies who had taken so much interest in the patient, a fine living child. This was the long-desired opportunity, and it did not fail to produce its results. Dr. Brainard immediately became famous. His disinterested sympathy, his goodness of heart, his skilful treatment and his marked success, were now the subject of comment in all circles. At my request, Dr. Goodhue also visited the woman—as I desired to secure his additional testimony in the case—and he too became very favorably impressed with the talents and acquirements of the young practitioner, and extended to him a helping and efficient hand.

“During the winter of 1837–8, Dr. Brainard first communicated to me his project looking to the foundation of Rush College.

“In 1838, a laborer on the canal near Lockport, fractured his thigh, and before union had been completely effected, he came to Chicago on foot, where he found himself unable to walk further and quite destitute. He was taken to the poor-house where he rapidly grew worse, the limb becoming excessively œdematous. A council of physicians was summoned, consisting of Drs. Brainard, Maxwell, Goodhue, Egan, and perhaps one or two others. All were agreed as to the necessity of amputation, but, while Brainard insisted that the operation should be performed at the hip-joint, the others urged that removal below the trochanters would answer equally well. The patient was about twenty-three years of age, had an excellent physique, and was, so far as known, of good habits. The operation was assigned to Brainard, and Goodhue was entrusted with the control of the femoral artery, as it emerges from the pelvis. This he was to accomplish

back. They were rather simple people, and belonged to the lowest walk of life. They started for the country on foot, giving their way, and when distant some twelve miles, encountered a party of men with a dozen of horses, one of whom perceived that he was a doctor, and turned them for improper purposes. When they were set at liberty, they returned to the town, and came to me for legal advice, the woman being about five months advanced in pregnancy. I commenced a suit for the recovery of their grievances, and the doctor took an active interest in their welfare. He procured for them a small house on the north-side, and made personal appeals to all the ladies in the neighborhood for provision for these people. Mrs. John H. Kinzie became particularly interested in their case, and paid frequent visits to the cabin with other ladies. The extreme system of the woman had had been greatly shattered, and a nervousness was constantly apprehended. The doctor was maintaining his attention, and finally carried her through her confinement with marked success, exhibiting to the ladies who had taken so much interest in the patient, a fine living child. This was the long-desired opportunity, and it did not fail to produce its results. Dr. Robinson immediately became famous. His disinterested sympathy, his goodness of heart, his skillful treatment and his marked success were now the subject of comment in all circles. At my request Dr. Goodhue also visited the woman--as I desired to secure his additional testimony in the case--and he too became very deeply impressed with the talents and sagacity of the young practitioner, and extended to him a helping and efficient hand.

"During the winter of 1817-8, Dr. Robinson first recommended to me his project looking to the foundation of a Medical College. In 1818, a lecture on the canal near Lockport attracted his high, and before noon had been completely covered, he came to Chicago on foot, where he found himself unable to walk further, and quite destitute. He was taken to the poor house, where it rapidly grew worse, the pain becoming excruciating. A council of physicians was summoned, consisting of Dr. Blair and Maxwell, Goodhue, Light, and perhaps one or two others. All were agreed as to the necessity of amputation, but when Dr. Robinson looked upon the operation should be performed at the hip-joint, the others agreed that removal below the trochanter would answer equally well. The patient was about twenty-three years of age, had an excellent physique, and was so far known of good fortune. The operation was assigned to Blair, and Goodhue was entrusted with the removal of the femoral artery, as testimony from the patient. This he was to accomplish

with his thumbs; and he had as good thumbs as any man I ever knew. The moment the amputation was effected, Brainard passed one finger into the medullary cavity, and brought out upon it a portion of the medulla which, in the process of disorganization, had become black. As he exhibited it he looked at Goodhue, who simply nodded his head. Not a word was spoken by any one but the patient, and what he said no one knew. Brainard instantly took up the knife and again amputated, this time at the joint, after which the wound was dressed. The double operation occupied but a very short time.

"In about one month the wound had very nearly healed, only a granulating surface of about three-fourths of an inch in length at the upper corner discharged a healthy pus. I was present the last time the wound was dressed, and expected to see the patient speedily discharged as cured. But that night secondary hæmorrhage occurred, a large portion of the wound was opened afresh, and the patient died almost immediately. At the *post-mortem* section, an enormous mass of osseous tubercles was removed from the lungs, liver, and heart, and a large, bony neoplasm was found attached to the pelvic bones, and surrounding the femoral artery, so that the mouth of the latter remained patulous. A similar deposit, three inches in diameter, had been found about the fractured femur, and when this was sawn through, the line of demarcation between the neoplasm and the true bone was distinctly discernable.

"The operation was regarded as a success, and it completely established Dr. Brainard's reputation as a surgeon."

There can be but little doubt that a number of amputations at the hip-joint must have been performed in this country before the date of the operation thus graphically described by Judge Caton, but it is certain that we have records of only two or three of these at the most. Dr. Joseph W. Freer, the late president of Rush College, informed me, in a letter written with reference to this subject before his death, that the case referred to, was one of enchondroma of the femur, and that the specimen it furnished, adorned the museum of the College until the destruction of the latter by fire.

Some time after Dr. Brainard's arrival in Chicago, he filled the editorial chair of the *Chicago Democrat*, to which the Hon. John Wentworth succeeded.

In the year of 1839, Dr. Brainard visited Paris, where he remained for about two years engaged in perfecting himself in the details of professional service, availing himself of the advantages offered in the medical institutions of that city, and laboring with

great assiduity. On his return, he delivered a course of medical lectures in St. Louis, and soon after perfected his plans for the establishment and permanent foundation of Rush Medical College. The success which attended the efforts of himself and his associates, not only in this direction but in the publication of the periodical, of which the present MEDICAL JOURNAL AND EXAMINER is the direct and legitimate descendant, is too well known to the profession at large to require comment.

Dr. Brainard revisited Paris in 1852, when he was accompanied by his wife. It was at this time that he obtained permission to prosecute his researches on the subject of poisoned wounds by the aid of experiments upon the reptiles in the Jardin des Plantes. He was then made an honorary member of the Société de Chirurgie of Paris, and of the Medical Society of the Canton of Geneva. In the year 1854, he gained the prize offered by the American Medical Association at St. Louis, for the presentation of his paper on the Treatment of Ununited Fractures—the method he then proposed, having since received the endorsement of the entire profession.

A short time before his death, he spent a day in Rome, N.Y., with his life-long friend, Mr. Comstock, pleasantly recounting the incidents of his foreign travel, expressing the greatest interest in the prosecution of his work connected with his lectures in the College, and anticipating a return to Europe for a third visit with a view to a still more extended course of investigations. At the same time he seemed to be impressed with a feeling that he had not much longer to live. In a few weeks from this date, his friend in Rome received the telegraphic announcement of his death. He died of cholera, in the old Sherman House of Chicago, on the 10th day of October, 1866, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Dr. Brainard was a master of many of the collateral branches of medical science. He was a botanist and geologist. He excelled also in literature, and his contributions to medical periodicals are, many of them, master-pieces of terse, vigorous, and lucid expression. A generation of men who never looked in his face are yet familiar with his features. He was tall and vigorous in frame, with a large, finely-shaped head, and keen, penetrating eyes. He seemed indeed to possess the three qualities which were considered in the 16th century to be the prerequisites of a good surgeon, *viz.*: "the eye of a hawk, the hand of a woman, and the heart of a lion." Dr. Brainard's name is graven ineffaceably upon the annals of American surgery. His successors may well emulate his indomitable perseverance in the face of

great assistance. On his return, he delivered a course of medical lectures in St. Louis and soon after visiting the place for the establishment and permanent foundation of Rush Medical College. The success which attended the efforts of himself and his associates, not only in this direction but in the guidance of the periodical of which the present *Medical Journal* is now an issue, was the direct and legitimate consequence of his well known to the profession at large to require comment.

Dr. Bennett received this in 1855, when he was accompanied by his wife. It was at this time that he obtained permission to prosecute his researches on the subject of poisoned wounds by the aid of experiments upon the subjects in the Jardin des Plantes. He was then made an honorary member of the Société de Chirurgie de Paris and of the Medical Society of the Canton of Geneva. In the year 1854 he gained the prize offered by the American Medical Association at the request of the presentation of his paper on the Treatment of Gunshot Wounds—the method he then proposed having since received the endorsement of the entire profession.

A short time before his death, he spent a day in France, N.Y., with his life-long friend, Mr. Constant, pleasantly reviewing the incidents of his foreign travel, especially the greatest interest in the prosecution of his work connected with his labors in the College, and anticipating a return to Europe for a third visit with a view to a still more extended course of investigation. At the same time he seemed to be impressed with a feeling that he had not much longer to live. In a few weeks from this date his friend in Rome received the telegraphic announcement of his death. He died of cholera in the old St. Thomas House of Chicago, on the tenth day of October, 1861, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Dr. Bennett was a master of many of the collateral branches of medical science. He was a chemist and geologist. He excelled also in literature and his contributions to medical journals and books are many of them masterpieces of terse vigorous and lucid expression. A generation of men who never looked in his face are yet familiar with his features. He was tall and vigorous in frame with a large well-shaped head and brow presenting the forehead indeed to pursue the three qualities which were considered in the 16th century to be the perfection of a good surgeon, viz. "the eye of a hawk, the hand of a woman, and the heart of a dog." Dr. Bennett's name is given incidentally upon the annals of American surgery. His success may well emulate his indomitable perseverance in the face of

apparently overwhelming obstacles, his unflagging industry, and the acquisition of the science and skill which perforce spring from these high qualities.

In the Lakeside Annual Directory for 1875-6, is reproduced the first Directory ever issued in Chicago, dated 1839—the original having obtained through the courtesy of Henry H. Hurlbut, Esq.*

By referring to this, it will be seen that Dr. Brainard's name occurs with those of Drs. Gay and Betts, as constituting a Board of Health. This board, it is unnecessary to say, was not organized under any such law as that which provides for the board of health as now constituted. Dr. Charles V. Dyer† is there registered as City Physician—he had removed to the city three years before, in 1835. Besides these, the Directory contains the names of Dr. Jno. Brinkerhoff, Dr. H. Clarke, Dr. Levi D. Boone, Dr. Eldridge, Dr. Edmund S. Kimberly, Dr. Merrick, Dr. Post, and Dr. J. Jay Stuart. Drs. Brinkerhoff, Betts, Post, and Stuart are known to be now dead, besides those whose decease has been heretofore noted in these pages.

Dr. Boone, whose name appears in the list, deserves more than a passing mention. He is the grandnephew of the great Kentucky pioneer, Daniel Boone, and was born on the 8th of December 1808. He studied medicine in the Transylvania University, came to Illinois in 1829, and, having volunteered as a private in the Black-Hawk war, was finally promoted to the surgeoncy of the 2nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Col. Jacob Fry. Dr. Boone came to Chicago in 1836, and still resides here, though he is now gradually withdrawing from the business incidental to the management of his estate.

Dr. John Herbert Foster was the second son of Aaron and Mehetabel (Nichols) Foster, of the town of Hillsborough, New Hampshire, where he was born on the 8th of March, 1796. His parents were members of the Society of Friends, and it may be remarked that the gentleness, simplicity, and truthfulness of their son's life and character, well illustrated the earliest lessons of his

* The Directory from which these names have been transcribed was, as might be expected, a very incomplete affair. Robert Fergus, printer, an early resident of Chicago, has, with considerable labor, compiled a complete list of the business men of the city in 1839, in which are to be found the following *additional* names, designated as "doctors": Simon Z. Haven, Richard Murphy, William Russell, D. S. Smith, John Mark Smith, Simeon Willard.

Fergus' Chicago Directory for 1839. Fergus Printing Co. Chicago, 1876.

† Died in Chicago, April 24, 1878.

home. When 16 years old, he entered Kimball Union Academy, at Meriden, New Hampshire, and was for some years afterward engaged in teaching school. He subsequently was graduated at the medical college at Fairfield, in his native State, and concluded by attending a course of lectures in the Medical Department of Dartmouth College, where he studied under the direction of Dr. Muzzy, of Hanover. He practiced medicine for some time in connection with Dr. Stark, of Hopkinton, and afterward in Dublin, N.H. and Ashby, Mass., was successful in the discharge of his professional duties. In 1832, he came to Morgan County, Illinois, was a surgeon in the Black-Hawk War, and eventually came to reside in this City. In the year 1840, Dr. Foster was married to Miss Nancy Smith, of Peterborough, New Hampshire. Thereafter, he gave himself up largely to the care of his extended property, and was recognized as one of the most public-spirited of the men of our City, up to the date of his death, which occurred on the 18th of May, 1874, the seventy-ninth year of his age.

Dr. John Mark Smith was born in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1813, and was graduated at Jefferson Medical College in his native city. After spending three years in Paris, he came to Chicago in the spring of 1837, and continued here in the practice of medicine till about the year 1842. At that date, he returned to Philadelphia, where he remained until the year 1863, when he made a second visit to Paris, and was resident there during its memorable siege, returning afterward to his native land. It was from the effects of the privation incident to this experience, that he subsequently died in Baltimore. He was the elder brother of Hon. S. Lisle Smith.

George Wallingford, son of Hon. Paul and Lydia (Cogswell) Wentworth, was born at Sandwich, New Hampshire, on the 2d of November, 1820, and was brother of Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago. He entered Dartmouth College in 1841; but was obliged to abandon his collegiate course in consequence of delicate health, although he made a second effort in 1842. In 1843, he came to Chicago and remained one year. His health continuing delicate, he abandoned his original intention of becoming an attorney-at-law and commenced the study of medicine, at Concord, N. H. He attended medical lectures at New York and Philadelphia, taking his degree at the latter place in 1847. Coming directly afterward to Chicago, he opened an office upon the bank of the river, west of the Randolph-Street bridge, boarding at the United States Hotel, on the N.-E. corner of N. Canal and Randolph Streets. It is claimed for Dr. Wentworth that he was

home. When the year old he returned to his father's home at Mendon, New Hampshire, to live for some years afterwards engaged in teaching school. The opportunity was presented to the medical college at Boston in the winter of 1847, and he attended a course of lectures in the Medical Department of Dartmouth College, where he studied under the direction of Dr. Murray, of Hanover. His practical medicine for some time in connection with the study of the sciences, and afterwards in Boston, N.H. and Andover, Mass. was continued in the discharge of his professional duties. In 1848 he came to Boston, where, in 1849, was a surgeon in the Fifth Mass. Regt. and afterwards came to reside in the City. In the winter of 1850, Dr. Foster was wanted to Miss Nancy Smith, of Hingham, Mass. After that, he gave himself up to the study of his medical profession, and was recognized as one of the best of his class in the city, and in 1851, on the day of his death, which occurred on the 18th of May, 1851, the young man was in his prime.

Dr. John Mink Smith was born in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1812, and was educated at Jefferson Medical College in his native city. After spending three years in Paris, he came to Chicago in the spring of 1837, and continued here in the practice of medicine until the year 1847. At that time he returned to Philadelphia, where he remained until the year 1848, when he made a second visit to Paris and was residing there during its memorable siege, remaining afterwards in his native city. It was from the effects of the previous visit to this country, once that he subsequently died in Baltimore. He was the eldest brother of H. P. Smith.

George Westcott was of New York and 1812 (Casswell). Westcott was born at New York, New Hampshire, and was in November, 1830, and was brother of John Westcott, of Chicago. He received Dartmouth College in 1831, but was obliged to abandon his studies on account of ill health. He came to Chicago and resided here some years. His health becoming very delicate, he abandoned his medical studies, and became an attorney-at-law and commenced the study of medicine at New York, N.Y. He received medical lectures at New York and Philadelphia, taking his degree at the latter place in 1837. He directly attended to Chicago, he opened an office upon the back of the first part of the Philadelphia Street bridge, standing at the United States Hotel, on the N.E. corner of N. 1st and Randolph Streets. It is believed for Dr. Westcott that he was

the first physician to open an office on the west side of the City. During the ravages of the cholera in 1849, the alderman of the ward in which he resided resigned his office. Such had been Dr. Wentworth's devotion to those affected with cholera, and such his success in his gratuitous practice among the poor, that he was unanimously requested, although having taken no part in politics, to fill the vacancy. At the next election, he was re-elected for the term of two years. The next year, 1850, the cholera reappeared, with increased violence, and he signalized himself by his efforts as alderman and physician to relieve the people. In usual health, he attended a session of the council, and, after visiting a few patients, retired to rise no more. He died on the 14th day of August, 1850. Dr. Wentworth was never married. His remains were taken for interment to Concord, N.H.

The history of EARLY MEDICAL CHICAGO would be indeed imperfect without a brief account of the origin of its medical schools. For much that follows relative to Rush Medical College, I am indebted to an historical sketch by Professor—now President—J. Adams Allen, which forms a part of an address delivered by him in the dedicatory exercises at the time of the opening of the new building.

The first idea of the establishment of a medical college in Chicago, dates back as far as 1836. In the autumn of that year, Dr. Brainard, in connection with the late Dr. Josiah C. Goodhue, of Rockford, Ill., then a resident of this City, drew up the act of incorporation, which, at the ensuing session of the Legislature at Vandalia, was passed, and approved by the Governor on the 2d of March, 1837. Owing to the financial revulsion that fell with blighting influence alike upon public and private enterprises, some of those who, the year before, had the means and the disposition to aid and handsomely endow the institution, now found themselves without the means of supporting their own families. No action, therefore, took place, under the charter, before the summer of 1843. Early in the autumn of that year, the faculty of the college was organized, by the appointment of four professors—Drs. Brainard, Blaney, McLean, and Knapp. The session was commenced on the 4th of December ensuing, and continued sixteen weeks.

This was before the erection of any building for the purpose, and the lectures were delivered in two small rooms on Clark Street. The number of students attending this course was twenty-two. But a single degree was conferred, the first graduate being Dr. William Butterfield.

the first physician to open an office on the west side of the city. During the career of the doctor in 1822 the students of the school in which he resided resented his office. Such had been Wentworth's devotion to those affected with cholera, and such success in his treatment among the poor, that he was unanimously requested, although having asked no part in the matter, to fill the vacancy. At the next election, he was re-elected for two years. The next year, 1823, the cholera appeared with increased violence and he signally failed in his efforts as physician and physician to relieve the people. usual health, he attended a session of the court, and, after a few patients, retired to his home. He died on the day of August, 1825. Dr. Wentworth was never married. remains were taken for interment in Greenwood, Ill.

The history of Early Medical Chicago would be incomplete without a brief account of the origin of the school. For much that has been written in the history of Chicago, I am indebted to an historical sketch by Professor - now I deem - J. Adams Allen, which formed part of an address delivered by him in the lecture room at the time of the opening of the new building.

The first idea of the establishment of a medical college in Chicago dates back to the year 1815 - in the autumn of that year Dr. Bennett, in connection with the late Dr. Joseph C. Green of Rockford, Ill., then a resident of Chicago, drew up the plan of incorporation, which, at the ensuing session of the Convention on March 15, 1817, was passed and approved by the Convention on March 15, 1817. Owing to the financial straits that fell blighting influence upon public and private enterprise at that time, the year 1817 had the same and the position to aid and handsomely endow the institution, not to mention without the means of supporting their own law. No action, therefore, took place under the charter before summer of 1818. Early in the autumn of that year the plan of the college was approved by the agreement of that body - Dr. Richard Henry, Richard, and Knapp. action was commenced on the 4th of December, 1818, and continued several weeks.

This was before the question of any building for the school and the lecture were divided in two small rooms on State. The number of students attending the course was twenty-two. That a single phrase was contained, the first name being Dr. William Bennett.



J. M. Allen
Secy.

Let us stop for one moment to follow the subsequent fortunes of this first of the physicians who became such in consequence of a medical education received in Chicago.

Dr. Butterfield practised his profession for only a few years after his degree was obtained, by studies in the two little rooms opposite the old Sherman House. He subsequently entered the regular service, as a first-lieutenant of the United-States Marine Corps, and did duty as such during the Mexican war. While on this campaign, his constitution was greatly impaired by the insalubrity of the climate; to such an extent, indeed, that he never regained the health which he lost in the service of his country. For the remainder of his days, Dr. Butterfield was, like so many other veterans of the Mexican campaign, an invalid. In the late civil war, however, he served as brigade-commissary of subsistence, until the conclusion of the contest. From that time, he lived for years in the retirement of private life, until January 13th, 1878, when he died in his 57th year.

Dr. Butterfield was the last-surviving son of the Hon. Justin Butterfield, one of the pioneers of Chicago, and the leader in his day of its bar. Though early diverted from his chosen career as a physician, Dr. Butterfield gave promise of attaining eminence in his profession. He was a gentleman of great mental attainments and possessed, as well, the fortitude of a soldier, qualities which he displayed to an eminent degree during his last lingering and distressing illness. His life was one of unobtrusive patriotism and Christian piety, cheered at its close by the affectionate solicitude and attentions of a numerous family, who can unite with the sons of Rush College in pointing to their father's career with just pride.

During the summer of 1844, the College building occupied until the close of the tenth session, was erected,* upon the south-east corner of Dearborn Ave. and Indiana St., upon a lot donated for the purpose by several public-spirited citizens of the north-side. The architect of this structure was Mr. John M. VanOsdel; its cost did not exceed \$3500, defrayed partly by loan, partly by subscription, and partly by contributions from the faculty. A passably well-executed cut of this building appeared in the City Directory of the ensuing year.†

In 1855, this building was entirely re-modelled and enlarged, so

* Dedicated, Friday evening, Dec. 18, 1844. Prayer by Rev. Robert W. Patterson, minister Second Presbyterian Church. Address by Dr. Brainard.

† Business Advertiser and General Directory of the City of Chicago, 1845-6. J. W. Norris. This volume was found by me in the valuable collection of Mr. D. B. Cooke.

Let us stop for one moment to follow the subsequent fortunes of this list of the physicians who became such in consequence of a medical education received in Chicago.

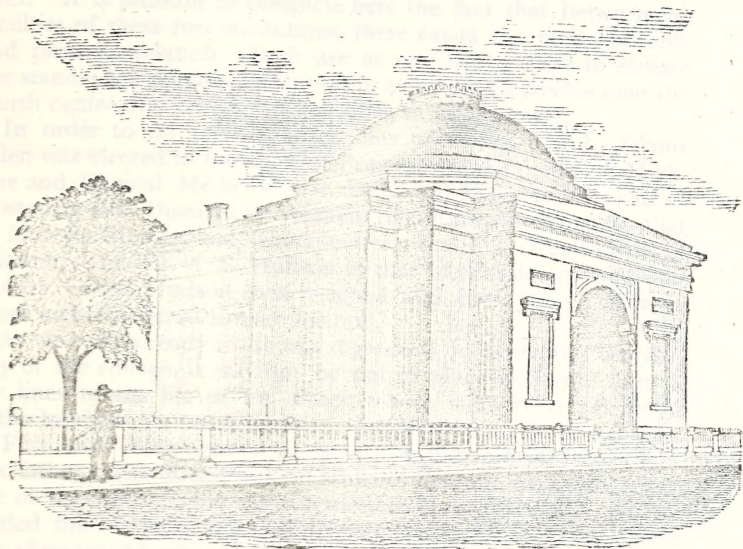
Dr. Hartsfield purchased his graduation the only a few years after his degree was obtained. He settled in the two little rooms opposite the old Baptist House. His engagements earned the regular service as a first lieutenant of the Third Illinois Marine Corps, and his duty as such during the Mexican war. While on this campaign, his constitution was greatly injured by the labor of the climate; so much so that, having learned that he never regained the health which he lost in the service of his country, for the remainder of his days Dr. Hartsfield was able to manage other veterans of the Mexican campaign on parole. In the late civil war, however, he served as a volunteer medical subordinate, until the conclusion of the conflict. Even then, however, he lived in years in the treatment of patients till nearly January 1875, when he died in his 55th year.

Dr. Hartsfield was the last surviving son of the Hon. Justin Butterfield, one of the founders of Chicago and the leader of its day of its day. Things early diverted from business enough to a physician. Dr. Hartsfield gave promise of unusual success in his profession. He was a graduate of good medical attainments and possessed, as well, the fondness of a student, which he displayed in an eminent degree during his last days, and during illness. His life was one of unobtrusive goodness and Christian piety, cheered at its close by the attendance of his wife and children of a robust health, who were with him to the end of his life. He is buried in the First Baptist Church, with his wife.

During the summer of 1854 the College building occupied until the close of the term session was erected. Upon the south east corner of Dearborn Ave. and Madison St. upon a lot donated for the purpose by several public-spirited citizens of the north side. The architect of this structure was Mr. John M. Van Hook; its cost did not exceed \$2500; although partly by loan, partly by subscription, and partly by contributions from the people of the city. It was well received out of the building appeared in the City Directory of the ensuing year.

In 1855 this building was entirely remodelled and enlarged as

* Dedicated Friday evening Dec. 17, 1854. Taken by Rev. Luther W. Patterson, Minister Second Presbyterian Church. Addressed by Dr. Hartsfield. † Business Address and General Directory in the City of Chicago. 1854-5. J. W. Moore. This volume was bound by me in the volume was section of Mr. J. H. Cook.



THE FIRST RUSH MEDICAL COLLEGE. (1844.)

as to accommodate about two hundred and fifty students, at a cost of \$15,000—this expense being wholly sustained by the faculty. Their names were thus announced:—Daniel Brainard, M. D., Professor of Surgery; Austin Flint, M. D., Professor of the Institutes and Practice of Medicine; G. N. Fitch, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; J. V. Z. Blaney, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy; John McLean, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; and Wm. B. Herrick, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.

Dr. Herrick became subsequently the first president of the Illinois State Medical Society; Dr. Austin Flint, the eminent author and professor in Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York; and Dr. Graham N. Fitch, U. S. Senator from the State of Indiana. Among the other eminent gentlemen connected with the early history of the College may be named: Dr. John Evans, late governor of Colorado, and now a leading citizen of that "centennial state," and Dr. E. S. Carr, now superintendent of public instruction, California.

In the year 1859, occurred the separation of certain members of the faculty, which resulted in the organization of the institution now called the Chicago Medical College, of which we shall speak.



The First Free Medical College (1812)

as to accommodate about two hundred and fifty students at a cost of \$15,000—the expense being defrayed by the State. Their names were thus announced:—Isaac Hays, D.D., Professor of Surgery; Aaron Clark, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Practice of Medicine; C. C. Ellis, M.D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; J. V. Black, M.D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy; John M. Lusk, M.D., Professor of Natural History and Zoology; and Wm. B. Harris, M.D., Professor of Anatomy.

The Hays building, which is the present building of the University, was erected in 1812. It is a fine building, and the first of the kind in this country. It is a two-story building, and the main entrance is on the south side. The building is now used as a lecture hall, and the main entrance is on the south side.

Among the other early physicians connected with the history of the College may be named:—The First Free Medical College of Chicago, and now a leading college of that name, and the first of the kind in this country.

In the year 1812, the first medical college in this country was established in Chicago, and the first of the kind in this country.

later. It is pleasant to chronicle here the fact that between the faculties of these two institutions, there exists the most amicable and pleasant relation. Both are at one in the effort to elevate the standard of medical education in a city which has become the fourth centre of such educational work in this country.

In order to fill the vacancies thus occurring, Dr. J. Adams Allen was elected to the chair of Principles and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; Dr. DeLaskie Miller to the chair of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women; Dr. Ephraim Ingals to that of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; Dr. R. L. Rea to that of Anatomy, and Dr. A. S. Hudson to that of Physiology and Pathology. Prof. Hudson soon resigned and Prof. Joseph Warren Freer was transferred to that position.

As we have already made one digression in sketching the history of the college, it may not be out of place to devote here a few lines to the life of Dr. Freer, whose memory is yet green in the hearts of his many friends: Joseph Warren Freer was born at Fort Ann, Washington Co., N. Y., on the 10th of July, 1816. His father, Elias Freer, was of Holland descent, his mother was one of the Paine family, early settlers in New England. He attended the common and high-schools of his native place till he was 18 years old, when he entered the office of Dr. Lemuel C. Paine, then of Clyde, N. Y., as a pupil of medicine, and attended upon the doctor's small drug-shop. On the 14th of June, 1836, he came to Chicago, and was here for a few weeks employed in a linen-draper's establishment, but under the influence of the speculative mania of that day, he soon after invested some funds in a "claim" upon the banks of the Calumet River, four miles distant from any neighbors save the Pottawatomie Indians. Here he remained for only two months, nearly losing his life in consequence of the privation attending his mode of life. He was carried back to Chicago in an unconscious condition, and was received into the residence of Mr. John Dye, on Lake bet. Clark and LaSalle Streets. In the fall of the same year he joined his parents, who had removed to a "claim" at a place called Forked Creek, near Wilmington, Ill. Here he remained until July 4th, 1846, making several valuable acquaintances, particularly that of the Hon. Richard L. Wilson, formerly editor of the *Chicago Evening Journal*, and Dr. Hiram Todd, to the latter of whom he was ever grateful for valuable advice and the use of his extensive library. While in this region he opened and brought under cultivation, three farms, on one of which he made his home after his first marriage.

In March, 1844, he married Emeline, daughter of Phineas Hoi-

later. It is pleasant to conclude from the fact that between the faculties of these two institutions there exists the most friendly and pleasant relation. While one is due to the effort to elevate the standard of medical education in a city which has become the fourth center of high medical work in the country.

In order to fill the vacancies thus occurring, Dr. J. Adams Allen was elected to the chair of Pathology and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine, the Pathologic Physics to the chair of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women, Dr. H. H. Henshaw to that of Medical History and Therapeutics, Dr. M. L. Fox to that of Anatomy, and Dr. A. B. Henshaw to that of Physiology and the Pathology. Dr. Henshaw was elected and Dr. J. Adams Allen was transferred to that position.

As we have already noted, one of the first steps in developing the faculty of the college it may not be out of place to mention that a few years to the left of the first, when Adams was in the hands of his many friends. Adams was born in 1814 at Fort Anne, Washington, D. C., N. Y., on the north of Long Island. His father, John Adams, was of Highland descent, his mother was one of the first family, early settlers in New England. He attended the common and high schools of his native place till he was 18 years old, when he entered the office of Dr. Leland C. Taine, near of Clyde, N. Y., as a pupil in medicine, and attended upon the doctor's small drug-shop. On the 1st of June, 1836, he came to Chicago, and was here for a few weeks employed in a linen-draper's establishment, but upon the influence of the friends of his native friends of that day, he soon after received a letter from "claim" upon the banks of the Calumet River, and a letter from his neighbors that the Fort Lawrence, Indiana. There he remained for only two months, nearly losing his life in consequence of the privation attending the mode of life. He was carried back to Chicago in an advanced condition, and was received into the residence of Mr. John T. Clark, Dr. Clark and Dr. Taine. In the fall of the same year he joined his parents, who had removed to a "claim" at a place called Pinedale, near Wilmington, Ill. Here he remained until the fall of 1838, when he received a letter from his friends, and he returned to the city of Chicago, where he was received into the residence of Dr. Henshaw, and he was at his bedside during the valuable advice and the use of his extensive library. While in this region he received and brought under cultivation three farms, on one of which he made his home after his first marriage.

In March, 1844, he married Emma, daughter of James Hob-

den, Esq., of Hickory Creek, Will Co., Ill. One child, Henry C., was the fruit of this union. He is now living, and won honor as a soldier in the late war. Mrs. Freer died in the autumn of 1845—a little less than two years from their marriage.

This bereavement changed the whole course of his subsequent life. It happened that he was dissatisfied with the medical treatment of her last sickness, and expressed a determination to know whether there was any reliance to be placed upon medicine. In furtherance of this purpose, mounting a load of wheat, that he might not lose any time, he drove to the then *village* of Chicago, to solicit Prof. Daniel Brainard to receive him into his office. By a singular coincidence, he was met at the door by Ephraim Ingals, then a student, and afterward, for a number of years, his colleague in Rush Medical College. It is sufficient here to say, that then commenced a friendship which continued throughout Prof. Freer's life, and was feelingly, as well as eloquently, commemorated by the survivor at the funeral exercises.

Notwithstanding the somewhat rustic appearance of the applicant, Dr. Brainard gave him a hearty welcome to his office, where he continued as a student until his graduation at Rush Medical College at the close of the session 1848-9.

As sagacious an observer as Dr. Brainard could not, and did not, fail to mark in this new student an ability and determination, combined with a zeal and untiring industry, which were sure to result most honorably. From first to last he was invited to assist in all of Prof. Brainard's important operations, and during the last years of his pupilage was frequently sent to perform such as he could not attend. The warm friendship and confidence thus commenced, ceased only with the life of that great surgeon and teacher.

The last winter of his pupilage, Dr. Freer was appointed acting-demonstrator of anatomy by Prof. Wm. B. Herrick, then professor of that department. After graduation he contracted a co-partnership with Dr. John A. Kennicott, of Wheeling, Cook County, in whose genial society he passed some of the pleasantest hours of his life.

In June, 1849, he married Miss Katherine Gatter, of Wurtemberg, Germany. In a private note addressed to the writer of this notice, he says: "Our union has been a happy and prosperous one, and in fact I believe I owe much of my success in life to my wife." A daughter and three sons were the fruit of this marriage, all of whom are now living; one bears, to-day, the diploma of the college of which his father was president. The eldest, Frederick W. Freer, is a rising young artist of Chicago.

In the spring of 1850, he received by *concours* the regular appointment of demonstrator of anatomy in Rush Medical College, a high honor, as the place was very ably contested for, among others, by the late distinguished Prof. E. S. Cooper, of San Francisco, California. From this time he gave a part of Prof. Herrick's course, comprising the descriptive anatomy of the bones and muscles, and during Prof. Herrick's absence in Europe, he gave the entire course.

In the summer of 1855, he was appointed professor of descriptive anatomy.

His duties from the time of his appointment, in 1850, to his final sickness, demanded and received great activity, both of mind and body. Whilst Prof. Brainard occupied the position of surgeon of the U. S. Marine Hospital, Prof. Freer was his constant and invaluable deputy.

On the re-organization of Rush Medical College in 1859, Prof. Freer was transferred to the chair of physiology and microscopic anatomy, a position he occupied up to the time of his decease.

Prof. Blaney retiring from the college in 1872, Prof. Freer was elected to the presidency.

Aside from his connection with the college, he has filled many important positions. He was formerly, for several years, one of the medical staff of Mercy Hospital, and since the re-opening of Cook-County Hospital, soon after the close of the war, was appointed one of the medical board, which position was only vacated by his death. He was also consulting-surgeon of St. Joseph's Hospital, of the Hospital for Women of the State of Illinois, and many other public charities.

Prof. Freer was appointed brigade-surgeon very soon after the breaking out of the war, but after having served some three or four months, was obliged to resign in consequence of ill-health.

In 1864, he was appointed U.-S. enrolling-surgeon for the Chicago district. In the discharge of the duties of this position, he gave great offence to several irregular practitioners by refusing to receive as authoritative their certificates of disability. They thereupon, through a "committee," preferred charges against Surgeon Freer, addressed to Brig.-Gen. Jas. B. Fry, provost-marshal general at Washington. On the basis of these charges, a court of investigation was ordered, and great popular professional interest was excited as to the result. The trial ended in a complete discomfiture of the complainants, and largely increased confidence in Surgeon Freer, both by the government and the community. [*Vid. Chicago Medical Journal*, March, 1865.]

In 1867, Prof. Freer sent his family to Europe, following them

In the spring of 1856, he received by express the regular appointment of assistant of anatomy in Rush Medical College, a high honor in the place was very well estimated for among others by the late distinguished Prof. E. S. Coates, of San Francisco, California. From that time he gave a part of Prof. Henshaw's course, continuing the dissection course of the bones and muscles, and during that Henshaw's absence in Europe he gave the entire course.

In the summer of 1856, he was appointed professor of descriptive anatomy.

His duties from the time of his appointment in 1856, to his final sickness, showed that he had a great capacity both of mind and body. While Prof. Henshaw occupied the position of professor of the U. S. Marine Hospital, Prof. Frost was his assistant and inevitable deputy.

On the reorganization of Rush Medical College in 1859, Prof. Frost was transferred to the chair of physiology and metaphysics, anatomy, a position he occupied up to the time of his death.

Prof. Frost retired from the college in 1871. From that time he was elected to the presidency.

Aside from his connection with the college, he has filled many important positions. He was formerly, for several years, one of the medical staff of Albany Hospital, and when the hospital was vacated by his death. He was also consulting surgeon of St. Joseph's Hospital, of the Hospital for Women, of the State of Illinois, and many other public charities.

Prof. Frost was appointed Inspector-General very soon after the breaking out of the war, but after having served some time as

four months was obliged to resign on account of ill health. In 1864, he was appointed U. S. consulting surgeon for the Chicago district. In the summer of the same year he was

he gave great notice to several military hospitals in Chicago. From that time he received an appointment as assistant professor of anatomy, physiology, and surgery, through a nomination, presented to the Surgeon-General, and was admitted to the U. S. Army.

Surgeon-General at Washington. In the latter part of the war, a court of investigation was ordered, and Prof. Frost was called to testify in relation to the conduct of the campaign, and his testimony was

pleasurably received. In 1867, he was appointed Surgeon-General of the community. In 1867, Prof. Frost sent his family to Europe, following them

a few months after. They remained until 1871, and he, returning each year to give his course of lectures in the college, spent the remaining months in Europe. He travelled through the British Islands, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, visiting all the principal cities and points of interest, taking ample time for observation. He attended the Medical Congress in Paris during the Exposition of 1867, and afterward spent a considerable period in visiting their hospitals and medical schools.

So also he visited the most celebrated schools of England, Scotland, and Ireland in 1868, and he had reason to be pleased with the consideration and courtesy extended by many of their most eminent professional men. On this tour he exhibited to Prof. Bennet, of Edinburgh, and others, his discovery of the structure of the blood-corpuscle, by means of direct light, using a Wales illuminator which he carried with him.

In 1870, he spent four months in Vienna, familiarizing himself with its great hospitals.

His last voyage was in 1871, when, after a trip to Italy, extending as far south as Naples, and a few months in the Tyrol and Munich, which latter had been the family's place of residence since 1868, he returned home in September, bringing them with him.

On his several visits to Europe, he had secured many articles, not only adapted to adorn his house, but of rare scientific and professional interest. These and other souvenirs of his residence and tenements, which had afforded him means to indulge his tastes for study and travel, and which, earned by industry and economy, he had a well-won right to look forward to as affording ease and comfort in his declining years, in that terrible night of October, a few short weeks only after his return, were swept away in the general conflagration—himself and family barely escaping with their lives.

Younger men than Dr. Freer, might have given up in despair, but he in nowise disheartened, returned with energy to his practice, to the college, and the hospitals.

Notwithstanding this terrible reverse, it is a source of unmingled satisfaction to know that at his death he left his family not rich, but comparatively free from debt and with a modest competence.

Although circumstances conspired to place Dr. Freer, as a teacher in the elementary department of physiology, he was distinguished, not only popularly but professionally, both as a physician and surgeon.

The first eight or ten years of his professional life, his practice

was devoted largely to surgery. He performed nearly all the operations of note from that for cataract by extraction, to excision of knee-joint and elbow-joint with entire ulna and head of radius, before Carnochan's case.

Perhaps he did not originate much in surgery, but he suggested and practised several things of value. He is entitled to priority in suggestion of the use of collodion in erysipelas, burns, etc. So, also, the first publication of the use of adhesive plaster in fractures of the clavicle, a form of treatment the advantages of which are not even yet fully appreciated by the profession, is due to him.

However, it may be claimed for him that he was decidedly original in his application of the general principles of both branches of the profession. He always seemed to feel degraded when either operating or prescribing merely by rule.

The highest eulogium that can be pronounced upon him is furnished by the record of his life. That shows that whatever he undertook to do, he sought to do in the best possible way. There was not a scintilla of sham or pretence in his nature, and he was a vigorous hater of both. What he could not tolerate in himself, that he could not overlook in others. Commencing medical study when his life was a little more than half gone past, he commanded all his faculties by an indomitable will, to their uttermost of service. He was never idle, and in the height of active practice was never heard to say he had no time to read and investigate.

"Self-made men," it has been said, are liable to be saturated with vanity at the success achieved. But up to the hour he took his bed for his last sickness, Prof. Freer never boasted, or even wore for a moment the appearance of pride for what he had done, but rather, lamented the imperfection of the past, and laid out designs for harder work in the future. He died on the 12th of April, 1877.*

Soon after the opening of the session of 1866-7, Asiatic cholera deprived Rush College of its founder, Dr. Brainard, as heretofore described in these pages, and thereupon Dr. Blaney succeeded to the presidency; Dr. Moses Gunn was called from a similar position in the University of Michigan, to the vacant chair of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; and Dr. Edwin Powell was appointed Professor of Military Surgery and Surgical Anatomy. After this were added the chairs of Clinical Medicine and Diseases of the Chest, and Diseases of the Eye and Ear; the former filled by Dr. J. P. Ross, and the latter by Dr. Edwin L. Holmes.

* Transactions Illinois State Medical Society, page 207, *et seq.*, 1877.

was devoted largely to surgery. His professional nearly all the operations of more than that he retained the extension to extension of knee-joint and elbow-joint with minor ones and head of neck before Cunningham's case.

Perhaps he did not maintain much in surgery, but he suggested and practiced several things of value. He is entitled to priority in suggestion of the use of collection in cystic disease, and in the first publication of the use of adhesive plaster in fractures of the clavicle a form of treatment and adjustment of which are now very largely approved by the profession, is due to him.

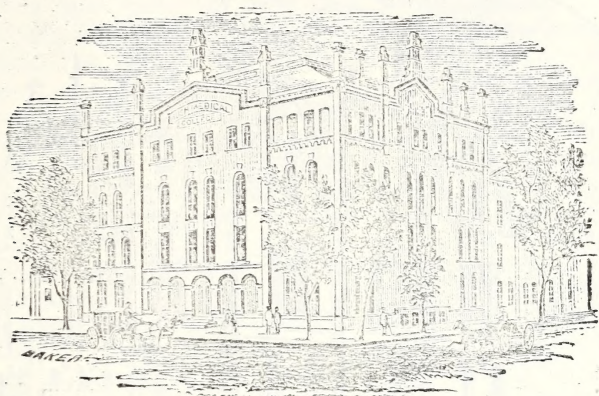
However, it may be claimed for him that he was decidedly original in his application of the general principles of both branches of the profession. His claims seemed to be justified when either operating or prescribing merely by this.

The highest testimony that can be presented upon this is furnished by the record of his life. I am aware that whatever he undertook to do he sought to do in the best possible way. There was not a scientific of them or method in his system and he was a vigorous, hearty man. What he could not explain in himself that he could not explain in others. A comprehensive medical study upon his was a little more than half a century he commenced at his brother in an independent way to that interest of study. He was never ill and in the height of active practice was never tired to say he had no time to read and investigate.

"Self-made man," he has been said, no doubt to be changed with vanity at the sacred subject. But so in his hour of work his bed for the last fifteen days, from room, hospital, or even worse for a moment the operation of which he had just done but rather, he turned the operation of the past and had our design for further work in the future. He died on the 24th of April, 1877.*

Soon after the opening of the session of 1866-7, certain changes deprived Rush College of its founder. Dr. Bennett, as he was described in those pages, and then on the January preceding the presidency. The Association was called from a meeting place in the University of Michigan, to the University of Michigan, and Clinical Surgery, and the following month was published in the Journal of Surgery and Medical Science, and Surgical Anatomy. After this were added the chapters on Medical Statistics and Diseases of the Chest and Diseases of the Ear and Eye; the former edited by Dr. J. P. Ross and the latter by Dr. John A. Johnson.

* Transcribed from the original in the Rush Medical Library, Chicago, Ill., 1877.

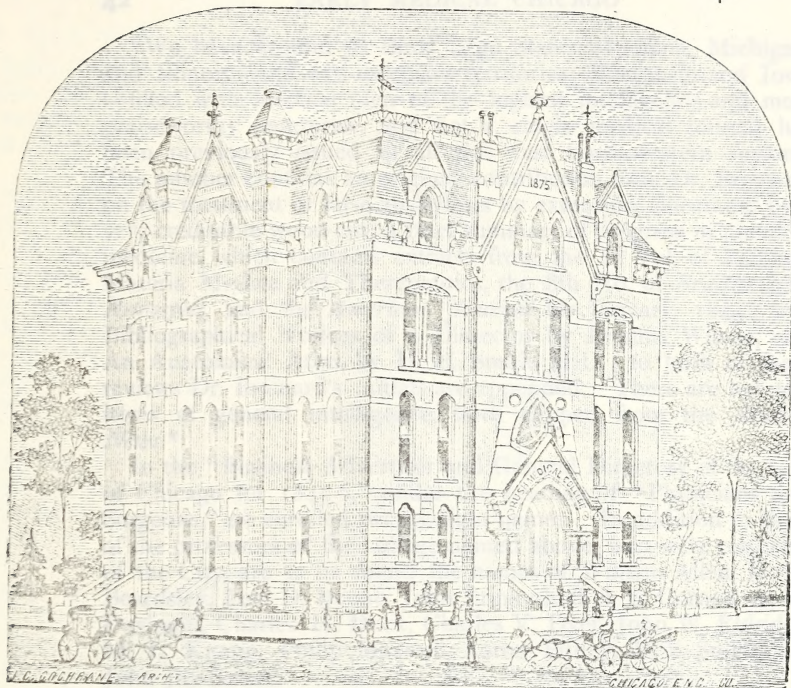


THE SECOND RUSH MEDICAL COLLEGE.

In 1867, an entirely new edifice was erected upon the vacant portion of the college-lot, and the old structure was remodelled so as to be merely an appendage to the former. It had two lecture-rooms, each with a seating capacity of over seven hundred, and a spacious laboratory and anatomical rooms, constituting thus one of the largest and best-arranged medical colleges in the country. The cost of the whole improvement, exclusive of the original building and lot, was about \$70,000, met solely by the members of the faculty. The apparatus, museum, library, cabinets, furniture, and fixtures, though valuable, can scarcely be estimated in money. Whatever the value of the whole, in a single night, the memorable 9th of October, 1871, it disappeared.

Three days after the Great Fire, quite a number of the students having returned, lectures re-commenced in the amphitheatre of the old County Hospital; and, at the close of the session, seventy-seven students were graduated. Succeeding sessions were held in a temporary structure, erected for the purpose, on the grounds of the old hospital. Two hundred and thirty students attended the last course in that edifice, of which number seventy-nine were graduated.

At the present date, the edifice of Rush Medical College is an elegant structure, the total cost of the lot and building amounting to \$54,000. It is located at the corner of Wood and West Harrison Streets. The ground floor is occupied by the Central Free Dispensary of Chicago. This dispensary is supported by the interest of a fund donated to it by the Chicago Aid and Relief



NEW EDIFICE OF RUSH MEDICAL COLLEGE.

Society shortly after the Great Fire, by a small annuity from Cook County, and by voluntary contributions. It also receives the income from a fund, of which the trustees of the college are custodians, bequeathed by a wealthy and kind-hearted Scotchman, named John Phillips, now deceased.

The college and dispensary are located in the immediate vicinity of the new Cook County Hospital, and of the building occupied by the Woman's Hospital Medical College of Chicago.

The first number of the *Illinois Medical and Surgical Journal* was issued in April, 1844, under the editorial management of James V. Z. Blaney, A.M., M.D.* Its reading matter is contained in one form of sixteen pages, just one-seventh the size of the *Chicago Medical Journal and Examiner*, as now published. The very modest introductory sets forth a fair ground for its *raison d'être*:

* Ellis & Fergus, printers and publishers, 37 Clark Street.



New Entrance of Rush Medical College

Society shortly after the Great Fire by a small amount from Cook County, and by voluntary contributions. It also received the income from a fund of which the trustees of the college are custodians, designated by a wealthy and philanthropic Scotchman, named John Withers, now deceased.

The college and dispensary are located in the immediate vicinity of the new Cook County Hospital and of the building occupied by the Women's Medical School of Chicago.

The first number of the *Journal of the Medical Association of Chicago* was issued in April, 1887, under the editorial management of James V. E. Hanson, A.M., M.D. Its leading matter is contained in one form of sixteen pages, but now consists of the *Chicago Medical Journal and Dispensary*, as now published. The very modest introductory article has a full column for its review of the

"We have around us three large States: Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois—and two extensive territories: Wisconsin and Iowa—filled with medical men of the highest intelligence and most praiseworthy enterprise, and not a single medical journal has been previously issued in all this vast north-western region." The number contains an original contribution from Dr. Brainard, on the treatment of false ankylosis by extension, illustrated by a very creditable wood-cut; a brief summary of progress in practical medicine, which contains extracts from the 2d Vol. of Pereira's *Materia Medica and Therapeutics*, the 8th No. of *Braithwaite's Retrospect*, and the *American Journal* for January, 1844; and Bibliographical Notices of a Dissector by Erasmus Wilson, and An Anatomical Atlas, by H. H. Smith, M.D.; to both of these reviews Dr. Brainard's initials are appended. There are but two items of general intelligence, both clipped from the *Medical News*.*

In the "Business Advertiser and General Directory of the City of Chicago for 1845-6," under the heading of "Physicians and Surgeons," are enrolled twenty-eight names. In addition to three of the professors of the college named above, who were residents of the City, are to be found the names of William Allen, H. H. Beardsley, Levi D. Boone, John Brinkerhoff, S. S. Cornell, A. W. Davisson, Charles H. Duck, Charles V. Dyer, John W. Eldridge, M. L. Knapp, Philip Maxwell, Aaron Pitney, D. S. Smith, and John Jay Stuart.

In the year 1847, the first general hospital in the City was established, chiefly through the instrumentality of Dr. Brainard and his associates, in a large warehouse on the N.-E. corner of Kinzie and Wolcott Streets. This was known as "Tippecanoe Hall." It contained one hundred beds, which were well filled, especially during the two succeeding years, when ship-fever prevailed, chiefly among the immigrants. Drs. Brainard, Blaney, and Herrick constituted the medical staff.

In consequence of the high price of quinine, which was then worth nearly ten dollars per ounce, the county authorities who furnished the supplies, refused to provide it for the use of patients, and it was, therefore, found necessary to employ strychnia as a substitute, which answered nearly all purposes in doses of one-eighth of a grain.

* This volume is in the possession of President J. Adams Allen, who was so long identified with the fortunes of the *Journal*. For a history of the thorny reverses, out of which has been plucked its flower of success, consult Dr. Allen's interesting sketch in the January No. for 1874.

Dr. J. W. Frost served as an officer of this institution for two years, and was therefore the first hospital officer in Chicago. In this capacity, he stood first of a long line of industrialists and learned men, who have since distinguished themselves for their attainments in almost every department of medicine.

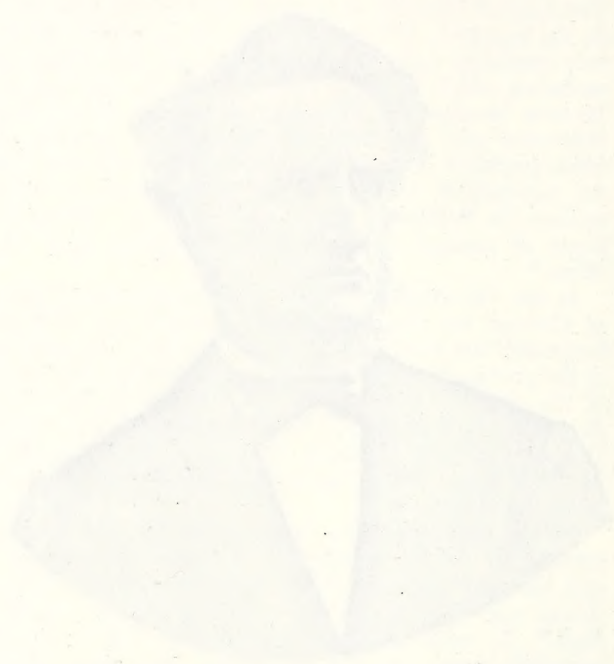
The first meeting, with a view to the establishment of the Chicago Medical College, was held at the residence of Dr. David Rutter and Ralph N. Isham, on March 1, 1857. Dr. Horatio A. Johnson was then present, together with the gentlemen who had been the nucleus of the organization. The meeting was held in the parlors of the residence of Dr. Rutter, and the first business of the meeting was the signing of the petition for the establishment of the college, which was signed, both by the Board of Trustees and by the physicians who were present.

The first faculty of the college was composed of the following: David Rutter, M.D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Horatio A. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Pathology and Therapeutics; J. W. Frost, M.D., Professor of the Principles of Medicine; R. N. Isham, M.D., Professor of Surgery; A. S. Hildner, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Diseases of the Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat; and J. W. Frost, M.D., Professor of Public Hygiene, Anatomy, and Physiology.

The first course of lectures was given by Dr. J. W. Frost, at the corner of State and Randolph streets, in the building of but thirty-three members, of whom nine were women, at the commencement of the college, the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In the summer of 1858, arrangements were made for the erection of the building on the corner of State and Twenty-Second streets, which was occupied by the Chicago Medical College up to the time of its removal, in 1872, to the present elegant and commodious structure on the corner of Franklin and Twenty-Second streets, in close proximity to Mercy Hospital. During the previous year, this institution had become the Medical Department of the Northwestern University.

* History of the Chicago Medical College, by J. W. Frost, M.D., Chicago, 1872.

N. S. Davis



W. J. Davis

Dr. J. W. Freer served as an *interne* of this institution for two years, and was therefore the first hospital *interne* in Chicago. In this capacity, he stood first of a long line of industrious and learned successors, who have since distinguished themselves for their attainments in almost every department of medicine.

The first meeting, with a view to the establishment of the Chicago Medical College, was held in the office of Drs. David Rutter and Ralph N. Isham, on the 12th day of March, 1859.* Drs. Hosmer A. Johnson and Edmund Andrews were then present, together with the gentlemen first named. After a temporary organization had been effected, it was determined to organize a Medical Faculty, on the basis of a proposition made by the trustees of the Lind University, and an agreement to that effect was signed, both by the Executive Committee of the University and by the physicians who were there assembled.

The first faculty of the new medical school was constituted as follows: David Rutter, M.D., Emeritus Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; H. A. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Physiology and Histology; E. Andrews, M.D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery; R. N. Isham, M.D., Professor of Surgical Anatomy and the Operations of Surgery; N. S. Davis, M.D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine; W. H. Byford, M.D., Professor of Midwifery and Diseases of Woman and Children; J. H. Hollister, M.D., Professor of Physiology and Histology; Dr. Mahla, Professor of Chemistry; M. K. Taylor, M.D., Professor of General Pathology and Public Hygiene; Titus DeVille, M.D., Professor of Descriptive Anatomy; and H. G. Spafford, Esq., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence.

The first course of lectures was given in Lind's Block, N.-W. cor. Market and Randolph Streets, the class consisting of but thirty-three members, of whom nine received, at the commencement exercises, the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In the summer of 1863, arrangements were perfected for the erection of the building on the corner of State and Twenty-Second Streets, which was occupied by the Chicago Medical College up to the time of its removal, in 1870, to the present elegant and commodious structure on the corner of Prairie Avenue and Twenty-Sixth St., in close proximity to Mercy Hospital. During the previous year, this institution had become the Medical Department of the Northwestern University.

* History of the Chicago Medical College—An Introductory Lecture to the College Session of 1870-71. H. A. Johnson, A.M., M.D. Chicago, 1870.

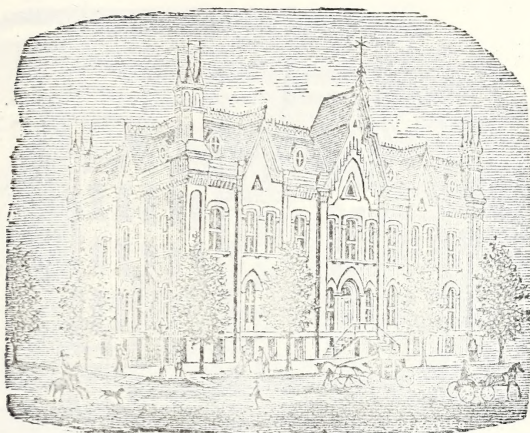
Dr. J. W. Foster served as an adviser of this institution for two years and was treasurer of the first hospital house in Chicago. In this capacity, he stood first of a long line of institutions and learned successfully who have since distinguished themselves for their attainments in almost every department of medicine.

The first meeting, with a view to the establishment of the Chicago Medical College, was held in the office of Dr. David Foster and Ralph N. Johnson on the 25th day of March, 1857. Dr. Foster and Ralph N. Johnson were the first to enter together with the generous intention. After a temporary organization had been formed, it was determined to organize a Medical Faculty, on the basis of a proposition made by the trustees of the Lake University, and an agreement to that effect was signed, both by the Executive Committee of the University and by the physicians who were then assembled.

The first faculty of the new medical school was constituted as follows: David Foster, M.D., Professor of Anatomy of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; H. A. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Physiology and Histology; F. Johnson, M.D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery; H. N. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Surgical Anatomy and the Operations of Surgery; N. S. Jarvis, M.D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine; W. R. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; J. H. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Physiology and Histology; Dr. John Johnson, M.D., Professor of Surgery; M. K. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Obstetrics and Public Hygiene; John H. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Pathology; Anatomy; and H. C. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence.

The first course of lectures was given in David Foster's room, corner Market and Randolph streets, the class consisting of but thirty-three members, of whom nine resided at the same address. The degree of Doctor of Medicine, in the summer of 1857, was conferred by the trustees of the college on the building on the corner of State and 1st Street, which was occupied by the Chicago Medical College up to the time of its removal in 1857 to the present site and construction. The structure on the corner of State Street and 1st Street, which was in close proximity to Wacker Hospital, during the previous year, this institution had become the Medical Department of the Northwestern University.

* History of the Chicago Medical College—As previously referred to the College began at 1857. H. A. Johnson, M.D., Chicago, 1857.

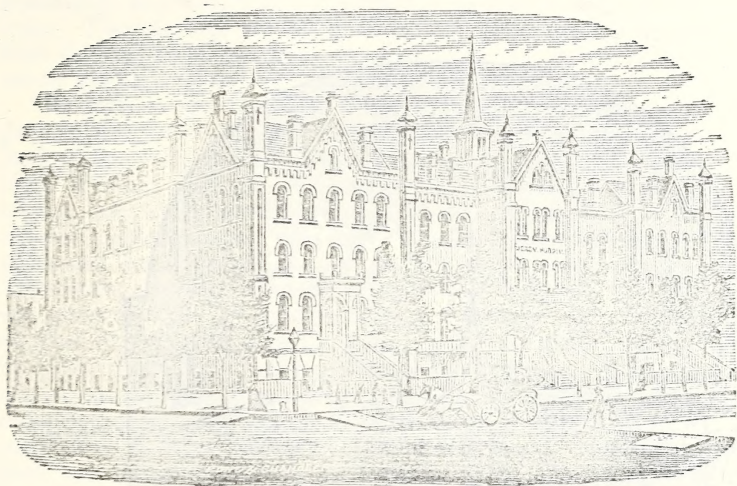


THE CHICAGO MEDICAL COLLEGE.

From the commencement of the organization of this College, in 1859, it adopted and carried into practice the *graded*-system of instruction; first, dividing the branches embraced in the curriculum into two series, and classifying the students accordingly.

On the 25th day of April, 1868, the Faculty arranged the curriculum of the College, so that three consecutive courses of lectures should be given, with a separate group of studies for each of the three years of pupilage. The honor which is due the Chicago Medical College for the inauguration of this scheme has been persistently ignored by some of the Medical Schools in the East. It is certainly gratifying to note that this step in the direction of that reform in medical education which is now felt to be imperatively demanded, was first taken in Chicago. It is now a matter of record, and the impartial historian who shall write the history of medicine in the United States, cannot fail to do justice in this particular, to the young claimant of the West.

The medical board of Mercy Hospital is constituted by the faculty of the adjacent college. The first-named institution originated in consequence of a charter obtained from the State Legislature, by Dr. John Evans and others, for the establishment of the "Illinois General Hospital of the Lakes." This instrument named Dr. Evans and Judges Dickey and Skinner as Trustees. Nothing, however, had been accomplished toward raising funds or establishing the hospital until the summer of 1850, when Prof.



MERCY HOSPITAL.

N. S. Davis gave a course of six lectures on the sanitary condition of the city, and the means for its improvement; notice having been previously given that the proceeds would be devoted to hospital purposes. One hundred dollars were thus realized; and this sum was subsequently increased by the donations of a few private individuals. Twelve beds were at once purchased and placed in the old Lake House, a hotel on the n.-e. cor. of Rush and North Water Streets.

The hospital was then opened for the accommodation of patients, nominally under the supervision of the trustees named above, Professor Davis having charge of the medical, and Prof. Brainard, of the surgical patients. The beds were well filled and supplied the means for daily clinical instruction during the fall and winter of 1850-51. It was placed in charge of the Sisters of Mercy in the spring of 1851, who enlarged its accommodations, and subsequently changed its name to Mercy Hospital. The elegant edifice which they now possess, is capable of accommodating five hundred patients; and it may be added that from the date of the leasing the old apartments containing twelve beds, to the present—a term of twenty-five years—Prof. N. S. Davis has continuously done service in its wards, as a physician and clinical teacher.

The history of the medical education of women in this City is,

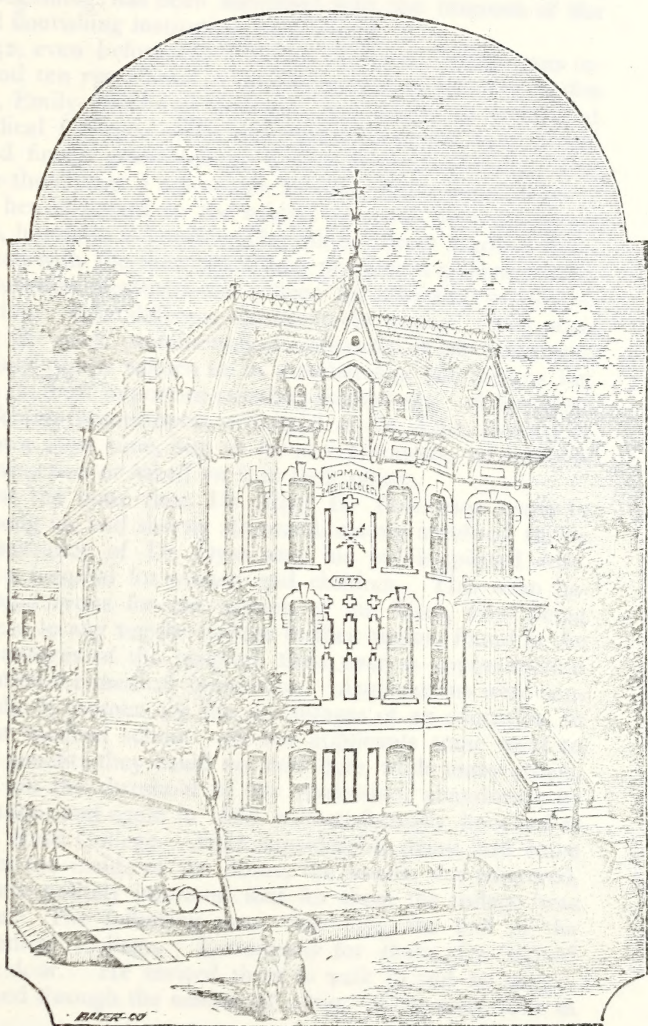


MAYO HOSPITAL

N. S. Davis gave a course of six lectures on the sanitary condition of the city and the state of the environment; and his lecture has been frequently given since. The proceeds would be devoted to hospital purposes. The hundred dollars were then collected, and this sum was subsequently increased by the donation of a few private individuals. There is a room in one of the buildings placed in the city hall, a hall on the west side of the city and North Water Street.

The hospital was then opened for the accommodation of patients, nominally under the supervision of the trustees named above. Professor Davis having charge of the medical and surgical department of the hospital. The beds were well fitted and supplied the means for daily clinical instruction during the fall and winter of 1852-53. It was placed in charge of the sisters of Mercy in the spring of 1854, who enlarged its accommodations, and subsequently changed its name to Mercy Hospital. The sisters of Mercy then took possession of the building, and it was added that from the date of the opening the old hospital containing twelve beds in the building—a kind of hospital for years—Prof. N. S. Davis has continued to have access to the wards as a physician and clinical teacher.

The history of the medical education of women in this city is



WOMAN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE.



practically, the history of the Woman's Medical College of Chicago. The latter is best told in the words of another,* one who, from the beginning, has been identified with the interests of the young and flourishing institution just named.

"In 1852, even before the Chicago Medical College was organized, and ten years prior to the first course of lectures in this institution, Emily Blackwell attended one course of lectures at Rush Medical College. She was denied entrance to a second course, and finally graduated at a Cleveland institution. The reasons for the change I am unable to state, and a letter which I addressed her in regard to the subject has not been answered. This much, however, is known: The Illinois State Medical Society, saturated with the then prevailing prejudices against female medical education, censured the college for admitting women to its instruction. How different the spectacle to-day. This society, among the most prominent and influential of all State societies, not only admits women to its membership, but assigns her position on its most important standing committees. A few years later, two female practitioners, educated at the East, located in this City for a short time, but, so far as I am aware, no students received instruction or asked for it in their offices.

"At about the same time, Dr. Mary H. Thompson came to practise among us, and shortly afterward, mainly indebted to the generous assistance of Dr. Dyas and his public-spirited wife, established a hospital for women and children. This soon became the rendezvous for the women of the West, who, being denied access to any regular college in their region, found in the clinical advantages of the hospital, their nearest approximation to an institution for medical instruction. Applications were continually made by women for the advantages of an education in some regular medical school. Of the applicants some went to the East for benefits they could not find here, while many others, discouraged on the threshold of the profession, abandoned its study. In 1866, and again in 1868, women formally knocked at the doors of Rush College. After considerable delay, and some discussion on the inside of the house, the knock was answered, and the callers politely informed that for them the college 'was not at home.' The following year, they rang the bell of the Chicago Medical College. Fortunately for them, Dr. Byford came to the door. He invited them to walk in and be seated. They remained through the session of 1869. They were four in

* The Demand for a Woman's Medical College in the West. By Chas. Warrington Earle, M.D., Waukegan, Ill., 1879.

practically the blood of the *Woman's Medical College of Chicago*. The latter is best told in the words of another, "one who from the beginning has been identified with the interests of the young and struggling institution just named."

"In 1857, even before the *Chicago Medical College* was organized, and ten years before the first course of lectures in this institution, Emily Blackwell attended one course of lectures at Rush Medical College. She was devoted entirely to a manual course, and finally graduated at a *Cytopharyngotomy*. The reasons for the change I am unable to state, and a large chapter addressed her in regard to the subject has not been preserved. This much, however, is known: the *Woman's Medical College* was established with the idea of giving professional women a right medical education, and the college has adhered to this in its instruction. How difficult the struggle was, the very fact among the most prominent and influential of all their society, not only adults women in the knowledge of the subject but also on its most important nursing matters. A few years later two female physicians, educated at the *Paris* and in this City for a short time, but so far as I am aware no students received instruction or asked for it in their careers."

"At about the same time, Dr. Mary H. Thompson came to practice among us, and shortly afterwards made a visit to the generous assistance of Dr. Tyne and Dr. Robinson, who had established a hospital for women and children. This was the same the teachers for the women of the West, who being denied access to any regular college in their native land, to the clinical advantages of the hospital, then in its first approximation to an institution for medical instruction. At this time, however, annually made by women for the advantage of an education in some regular medical school. Of the applicants, many went to the East for health's sake, but not for the purpose of continuing the study. In 1860 and again in 1865, women commonly have been the doors of Rush College. After considerable delay, and some discussion as to the issue of the house the knock was answered, and the college politely informed that the door to the college was not at home. The following year they took the bell of the *Chicago Medical College* for their own, and the door came to the door. The invited them to work in and be accepted. They remained through the summer of 1867. They were then in

*The Demand for a *Woman's Medical College* in the West. By Clara Worthington. *Exile*, N.Y., 1877.

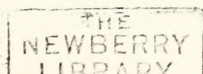
number. Others who would have come with them had they known of the kindly welcome given, had already gone to an eastern college. But, although the relations of the gentlemen and ladies as students had always been dignified and respectful, the male members of the class, at the close of the college year, sent to the faculty a formal protest against the admission of their fair visitors, claiming that certain clinical material was not as ready in coming forward, and that certain facts and observations of value were omitted from the lectures in the presence of a mixed class. The experiment of the co-education of the sexes in all the branches of medical and surgical science being deemed of doubtful utility under these circumstances, the protest was sustained, and the ladies who had caused it to be made were left without the opportunity to finish the education so well begun. Immediately a correspondence sprang up between Prof. Byford and Dr. Mary H. Thompson, in regard to the founding of a new college for the exclusive education of women. A faculty, composed largely of the physicians who had previously consented to act as consulting physicians to the hospital for women and children, was organized. A board of trustees, composed of ladies and gentlemen, friendly to female education, embracing a large number of prominent citizens, especially among the clergy, were selected. The first regular course of lectures was delivered in the building occupied by the hospital referred to, at 402 North State Street. The session was in every respect a greater success than even the most sanguine friends of the movement had dared to hope. To provide suitable accommodations for a larger class at the commencement of the second term, rooms were fitted up at Nos. 1 and 3 North Clark Street, and every arrangement perfected for the comfort and convenience of students. On the 3d of October, 1871, the session opened with the most flattering promises of success. In less than half a-week, came the great Chicago fire; the Woman's Hospital Medical College and all its material possessions, like the prophet of old, went up in a chariot of fire. The class was scattered—the Hospital, which had provided the means of clinical instruction, existed only in name. Of the faculty, more than three-fourths of their number had lost their offices, their libraries, their instruments, and their homes. The patrons of all had been scattered to the four-quarters of the City, if not of the globe. But they had founded the school not to obtain money, not to gain a higher position or more extensive practise for themselves, and not to win fame, but in the love of their profession and to establish a principle. Moreover, they were citizens of that city whose undismayed energy and undaunt-

number. Others who would have come with their full knowledge of the kindly welcome given, had already gone to eastern college. But, although the scholars of the great and famous students had always been obliged and ready to the main interests of the class at the close of the college, as to the faculty a formal protest against the admission of this woman, claiming that certain clinical research was ready to coming forward, and that certain facts and objects of value were omitted from the lectures in the presence of mixed class. The experiment of the co-education at the in all the branches of medical and surgical science during the of hospital duties under their supervision, the patients maintained, and the ladies who had agreed to do so, were without the opportunity to show the admission as well as immediately a correspondence opening up between Paul and Dr. Mary H. Thompson, in regard to the founding of a college for the advance education of women. A number of good largely of the physicians who had previously been not as consulting physicians to the hospital for women, and given was organized. A board of trustees composed of ladies gentlemen, desirous to female education, comprising a large part of prominent citizens, respectively among the college selected. The first regular course of lectures was delivered the building occupied by the hospital located at 222 N. State Street. The session was in every respect a grand one, then even the most sanguine friends of the movement, had to hope. To provide suitable accommodations at a large at the commencement of the second term, rooms were hired at Nos. 1 and 3 North Clark Street and every arrangement effected for the comfort and convenience of students. On the of October, 1871, the ladies agreed with the new hall, promises of space. In less than half a year, some five Chicago men, the Women's Hospital Medical College and a material possession like the property of the city, which had of her. The class was started—the hospital which had aided the means of clinical instruction, could only in a of the facility more than three-fourths of their number had their offices their libraries their instruments and their The patients of all had been secured in the foundation of City if not of the globe. The lady had founded the hospital to education, not to give a higher position to her patients for themselves and out to the public, but to the for their protection and to establish a permanent, permanent, were citizens of that city whose undiminished energy and noble

ed courage in the face of obstacles and disasters, had fairly won and received the admiration of the world, and while the smoke still floated in clouds over the City, and the ashes were hot in the cellars, on the 10th day of October, these men formally convened and decided that the enterprise should go on.

"Notice of this decision was given to the scattered students, and the lectures were resumed at No. 341 West Adams Street, but the hospital had been re-established at 598 on the same Street, and thither the college was soon moved. This session might indeed be appropriately called the transition period of this institution. Announced to commence at 402 North State Street, organized at Nos. 1 & 3 North Clark St.—marched without elaborate preparation and with baggage burned to facilitate transportation to 341 West Adams Street—it was finished at still another place. But the college had successfully survived each transplantation. Its life and growth were assured. Its roots had struck down deep until they had reached a nourishing soil.

"In the winter of 1872, in consideration of certain medical and surgical services to be rendered from year to year, the Chicago Relief and Aid Society donated to the Hospital for Women and Children, the sum of \$25,000. With this money, the hospital, purchasing a large lot with a building well suited for the accommodation of its patients, established itself on the corner of West Adams and Paulina Streets. On the rear of this lot, and well below the grade of the street, was a small barn, the use of which was kindly and gratuitously granted to the faculty of the college. Three thousand dollars, judiciously expended, converted the building from an indifferent stable into a comfortable and moderately convenient Woman's Medical College, though we should be unwilling to admit that the richness of that soil would fully account for its present beautiful accomplishment. On the first floor we had a good-sized lecture-room, a faculty-room, a library, and museum, (three rooms in one), while the second floor afforded moderate accommodation for dissections. Here five full courses of lectures were delivered. While we do not deny that during these seven years of wanderings, our accommodations have been scant, and our means of illustration inadequate, we claim that our classes have been intelligent and uniformly composed of good material, and that of our graduates, many have already become settled in an honorable and lucrative practice, and others occupying positions of special honor in the profession, have won reputations for themselves, and brought credit upon our institution by their success as teachers and authors in the medical guild."



The commodious building now occupied by the Woman's Medical College of Chicago, is erected on Lincoln Street, in the immediate vicinity of the County Hospital. It was erected at a cost of \$15,000, and is a building two and one-half stories high, with basement, containing two lecture-rooms, each capable of seating one hundred and fifty women; laboratory, museum, dissecting-room, and microscopical cabinet. The institution is one which enjoys, in a high degree, the esteem and support of the medical profession in the North-west.

The early history of the Illinois Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, which is subjoined, has been obtained principally from the 4th Biennial Report of the State Board of Public Charities. It is contributed in large part, by one who was early identified with the effort to secure its permanent establishment, Prof. E. L. Holmes:—

"In May, 1858, four medical gentlemen met several wealthy and benevolent citizens of Chicago, who together organized a board of twelve trustees, with two consulting and two attending-surgeons, under a Constitution and By-Laws. The general financial depression of the country and the excitement during the earlier period of the late war, rendered it very difficult to obtain funds for the purchase of real estate and for the erection of a suitable building. Hence it was deemed expedient to conduct the institution at first as a dispensary. Consequently, a single room, in a small wooden building, at the N.-E. cor. of Michigan and North Clark Streets, was opened for the treatment of the poor. During the first year, about 115 patients were under treatment.

"At the end of nearly four years, the dispensary was removed to a room, No. 28 North Clark Street, where it remained till July, 1864.

"W. L. Newberry, Esq., president of the trustees, then donated to the Infirmary, for ten years, the lease of a lot of land Nos. 16 and 18 East Pearson Street, upon which was placed a large two-story wooden building, purchased for \$2,000, and removed from a neighboring block.

"The first patient requiring board in the Institution, applied before a single room had been cleaned and furnished. For two nights he slept on a blanket on the floor. The rooms were furnished as the gradually increasing number of patients required.

"In a few months, the number of applicants, especially soldiers recently discharged from the army and suffering from diseases of the eye, became so numerous that greater accommodations were rendered necessary. A large attic was finished and divided into several comfortable rooms.

The immediate building was occupied by the Woman's Medical College of Chicago, is located on Lincoln Street in the immediate vicinity of the Union Hospital. It was started at a cost of \$15,000, and is a building two and one-half stories high, with basement, containing two lecture-rooms, each capable of seating one hundred and fifty persons; laboratory, museum, dissection room, and a large special cabinet. The basement is which enjoys in a light degree, the sun and adjacent to a medical profession in the North-west.

The early history of the Illinois Lying-in Hospital for Infants, which is situated on the east side of the city, is given in the 4th Annual Report of the State Board of Public Charities. It continued in large part by one who was early identified with the effort to secure the permanent establishment, Dr. E. Holmes.

"In May, 1855, four medical gentlemen met several weeks and deliberated on the subject of Chicago, who together represented and represented citizens of Chicago, who together represented a board of twelve trustees, with two consulting and two attending surgeons, under a Commission and by-laws. The general and special objects of the society and the management during the first period of the time was, to secure a very efficient and capable building. Hence it was deemed expedient to conduct a subscription at first as a temporary. Consequently a single room in a small wooden building at the N. E. cor. of Michigan and North Clark Street was opened for the treatment of the patients. During the first year, about 150 patients were under treatment. At the end of nearly four years the hospital was removed to a room, No. 25 North Clark Street, where it remained till July, 1864.

"W. L. Newberry, Esq., president of the trustees, then directed to the trustees, for two years the lot of a lot of land, No. 16 and 18 East Jackson Street, upon which was placed a large two-story wooden building, purchased for \$2,500, and moved from a neighboring block.

"The first patient receiving board in the institution, upon the 1st of June, 1865, had been placed and furnished. The first patient received on the 1st of June. The trustees were informed as the gradually increasing number of patients required.

"In a few months the number of applications gradually increased, and the trustees decided to build the new and suffering from the same the year became so numerous that further accommodations were required. A large stone was needed and divided in several considerable rooms.

"The building was soon after raised and a brick basement constructed under it. Support for a limited number of patients from Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin was made possible by the donation of \$500, placed for this purpose in the hands of the respective Governors of these States. The U. S. Sanitary Commission, the N.-W. Sanitary, and Christian Commissions, also granted large sums for the support of soldiers at the Infirmary.

"In the fall of 1869, additional accommodations became necessary, and were obtained by the construction of a large building in the rear of the lot.

"The Infirmary, during the early period of its existence, was greatly indebted to the churches of the north-side especially, members of which contributed, year by year, large quantities of furniture and clothing, in addition to donations of money.

"In this way, the Infirmary was enabled, not only to support an increasing number of patients, but to cancel an indebtedness of nearly \$6000, and also gradually accumulate a fund of \$7000.

"From the year 1867 to 1871, the General Assembly appropriated \$5000 a-year, for the support of patients at the Infirmary.

"In 1871, the Institution became a public charity—owned and supported by the State.

"Soon after its destruction by the fire of 1871, the Legislature appropriated a sum sufficient to rent and partially furnish temporary quarters.

"The Chicago Relief and Aid Society donated to the Institution, \$20,000.

"The General Assembly appropriated, from time to time, funds to enable the trustees to complete and furnish a large brick structure on the corner of West Adams and Peoria Streets. The land, 145 by 125 feet, with the building, including the operating-room—reception, and two large treatment-rooms for out-patients, cost \$79,300.

"The building easily accommodates one hundred patients, and is probably inferior to no similar Institution in the world. It has provided to the present time treatment for more than 18,000 poor patients."

The purpose of this sketch, though but imperfectly fulfilled, has been accomplished, so far as to call attention to the character and circumstances of the early medical practitioners of Chicago. Many of those who immediately succeeded them are still living in our midst, and retain a recollection of events that have transpired in their time, which it would be vain to attempt to record in these pages. I conclude with a brief outline of events connected with the organization of the County Hospital, located in

"The building was soon altered and a third basement was attached under it. Support for a limited number of patients from Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin was made possible by the donation of \$500 placed for this purpose in the hands of the respective Governors of those States. The U. S. Sanitary Commission, the N. W. Sanitary, and Christian Commission also granted large sums for the support of soldiers at the hospital.

"In the fall of 1864 additional accommodations became necessary and were obtained for the construction of a large building in the rear of the lot.

"The hospital, during the early period of its existence, was greatly indebted to the character of the contributions especially members of which contributed year by year large quantities of furniture and clothing in addition to money by means of which.

"In this way the hospital was enabled not only to support an increasing number of patients, but to erect an addition of nearly 50000 and also generally maintain a stock of 50000.

"From the year 1865 to 1871, the General Assembly appropriated \$2000 a year for the support of patients in the hospital.

"In 1871, the Legislature became a further liberality-minded and supported by the State.

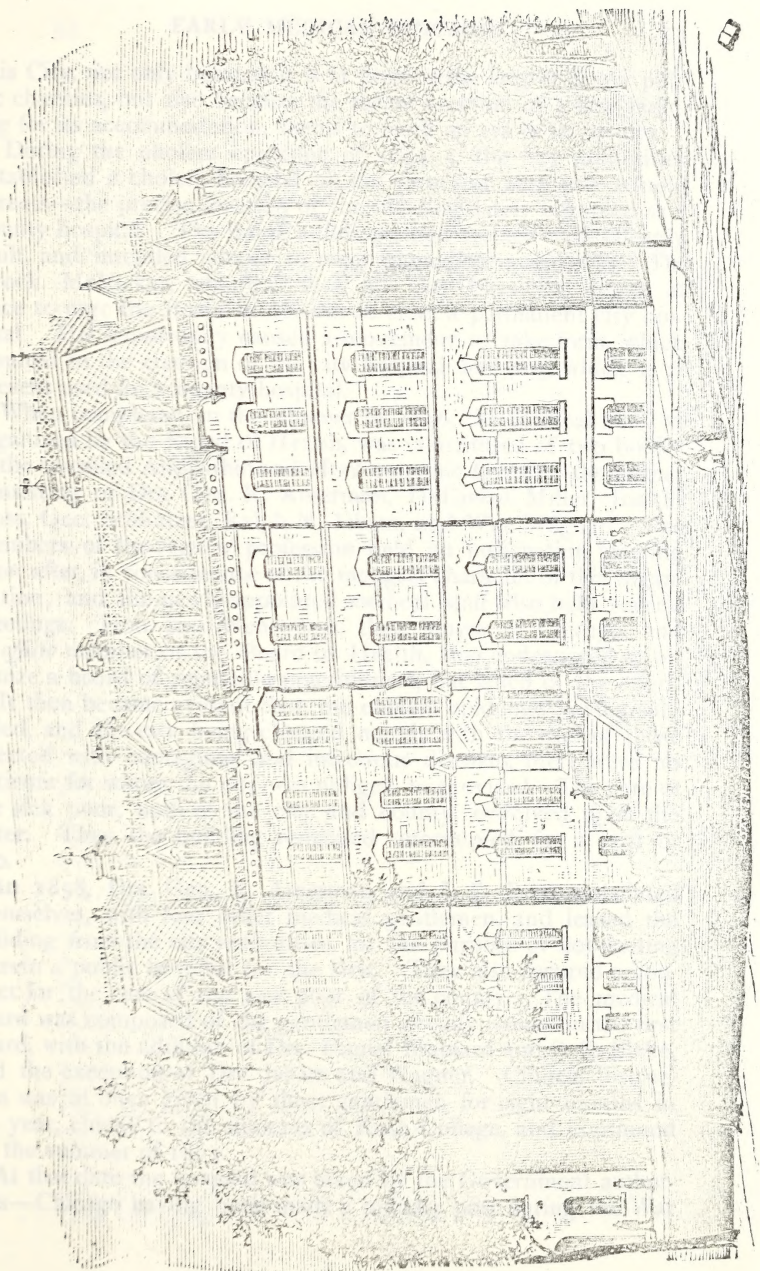
"Soon after its enactment by the first of the Legislature appropriated a sum sufficient to run and generally improve early quarters.

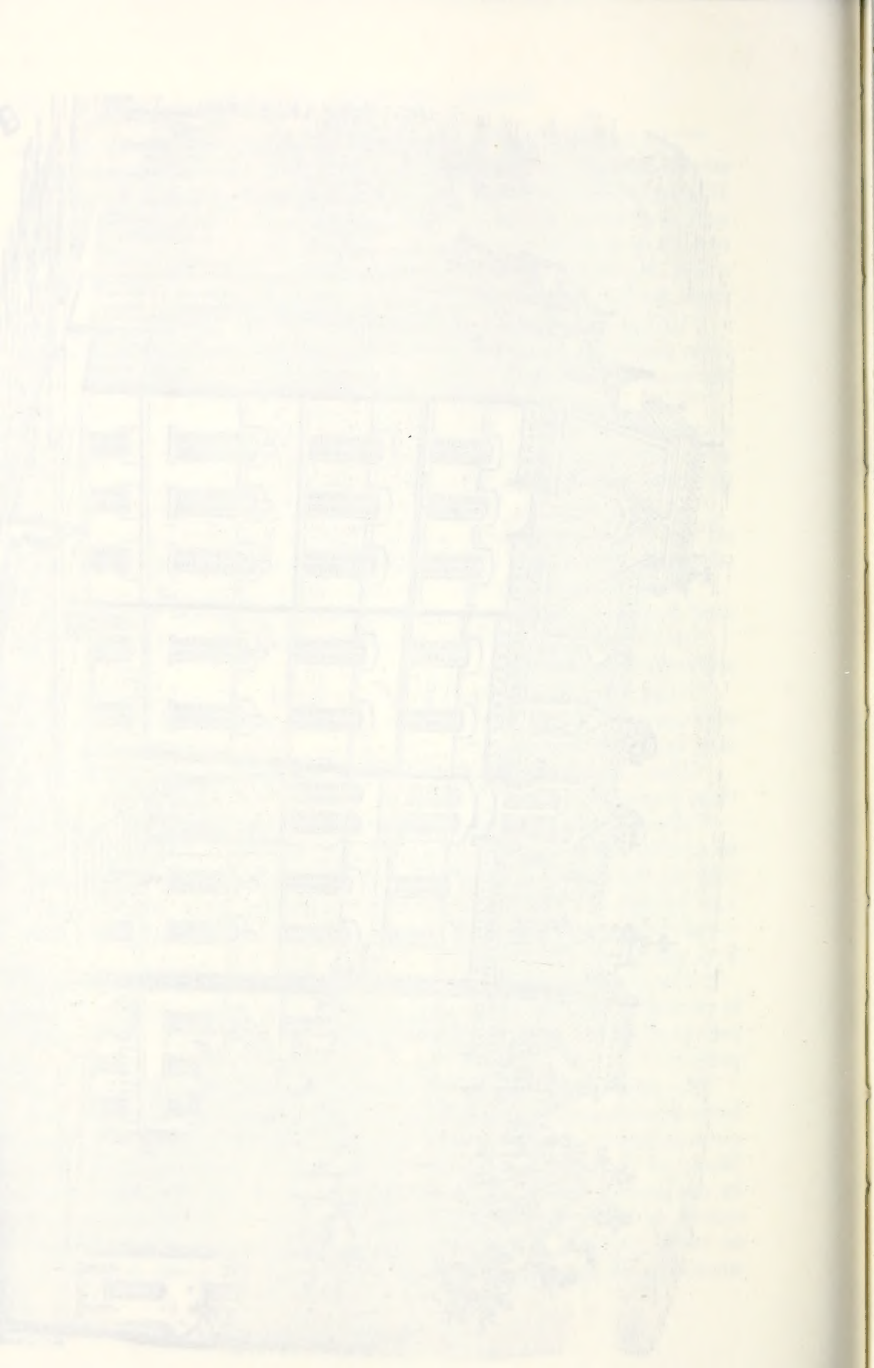
"The Chicago Hotel and Ash Street House turned to the hospital \$20000.

"The General Assembly appropriated from time to time funds to enable the hospital to support and furnish a large number of patients on the corner of West Adams and Second Streets. The building, 145 by 125 feet, with the building including the surrounding—reception, and two large operating-rooms for out-patients cost \$70,000.

"The building early accommodated one hundred patients, and is probably inferior to no similar institution in the world. It has provided for the present time treatment for more than 100000 patients."

The purpose of this sketch, though not necessarily fulfilled, has been accomplished, so far as to call attention to the character and circumstances of the early medical practitioners of Chicago. Many of those who immediately succeeded them are well known in our ranks, and again a recognition of events that have transpired in their time, which it would be vain to attempt to record in these pages. I conclude with a brief notice of events connected with the organization of the County Hospital, located in





this City, not only because it is at present the largest of our public charities, but also because the recent erection of a new building for its accommodation, seems to mark an era in its history.

During the cholera epidemic of 1854-5, the city authorities established a cholera hospital on the corner of 18th and Arnold Streets—the precise location of the building lately occupied as a county hospital. The frame buildings then erected were cheaply built, and intended simply to meet immediate necessities. Dr. Brock. McVickar, who was then the City Physician, began at once to urge the Board of Health to erect a permanent city hospital. His importunity caused a movement to take form, which resulted in the erection of the city hospital building, which is at present used for a county hospital.

When completed, in the summer of 1856, the medical staff, as organized by the Board of Health, was constituted of two bodies—the so-called Allopathic and Homœopathic Boards—the former consisting of Drs. Geo. K. Amerman, DeLaskie Miller, Jos. P. Ross, Geo. Schlotzer, Ralph N. Isham, and Wm. Wagner. The members of the regular profession held an indignation meeting soon after, in consequence of the mongrel character of this organization; and the newly-appointed medical staff also held several meetings. Hon. Jno. Wentworth, then Mayor of Chicago, and *ex officio* member of the Board of Health, also endeavored to organize a board of reputable practitioners, but failed in the effort. It then became evident that, the cholera epidemic having subsided, and the city being charged merely with the care of those affected with contagious and infectious diseases, there were no patients for whom the city was obliged to provide! The care of the sick poor, both of the city and county, devolved upon the latter. Thus the building remained unoccupied for a year or two.

In 1858, Drs. Geo. K. Amerman and J. P. Ross associated themselves, with four other medical gentlemen, and leased the building from the city authorities, for the purpose of conducting therein a public hospital for the sick. They also secured a contract for the care of the sick poor of the county. The medical board was composed of the gentlemen already named in the first board, with the addition of Drs. Daniel Brainard and S. C. Blake, and the exception of Drs. Isham and Wagner. Clinical instruction was at once given by these gentlemen for eight months in the year, chiefly to the students of Rush College, and continued till the summer of 1863.

At that date the hospital was taken by the Government authorities—Chicago having been made a military post during the War

of the Rebellion, and Drs. Ross and Amerman were placed in charge of the hospital on contract service, under the control of the surgeon of the post, Dr. Brock. McVickar. In the course of a few months, the institution was changed into a Government Hospital for the Eye and Ear, and placed in charge of Dr. Jos. S. Hildreth, in whose care it remained till the close of the war. It was then named the DeMarr Eye and Ear Hospital.

Drs. Ross and Amerman at once actively interested themselves in the re-establishment of the hospital. On looking over the field, they became convinced not only that the county authorities would look with favor upon the organization of a county hospital, but also that, in order to compass the end, it would be necessary for one of them become a politician. Dr. Amerman accordingly secured his election as a Supervisor, and, in 1866, the first year of his service as such, he inaugurated and organized the Cook County Hospital, for the care of the indigent poor, and for the clinical instruction of medical students. During this same year, Dr. Amerman was obliged to relinquish his official position, on account of ill-health, and Dr. J. P. Ross was at once elected to fill the vacancy, as Supervisor and Chairman of the Hospital Committee. The duties incident to this position he continued to discharge for the two succeeding years.

All this was undertaken for the sole purpose of permanently establishing and perpetuating the institution. It is therefore evident that to Dr. J. P. Ross, and his old friend and colleague, Dr. G. K. Amerman, is largely due the honor of conducting to a successful issue, the plans for the development of this great municipal charity.

The names of other public institutions and charities of Chicago, in which the profession of the city is interested, together with the date of the establishment of each, are here appended.*

* Chicago Medical Society, 1836; Illinois St. Andrew's Society, 1846; Chicago Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1849; Mercy Hospital, 1850; Illinois State Medical Society, 1850; St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, 1849; Chicago Academy of Sciences, 1857; House of the Good Shepherd, 1859; Home for the Friendless, 1859; Illinois Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, 1858; Chicago College of Pharmacy, 1859; Chicago Relief and Aid Society, 1857; Nursery and Half Orphan Asylum, 1860; St. George's Benevolent Society, 1860; St. Luke's Hospital, 1863; Old People's Home, 1865; Erring Woman's Refuge, 1865; Chicago Hospital for Women and Children, 1865; Alexian Brothers' Hospital, 1860; Central Dispensary, 1867; St. Joseph's Hospital, 1869; Washingtonian Home, 1867; Uhlich Evangelical Lutheran Association, 1869; State Microscopical Society, 1869; Woman's Hospital Medical College, 1870; Woman's Hospital State of Illinois, 1871; Cook County Department of Public Charities, 1872; Foundlings' Home, 1871; Chicago Society of Physicians and Surgeons, 1872; Chicago Medico-Historical Society, 1874; Chicago Medical Press Association, 1874; Orphan Girl's Home, 1874.

The medical profession of Chicago entered upon the centennial year of national existence, with the names of three hundred and sixty-six physicians and surgeons enrolled upon its register.* Many of these are both honorable and honored. Of the record made in the past they need not be ashamed; in much that has been accomplished they feel a just pride.

At the same time, the experiences of the last forty years have taught them the sources of their weakness and therefore of their danger. If they have learned anything it is this, that to be conscious of deficiency and danger is to acquire the alphabet of knowledge, that to render any body of men a living power in a community, it is needful that each individual member of it should exert a wise, wholesome, and weighty influence in the circle where he moves. They look, therefore, rather to their inherent capabilities than to any legislative or other source, for growth in reputation and authority. Already a tendency has been developed, for the crystallization of this power and authority, about certain defined centres.

The recent organization of the Illinois State Board of Health, with the powers conferred upon it by the Medical Practise Act, is the result of action first taken by the Illinois State Medical Society. Whatever good it may have accomplished in the past, and that which it is capable of doing in the future, under a judiciously-framed law, can be hopefully claimed as an indication of the aim of the medical gentlemen of the State and City.

That this process is destined to continue, until the standards of the Profession are elevated, its code admired and respected, and its accidental excrescences removed, no one can doubt. Then, and only then, will it become as fair and forcible in the view of the public as in the vision of its most ardent representatives.

* The last register issued (for 1879-80) contains 399 names.

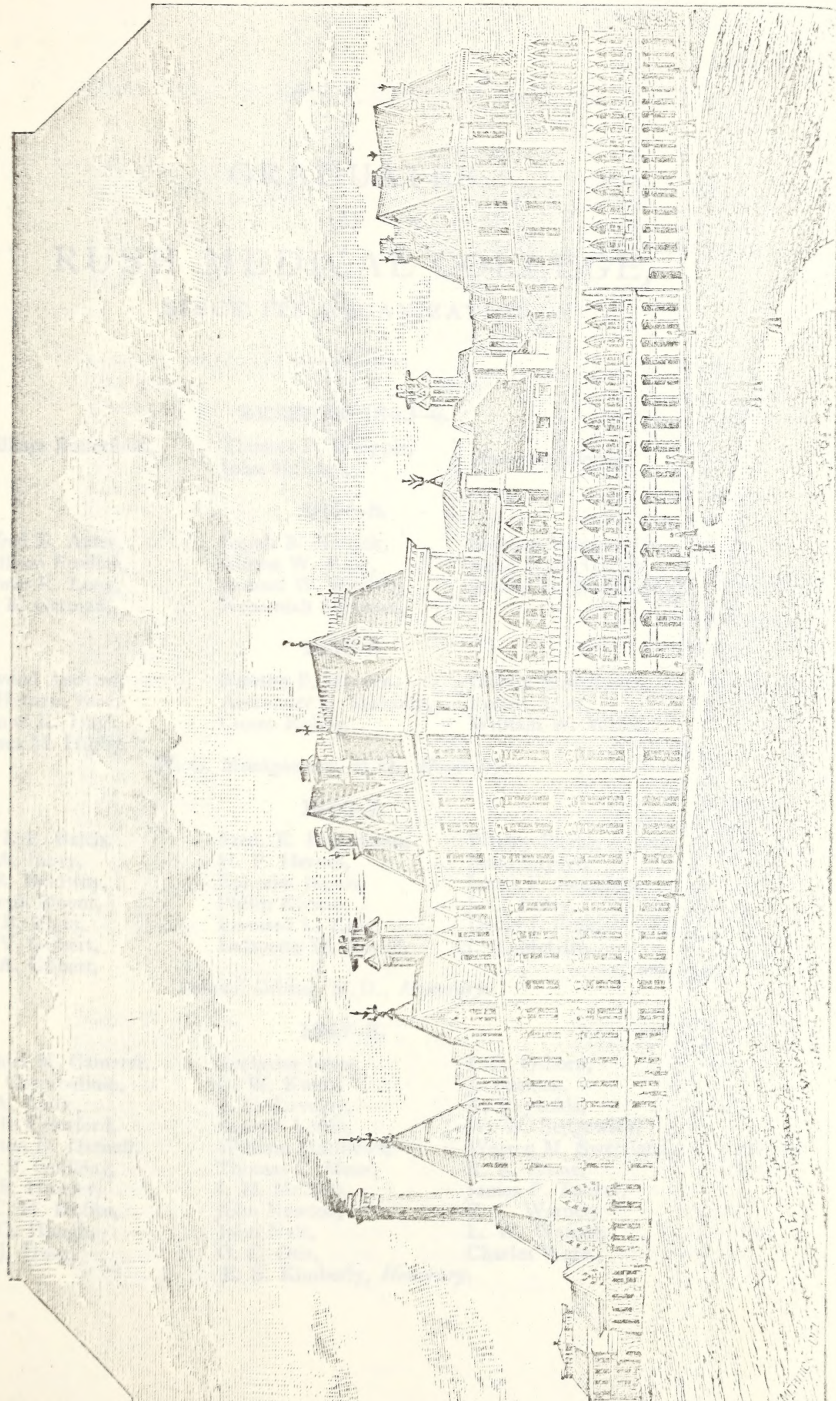
The medical profession of Chicago entered upon the centennial year of national existence, with the name of those hundred and sixty-six physicians and surgeons enrolled upon its register. Many of these are both honorable and famous. Of the names made in the past they need not be forgotten; inasmuch that they have been accomplished they had a just pride.

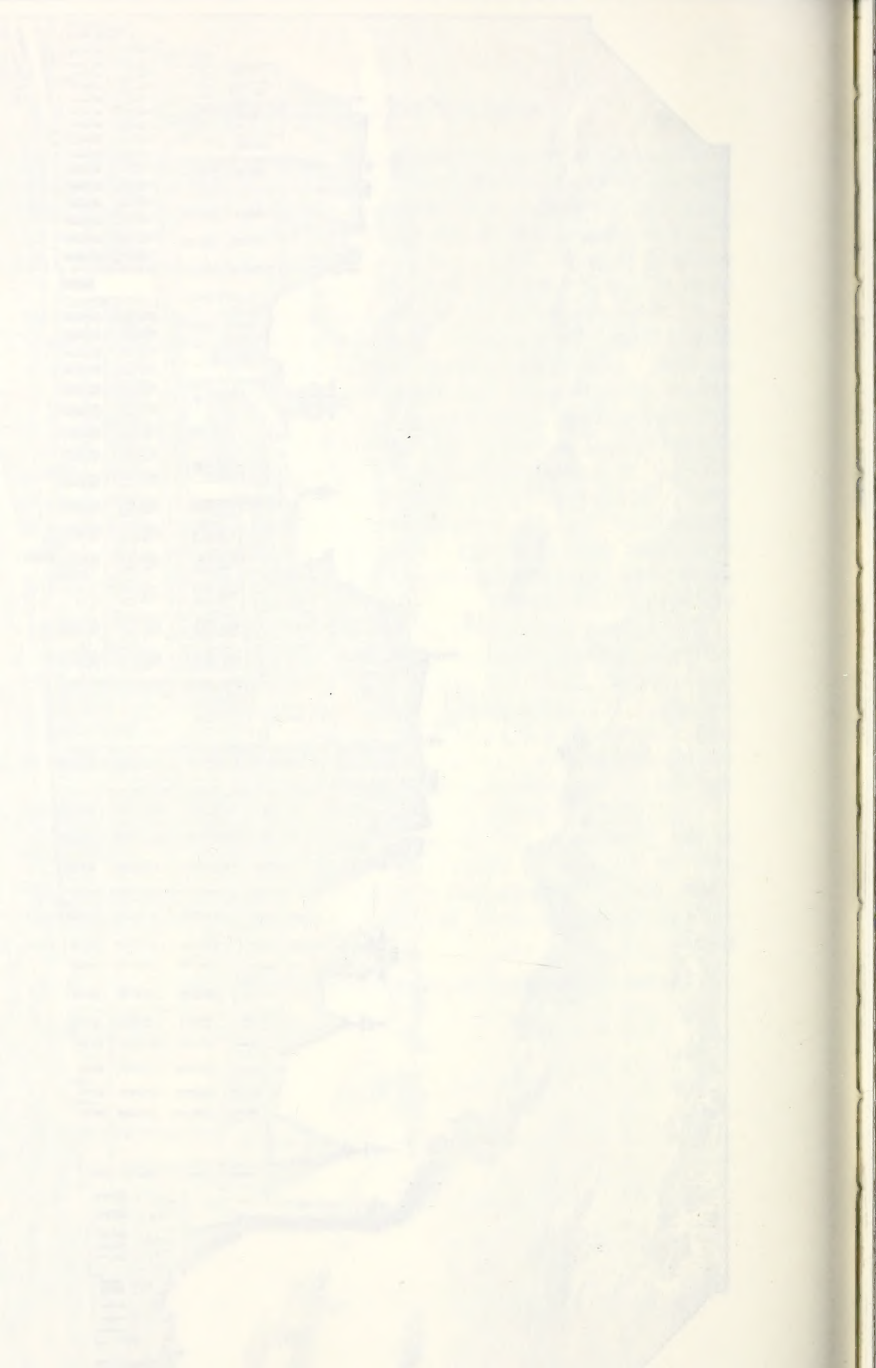
At the same time the experience of the last forty years have taught them the necessity in their weakness and character of their change. If they have learned anything it is that to be successful in the science of diagnosis and surgery is to require the slightest of knowledge, that to render any body of men a living power in a community, it is needed that each individual member be a specialist where he moves. They look therefore, rather to their inherent capabilities than to any reputation or other source for growth in reputation and authority. Already a tendency has been developed for the crystallization of the power and authority, about certain defined centers.

The recent organization of the Illinois State Board of Health, with the power conferred upon it by the Medical Practice Act is the result of action first taken by the Illinois State Medical Society. Whatever good it may have accomplished in the past and that which it is capable of doing in the future under a thoroughly-framed law, can be honestly believed as an indication of the aim of the medical profession of the State and City.

That this process is destined to continue, with the standards of the profession are elevated to such a height and respected, and its accidental weaknesses removed, no one can doubt. Then, and only then, will it become as free and flexible in the view of the public as in the vision of its most ardent supporters.

* The last register issued (for 1879-80) contains 266 names.





GRADUATES

OF

RUSH MEDICAL COLLEGE,

SINCE ITS ORGANIZATION.

SESSION 1843-4.

William Butterfield,

Thomas P. Whipple,
John McLean,

} *Honorary Degree.*

1844-5.

Alfred E. Ames,
William Fosdick,
Edwin R. Long,
Ira E. Oatman,

Josiah B. Herrick,
Almon W. King,
Samuel W. Ritchey,
Nehemiah Sherman,

Stephen Monroe, Jr.
Isaac Watts Garvin,
Arnold H. Neadham.

1845-6.

Elwood Andrew,
J. Herman Bird,
Daniel K. Hays,
James M. Higby,

Newton P. Holden,
Alexander B. Malcolm,
Cicero Robbe,

Halsey Rosenkrans,
Robert Scott,
William W. Welch.

W. G. Montgomery, M.D., *Honorary.*

1846-7.

H. I. E. Balch,
S. A. Barry,
I. R. Bradway,
Joseph Blount,
M. B. Elgin,
A. V. Gilbert,
E. A. Gilbert,

Fred. E. Hagemann,
H. P. Hernes,
Ephraim Ingals,
Philip Kirwin,
Leonard L. Lake,
Lafayette W. Lovell,

Wesley Pierce,
Isaac Snyder,
James F. Saunders,
J. C. Leary,
David J. Peck,
J. E. McGirr.

Samuel Grimes, M.D., *Honorary.*

1847-8.

Daniel M. Camerér,
W. Chamberlain,
J. A. Clark,
A. B. Crawford,
Milton D. Darnell,
Uri P. Golliday,
R. S. Hawley,
I. C. H. Hobbs,
E. G. Hough,
G. J. Huey,

Ambrose Jones,
C. W. Knott,
J. C. Lovejoy,
Sample Loftin,
William Matthews,
Thomas C. Moor,
I. H. McNutt,
John Newton,
John Nutt,
O. C. Otis,
E. S. Kimberly, *Honorary.*

I. G. Osborn,
J. Pearson,
A. Reynolds,
W. W. Sedgewick,
Warren M. Sweetland,
R. R. Stone,
James P. Tucker,
C. C. Warner,
L. W. Warren,
Charles Ware.

1848-9.

Alfred W. Armstrong,
William W. Cunnerly,
Asa Clark,
Harvey Cutler,
Joseph W. Freer,
Charles C. Garrett,

Israel G. Harlan,
George M. Huggans,
Calvin B. Lake,
Robert Pennel Lamb,
Orrin T. Maxson,
Peter B. McKay,

Edwin G. Meek,
Gideon C. Paramore,
James C. Patterson,
Charles H. Richings,
John H. Warren,
Jerome F. Weeks.

Dr. Thomas Hall, Dr. James H. Budd, *Honorary*.

1849-50.

Joseph L. Anderson,
Clay Brown,
Thomas D. Brown,
Cyrus G. Blood,
Henry F. Brown,
Willard F. Coleman,
Kimball Favor,
Edward J. French,
John Gregory,
Isaiah P. Hamilton,
S. Rush Haven,
George Higgins,
Orson C. Hoyt,
Alexander Hull,
Franklin B. Ives,

M. Tevis Klepper,
Thomas G. Klepper,
Charles J. Macon,
Alonzo L. McArthur,
Manly Miles, Jr.,
Risdon C. Moore,
William C. Oatman,
Silas S. Parkhurst,
William J. Paugh,
John M. Phipps,
William W. Perry,
Giles P. Ransom,
David Rogers,
Josiah R. Snelling,

John W. Spalding,
Benjamin G. Stephens,
Benjamin F. Stephenson,
Edwin Stewart,
Isaac E. Thayer,
John M. Todd,
Henry D. C. Tuttle,
Harmon Wasson,
James P. Walker,
George S. Wheeler,
Zachariah H. Whitmire,
Thomas Wilkins,
Wm. W. R. Woodbury,
James R. Zearing.

James S. Whitmire, M.D., *ad eundem*.

Dr. E. S. Cooper, *Honorary*.

1850-1.

Gordon Chittock,
S. L. Craig,
F. W. Coolidge,
J. H. Constant,
G. S. Crawford,
William M. Crowder,
O. D. Coleman,
H. C. Donaldson,
C. J. Hull,
J. C. Hinsey,

A. M. Johnson,
V. P. Kennedy,
T. S. Loomis,
H. E. Luther,
L. D. Latimer,
R. Morris,
J. H. Murphy,
L. A. Mease,
S. R. Mason,
G. C. Merrick,

J. P. Porter,
L. C. Pomeroy,
B. O. Reynolds,
William W. Sweeney,
E. T. Spottswood,
S. T. Trowbridge,
A. M. Thorn,
C. Van Doren,
Edwin Wright,
John Walker,

James S. Russell, M.D., *ad eundem*.

Dr. James G. M. Meehan, Dr. Thompson Mead, *Honorary*.

1851-2.

Henry D. Adams,
George W. Albin,
Franklin Blades,
Benjamin T. Buckley,
George A. Bodenstab,
G. Judson Bentley,
William D. Craig,
F. Marion Crouse,
Alexander B. Chadwick,
Theodore G. Cole,
James A. Collins,
Alexander De Armond,
William H. Davis,

John Garrison,
Walter R. Godfrey,
Stephen C. Gillett,
William C. Hunt,
Vincent L. Hurlbut,
Marsena M. Hooten,
William M. Hobbie,
Orvis S. Johnson,
Hosmer A. Johnson,
Hiram C. Jones,
Abram H. Knapp,
Isaiah P. Lynn,

Ezra M. Light,
Hugh Marshall,
Lewis D. Martin,
M. G. Parker,
J. Harrison Beeder,
Dudley Rogers,
A. F. St. Sure Lindsfelt,
Leander D. Tompkins,
Ezra Van Fossen,
Edwin R. Willard,
John D. Woodworth,
Jeremiah Youmans.

1852-3.

Robert F. Bennett,
J. A. Breneman,
D. Alphonso Colton,
P. G. Corkins,
William Curliss,
O. D. Chapman,
J. P. Cunningham,
Elijah H. Drake,
Hosea Davis,
A. D. Dwight,
Robert W. Earle,
James Gregory,

M. F. Gerard,
Robert F. Henry,
S. B. Harriman,
Oliver S. Jenks,
J. A. James,
Warren Millar,
Solon Marks,
James B. Moffett,
Henry Parker,
John Phillips,
James M. Proctor,

H. W. Ross,
John F. Starr,
Henry S. Steele,
Josiah Stanley,
Hiram Smith,
J. B. Wheaton,
S. H. Whittlesy,
R. Q. Wilson,
Daniel Whiting,
Arther Young,
William M. Young.

1853-4.

Wm. M. Avery,
Albert Boomer,
Washington Brenton,
John W. Collyer,
Charles C. Cornett,
Charles W. Davis,
Isaac N. Davis,
Joseph M. Edwards,
Joseph N. B. Elliott,
Hezekiah Fisk,
Melancthon W. Fish,
Thomas D. Fitch,
William A. Hillis,

Roscoe L. Hale,
John F. Hamilton,
Richard S. Haillock,
Edward Hopkins,
Anderson W. King,
John W. Lynch,
William Manson,
Harvey C. Morey,
Henry W. Mann,
J. B. Morrison,
R. M. McArthur,
John T. Mayfield,

John N. Niglas,
Myron W. Robbins
Simeon P. Root,
Reuben Sears,
William B. Swisher,
George W. Slack,
Thomas P. Seller,
Charles D. Watson,
William Watson,
Enos P. Wood,
David Whitmire,
Stephen P. Yoemans

1854-5.

George A. Byrns,
Jesse Barber,
Lewis C. Bicknell,
Horace C. Clapp,
Michael R. Chadwick,
Thaddeus W. Crumie,
Berry W. Cooper,
Hiram L. Coon,
Solomon S. Clark,
Jason N. Conley,
Mordecai Davis,
Darwin DuBois,
James Evans,
James Ford,

Charles Gorham,
George T. Goldsbury,
James F. Grove,
Vernon Gould,
Christopher Goodbrake,
Thomas R. Hanna,
Freeborn F. Hoyt,
Alonzo L. Hutchinson,
Elisha G. Horton,
William H. Heller,
Charles W. Jenks,
Leroy H. Kennedy,
John McHugh,
John F. McCarthy,

James C. McMurtry,
Ross W. Pierce,
Isaac Rice,
Hugh Russell,
Homer C. Rawson,
Allen A. Rawson,
James M. Suddath,
John W. Trabue,
Henry Van Meter,
William Van Nuys,
Hiram J. Van Winkle,
Martin Wiley,
Elias Wenger.

1855-6.

Meridith C. Archer,
J. Milton Barlow,
Daniel Bowers,
Almond C. Buffam,
Edward W. Boothe,
David W. Carley,
John W. F. Clawges,
A. B. Carey,
A. Jackson Crain,
James L. Crain,
Francis M. Constant
John E. Deming,

Hamilton C. Daniels,
Roswell Eaton,
John J. Everhard,
Edwin Gaylord,
James P. Graham,
William F. Green,
James W. Green,
William A. Gordon,
Samuel Griffith,
Robert Hitt,
George W. Kittell,
H. W. Kreider,

David T. Kyner,
L. L. Leeds,
B. S. Lewis,
D. LaCount,
A. A. Lodge,
D. M. Marshall,
T. C. McGee,
Z. H. Madden,
B. G. Neal,
W. H. Phillips,
J. R. Robson,
Baily Rogers,

1862-3

Robert F. Bennett,	M. F. Bennett,	W. W. Ross,
L. A. Bennett,	Robert F. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
H. Stephens Collins,	S. B. Bennett,	James F. Ross,
E. G. Collins,	Owen S. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
William Collins,	I. A. Bennett,	James F. Ross,
O. H. Chapman,	James F. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
L. P. Chapman,	John F. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
John H. Davis,	James H. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
James Davis,	James H. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
A. M. Dwight,	James H. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
Robert W. Davis,	James H. Bennett,	John F. Ross,
James Gregory,	James H. Bennett,	John F. Ross,

1863-4

Wm. M. Avery,	Robert L. Avery,	John W. Miller,
Robert Bennett,	John F. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
Washington Bennett,	Richard S. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
John W. Collins,	Edward H. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
James C. Collins,	Andrew W. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
Charles W. Davis,	John W. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
James H. Davis,	William Bennett,	James F. Miller,
James M. Edwards,	Harvey C. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
Joseph N. B. Ellis,	Henry W. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
Washington F. Ellis,	I. H. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
Washington W. Ellis,	R. M. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
Thomas D. Ellis,	John T. Bennett,	James F. Miller,
William A. Hill,		

1864-5

George A. Bryant,	Charles Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James Bryant,	George T. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
John C. Bryant,	James F. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James C. Bryant,	James F. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
Richard K. Bryant,	Christopher Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James M. Bryant,	Thomas E. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James W. Bryant,	Richard A. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James L. Bryant,	Alfred L. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James N. Bryant,	Edith E. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James O. Bryant,	William H. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James P. Bryant,	Charles H. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James Q. Bryant,	James H. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James R. Bryant,	John F. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,
James S. Bryant,	John F. Bryant,	James C. McHenry,

1865-6

William C. Archer,	Edmond C. Archer,	John T. Smith,
John H. Archer,	Robert C. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James H. Archer,	John F. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James C. Archer,	James F. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James W. Archer,	William F. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James M. Archer,	James W. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James L. Archer,	William A. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James N. Archer,	James H. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James O. Archer,	John F. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James P. Archer,	John F. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James Q. Archer,	John F. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James R. Archer,	John F. Archer,	John T. Smith,
James S. Archer,	John F. Archer,	John T. Smith,

F. Ronalds,
Lee Smith,

Joseph Williamson,
Horace Wardner,

R. Winton.

J. Henderson, M.D., *ad eundem.* Dr. M. M. Latta, *Honorary.*

1856-7.

A. W. Adair,
J. S. Bowen,
M. H. Bonnell,
D. C. Bennett,
J. F. Cravens,
L. D. Dunn,
T. B. Dever,
T. D. Fisher,
T. A. Graham,
Lafayette H. Gray,
Samuel Higinbotham,
W. M. Hall,
C. Hill,
Charles Hamill,

E. F. Hubbard,
A. M. D. Hughes,
A. L. Kimber,
J. C. Lowrie,
J. J. Luke,
J. T. Miller,
J. F. Marsh,
E. McAferty,
J. M. Cleary,
J. B. Paul,
Edwin Powell,
J. I. Phillips,
N. O. Pearson,
T. J. Shreves,

L. H. Smith,
D. H. Spickler,
J. H. Tyler,
J. P. Terrell,
S. L. Urmston,
W. F. Vermillion,
B. Wilson,
B. F. White,
P. J. Wardner,
G. W. Wilkinson,
E. A. Wilcox,
B. Woodward,
F. W. White.

J. W. York, M.D., *ad eundem.* Dr. Wm. Long, Dr. H. Noble, *Honorary.*

1857-8.

L. B. Brown,
L. Brookhart,
R. C. Black,
Freeman Clark,
P. Corcoran,
S. B. Davis,
Benjamin Durham,
J. B. Earl,
C. N. Ellingwood,
W. B. Harl,
Allen Heavenridge,
J. N. Green,
J. D. Gray,

T. C. Jennings,
B. F. Keith,
Charles J. Keegan,
Willis May,
W. L. May,
A. J. Miller,
D. B. Montgomery,
John O'Conner,
O. B. Ormsby,
J. T. Pearman,
J. L. Patten,
J. S. Pashley,

B. F. Ross,
W. H. Rockwell,
J. Slack,
William Somers,
C. V. Snow,
L. D. Smedley,
Benjamin F. Swofford,
Owen Wright,
J. D. Webster,
J. B. Wilson,
Thomas Winston,
Eli York.

Solomon Davis, M.D., Waldo W. Lake, M.D., *Honorary.*

1858-9.

L. Grant Armstrong,
E. H. Ayres,
Benjamin W. Bristow,
A. M. Blackman,
John A. Cook,
George W. Corey,
J. R. Conklin,
N. M. Douthitt,
E. C. Dickinson,
John H. Farrell,
Richard Hull,

William C. Hopwood,
Blijston Harris,
William L. Kreider,
J. W. W. Lawrence,
W. H. Lyford,
Lafayette Lake,
R. McGee,
F. Mason,
Samuel McNair,
J. R. Pearce,

W. E. Peters,
E. O. F. Roler,
E. A. Steele,
P. R. Slingsley,
A. B. Taylor,
Myron Underwood,
E. L. Welling,
R. F. Williams,
J. H. Wiley,
J. F. Williams.

Drake Harper, M.D., *ad eundem.* S. Mitchell, *Honorary*

1859-60.

Orson B. Adams,
John J. M. Angear,
John T. Billington,
Frederic Bartels,

John B. Baker,
Edward L. H. Barry,
Hiram Carnahan,
Henry Durham,

B. I. Dunn,
John Dancer,
Rufus M. Elliott,
John E. Ennis,

John B. Felker,
A. M. Golliday,
Jethro N. Hatch,
Daniel Kirkpatrick,
Thomas I. Fritz,
Leigh R. Holmead,
Milton N. Isaac,
William Irwin,

Hiram C. Luce,
John McDamron,
Percy McAlpin,
Phillip Matthei,
Wm. F. Osborn,
George W. Richards,
Edward Thomas,
James Thompson,

Vincent S. Thompson,
J. S. Underwood,
Wm. V. Wiles,
Samuel N. Sheldon,
C. M. Smith,
Robert B. Ray,
James F. Spain.

Dr. Calvin Wheeler, *Honorary.*

1860-1.

Wilford Bates,
Charles Bunce,
Allen S. Brandt,
Wm. C. Brown,
Sidney S. Buck,
Benjamin H. Bradshaw,
Henry S. Blood,
Elijah A. Clark,
Daniel M. Cool,
Thomas J. Dunn,
Edward C. De Forest,
Morton M. Eaton,
George Egbert,

Wm. B. Graham,
Henry J. Herrick,
Zenas P. Hanson,
Clinton D. Henton,
Ezekiel Keith,
John T. Keables,
Enoch W. Keegan,
Abner D. Kimball,
Robert M. Lackey,
Z. James McMaster,
James H. Mayfield,
Henry H. Maynard,

Richard E. McVey,
John Murphy,
Samuel C. Owen,
Allen M. Pierce,
Henry V. Passage,
Madison Reece,
E. Fred. Russell,
Theodore W. Stull,
Edward P. Talbott,
Charles B. Tompkins,
Israel B. Washburn,
O. G. Walker.

Dr. Robert C. Hamill, Dr. Theodore Hoffman, *Honorary.*

1861-2.

Albert A. Ames,
Charles E. Allen,
Stephen G. Armstrong,
George W. Beggs,
Aurelius T. Bartlett,
Leonard L. Bennett,
James Brown,
Elijah W. Boyles,
William L. Cuthbert,
J. Griffin Conley,
William D. Carter,
Samuel M. Dunn,

Thomas G. Drake,
James B. Farrington,
A. Z. Huggins,
Jacob H. Houser,
Riley B. Hayden,
Jacob M. Hagey,
Clark E. Loomis,
I. Meek Lanning,
George J. Monroe,
William Meacher,
William McKnight,
Fordyce R. Millard,

William Rush Patton,
Holland W. Richardson,
William R. Russell,
Charles M. Richmond,
Robert E. Stevenson,
Samuel B. Ten Broeck,
I. Allen Torrey,
Alfred H. Whipple,
D. Bishop Wren,
John A. Ward,
Egbert H. Winston

C. J. Taggart, M.D., *Honorary.*

1862-3.

Gordon Andrews,
Charles F. Barnett,
Ela L. Bliss,
E. Bishop,
Frederick W. Byers,
James Cunningham,
Philo W. Chase,
John W. Dean,
William B. Dunkle,
Charles F. Dilly,
Charles F. Elder,
Francis A. Emmons,
Urian B. Ferris,
Stephen N. Fish,
William M. Gregory,

Harrison H. Guthrie,
Myron Hopkins,
Pryer J. Herman,
George F. Heideman,
Samuel G. Irwin,
Daniel C. Jones,
Hiram M. Keyser,
Charles B. Kendall,
James Kelly,
Edward E. Lynn,
Charles F. Little,
G. Allen Lamb,
James Muncey,
George C. McFarland,
Frank C. Mehler,

James H. McNeil,
Thomas H. Montgomery,
John McLean,
Samuel L. Marston,
L. Pitt V. McCoy,
Elmer Nichols,
J. Copp Noyes,
Cornelius O'Brien,
Jacob W. Ogle,
Wesley Phillips,
Byron G. Pierce,
William C. Piatt,
John M. Rankin,
James I. Ransom,
Lemuel H. Rogers,

Fernando C. Robinson,
Lewis H. Skaggs,
John W. Saucerman,
Abram L. Small,
W. H. Smith,

H. W. Sigworth,
William Scott,
William H. Tompkins,
Pembroke R. Thombs,

John L. Williams,
William T. Wilson,
James A. Williams,
John Zahn.

1863-4.

Frank B. Adkins,
Harrison Akely,
Orlenzer Allen,
Samuel J. Avery,
Charles M. Babcock,
Lyman F. Babcock,
A. J. Bacon,
S. K. Barclay,
G. Frank Beasley,
George R. Bibb,
William T. Bradbury,
Charles A. Bucher,
Spencer Byrn,
Frank D. Cass,
F. Marion Cassell,
Ellston Chamberlin,
James E. Coakley,
Ephraim Dayton,
James W. Dora,
T. B. Dora,
Franklin Eels,
J. Wesley Egbert,
F. Edwin English,
J. B. Fares,
Horace Gaylord,
E. T. Glasener,
J. A. Goldsbury,

Lewis H. Goodwin,
J. J. Gulick,
J. Milton Hiatt,
Robert L. Hill,
H. C. Hollingsworth,
Frank A. Jordan,
Erwin L. Jones,
Augustus P. C. Jones,
L. C. Johnson,
George N. Jennings,
John J. Kelly,
Leslie E. Keely,
Robert S. Kelso,
John R. Kerrell,
A. H. Kinnear,
L. J. M. Kords,
Bartlett Larimer,
Gilbert B. Lester,
Timothy T. Linn,
Lorenzo D. Lowell,
I. Ellis Lyons,
S. B. McGlumphy,
Peter S. McDonald,
Samuel Mendenhall,
Henry A. Mix,
Martin E. Munger,
James A. Monroe,

Jabez H. Moses,
Alexander P. Nelson,
Eugene L. Nelson,
J. N. O'Brien,
Roswell R. Palmer,
G. Hial Peebles,
Edward H. Price,
Charles M. Richardson,
Phillip Shaffer,
George W. Schuchard,
William A. Smith,
J. M. Still,
J. Dwight Stillman,
John M. Swift,
John W. Thayer,
Joel T. Tevis,
Marvin Waterhouse,
John M. West,
William F. Welsh,
J. A. Williams,
James M. Watkins,
G. D. Winch,
Samuel Wilson,
Charles A. White,
Orlando S. Wood,
Titus P. Yerkes.

Chas. White, M.D., Frederick S. C. Grayston, M.D., *ad eundem*.

1864-5.

W. R. Adier,
J. Madison C. Adams,
Henry Allen,
R. M. Allen,
W. C. Baird,
Braxton Baker,
Zopher Ball,
John Becker,
Newton Baker,
C. R. Blackall,
E. J. Bond,
D. W. Bosley,
W. E. Bowman,
James G. Boardman,
J. W. Brown,
W. H. Bright,
J. G. Blanchard,
C. H. Brunk,
C. H. Carlisle,
E. P. Catlin,
W. E. Chamberlin,
H. F. Chesbrough,

Frederick Cole,
Samuel Cole, Jr.
H. N. Clark,
J. L. Congdon,
J. Cooper,
John Cotton,
Clinton Cushing,
M. Morton Dowler, Jr.
A. J. Darrah,
S. A. Davidson,
S. W. Dodd,
A. C. Douglass,
A. S. Ehle,
Andrew J. Eidson,
Samuel S. Elder,
Smith T. Ferguson,
S. A. Ferrin,
Henry A. Folger,
O. D. Ford,
J. H. Foster,
Samuel Galloway,
H. T. Godfrey,

R. Romanta Gaskill,
J. Thomas Hale,
J. M. Harrah,
Thomas C. Hance,
A. P. Herndon,
Wm. H. Hess,
Smith H. Hess,
J. W. Herdman,
Francis M. Hiatt,
H. Edward Horton,
George W. James,
Merritt S. Jones,
David R. Johnson,
Charles Kerr,
G. F. Keiper,
W. J. Kelsey,
John L. Kite,
Charles E. Keuster,
C. E. Lamon,
J. H. Leal,
Josiah Lee,
C. J. Lewis,

A. W. Lueck,
 Carl J. Lucas,
 W. B. Lyons,
 Isaac L. Mahan,
 J. G. Meachem, Jr.
 L. B. Morrow,
 William A. Morse,
 G. D. Maxson,
 William M. Newell,
 N. W. Nesmeth,
 Joseph Otto,
 William P. Penfield,
 John W. Powell,

Joseph L. Prentiss,
 G. W. Priest,
 Charles H. Quinlan,
 Lafayette Redmon,
 A. J. Rodman,
 C. B. Reed,
 Flavel Shurtleff,
 J. L. Shepherd,
 Emery Sherman, Jr.
 Asbury E. Smith,
 W. H. H. Smith,
 M. S. Stahl,
 G. A. Stevenson,

D. Hedrick Stratton,
 G. C. Smythe,
 J. L. Trousdale,
 John W. Trueworthy,
 Henry Van Buren,
 G. W. Van Zant,
 Theodore Wild,
 Joseph H. Wilson,
 Horatio B. Withers,
 George Worsely,
 O. P. B. Wright,
 Charles Young.

Martin Baker, M.D., W. H. Dubler, M.D., } *ad eundem.*
 D. W. C. Denny, M.D., N. Wright, M.D., }

1865-6.

Ethan P. Allen,
 T. E. Annis,
 S. B. Ayres,
 C. Isham Allen,
 Wm. J. Asdale,
 Luther Brown, Jr.
 George W. Brown,
 T. Newton Booe,
 Edward E. Berry,
 George A. Clarke,
 Samuel C. Cravens,
 J. N. Crawford,
 James Cozad,
 John W. Craig,
 Richard Carscadden,
 Robert H. Crowder,
 James A. Comstock,
 George M. Chamberlin,
 Wm. J. Carter,
 James C. Davis,
 Franklin M. Denny,
 F. A. Dietrich,
 Jos. B. Eversole,
 Jerome B. Egbert,
 John A. Edmiston,
 Henry R. Fowler,
 J. C. Fitch,
 Chester S. Ford,
 John Guerin,
 W. L. Goodell,

W. B. Graham,
 John N. Grover,
 C. Judson Gill,
 James E. Gowen,
 W. S. Goodell,
 John W. Groesbeck, Jr.
 Julius C. Holmes,
 Wm. J. Harris,
 Wm. Harper,
 Wm. S. Herrick,
 Carter B. Higgins,
 Abijah F. Henry,
 J. M. Hayward,
 Fred. W. Hoffman,
 E. Howard Irwin,
 Wm. H. H. King,
 George W. Langfitt,
 G. F. Lyons,
 Truman F. Loop,
 Peter T. Lange,
 Jacob W. Magelssen,
 James J. Morgan,
 James M. McMasters,
 A. Wilber Meachem,
 John G. Munsell,
 W. W. Murray,
 S. C. Maxwell,
 Wm. D. Morehouse,
 E. A. Morse,
 John R. McDowell,

Horace Nichols,
 S. F. Paddock,
 N. T. Quales,
 Rolla T. Richards,
 James J. Reed,
 Charles E. Rice,
 Wm. D. Rutledge,
 E. Malden Smith,
 M. P. Sigworth,
 Wm. D. Scott,
 D. Q. Scheppers,
 M. F. Smith,
 Abram A. Sulcer,
 James E. Sutton,
 Charles E. Steadman,
 Charles True,
 Norman Teal,
 J. M. Taggart,
 Henry Tomböcken,
 S. S. Troy,
 F. J. Van Vorhis,
 John T. Wilson,
 Robert L. Walston,
 Charles J. Winzenried,
 L. O. P. Wolfe,
 Francis W. Watson,
 George A. Wilson,
 R. B. Wetmore,
 M. V. B. Witherspoon,
 A. J. Willing.

Albert H. Hoy, M.D., J. J. Brown, M.D., } *ad eundem.*
 W. Louis Kabe, M.D., W. Y. Leonard, M.D., }

Gerhard Christian Paoli, M.D., *Honorary.*

1866-7.

Curtis B. Ames,
 Upton A. Ager,
 William H. Buckmaster,
 Benjamin F. Brown,
 Charles C. Brown,
 Horatio N. Bradshaw,

Robert J. Brackenridge,
 Gideon V. Bachele,
 Otto Basco,
 Wesley Clarke,
 Jerome H. Crouse,
 J. Gilbert Connor,

Andrew P. Davis,
 William P. Dunne,
 William T. Dougan,
 Leonard W. Estabrook,
 William Eaton,
 Charles A. Edgar,

Curtis Treat Fenn,
James Luther Gandy,
Edward B. Hobson,
John Hughes,
Wm. Baker Hathaway,
John W. Hensley,
Samuel Hawley,
Semun R. Hewitt,
John P. Humes,
John N. Jones,
Hiram D. Kellog,
Benjamin F. Kierulff,
Justin Worthing Lamson,
William A. Lafien,
William J. Langfitt,
Albert Morrall,
Nicholas R. Marshall,
Joseph K. Mayo,

George E. Miller,
Joseph W. Morey,
William H. C. Moore,
Allen P. Mitten,
Jerome C. Merrick,
John Massman,
Frederick D. Morse,
Alexander B. Newton,
Henby B. Newell,
Sanford T. Odell,
Henry K. Palmer,
William Porter,
George W. Ray,
Charles A. Rockwood,
Dolphus S. Randall,
Jefferson Robinson,
Stephen E. Robinson,
Dan. S. Root,

T. William Schwan,
L. Newton Stewart,
Irving R. Spooner,
John Simpson,
David T. Sellards,
Lyman T. Strother,
James K. Secord,
Nelson L. Sweetland,
Samuel Thompson,
John T. Taylor,
Alexander W. Trout,
John C. Tatman,
Thomas J. Tennery,
Henry B. Upton,
W. Hendrix Veatch,
Evert Van Buren, Jr.
Joseph Van Cowan.

James Murphy, M.D., Maximillian A. Cachot, M. D., *ad eundem*.

David Prince, M.D., Ezra S. Carr, M.D., *Honorary*.

1867-8.

Francis G. Arter,
James B. Armstrong,
James H. Barnwell,
Hugh Brownlee,
James Barr,
A. W. Bosworth,
James R. Barnett,
James H. Baker,
Amos Babcock,
Robert N. Barger,
William H. Christie,
Pascal L. Craig,
John Cassidy,
Henry A. Chase,
James M. Cook,
J. A. Carter,
F. Wallace Coffin,
John B. Draper,
Nelson A. Drake,
David L. Davidson,
Thomas A. Elder,
George W. Elkins,
John T. Foster,
John G. Frank,
Benjamin H. Freeland,
David M. Finley,
Frank Fifield,
William Flinn,
William J. Fern,
John A. M. Gibbs,
Lyman T. Goodner,
John H. Goodell,
John B. Griswold,
Henry C. Gemmell,
Samuel R. Hicks,
Abrogene Holland,
Cyrus Heywood,

Fernand Henrotin,
Merritt Hurst,
William H. H. Hagey,
Byron Holmes,
Christian B. Hirsch,
J. Robert Haggard,
Walter L. Johnson,
Thomas C. Kimball,
Thomas N. Livesay,
Gershom J. R. Little,
Edmund L. Lathrop,
William A. Looney,
Louis B. La Count,
John G. McKinney,
Abraham Miller,
Benj. C. Miller,
Charles Muth,
Leonidas B. Martin,
James McClure,
John B. Moore,
Americus V. Moore,
Samuel P. McCrea,
Thomas C. McCoughey,
William J. Maynard,
Thomas C. Murphy,
Francis McGuire,
Charles A. McCollum,
Albert B. McKune,
Edmund L. Mayo, Jr.
James Moffit,
Albertis P. McCulloch,
William R. McMahan,
Garrett Newkirk,
John R. O'Riley,
Charles T. Parkes,
William Quivey,
William S. Pitts,

Joel Prescott,
John H. Peters,
Bennett A. Payne,
James Pankhurst,
William R. Page,
Joseph B. Rood,
J. Rodney Rundlett,
Wilhelm Rienholdt,
Antonius A. Rowley,
Wm. S. Robertson,
Justin Ross,
William S. Rowley,
E. H. Pardu,
John G. Riddler,
Corydon Richmond,
Royal Reed,
Harriott Stelle,
Ebert S. Sherron,
Daniel Spittler,
Josiah T. Scovill,
John W. Shipton,
DeWitt Clinton Smith,
S. E. Scanland,
John P. Seawright,
Oscar F. Seeley,
John F. Shrouts,
Dana B. Segur,
Charles B. Thrall,
D. H. Arthur Thrane,
George O. Taylor,
John E. Tuttle,
L. E. Towne,
W. Alphonso Wood,
D. Lindley Woods,
Matthias S. Wheeler,
Thomas Audley Wakely,
Charles A. Wheaton,

Richard M. Wigginton,	Rush Winslow,	Henry Joseph Warworth,
Hiram G. Wycoff,	James I. Wakefield,	Thomas J. Yount.
Daniel C. Babcock,	John W. Cowden,	W. F. Hani,
William Little,	William N. Bailey,	Abram Hard,
Joseph Van Dyke,	Orpheus Evarts,	John Ten Brock,
J. J. Woodward,	J. S. Bobbs,	

} *ad eundem.*} *Honorary.*

1868-9.

William H. Austin,	Ezra K. Frierhood,	Samuel McLellan,
James M. Adams,	Gustav H. C. Fricke,	James S. Moffatt,
Marcelius O. Baldwin,	Lee W. Fulton,	William Monroe,
Russell Broughton,	James R. Fyffe,	William T. Nichols,
Thompson R. Brady,	William A. Gordon,	John E. O'Brien,
Frank L. Bradley,	Oliver Gard,	Lorenzo Northrup,
John W. Bacon,	Joseph B. Galer,	Almon Patterson,
Hiram H. Bardwell,	Job L. Gregory,	Thomas W. Parker,
Samuel H. Birney,	Charles W. Goodale,	John B. Ralph,
David J. Brookings,	James R. Groesbeck,	Robert N. Rickey,
Robert Briggs,	Julius F. C. Hoffman,	Harley G. Ristine,
William M. Burton,	John B. Hamilton,	George W. Roberts,
Simon P. Brown,	Herbert S. Hill,	Vincent H. Rose,
Robert H. Brown,	William C. Hoover,	George W. Stewart,
Arthur B. Brackett,	Melancthon Hilbert,	Frank D. Stannard,
Galland A. O. Bailey,	Charles E. Hogeboom,	William H. Schrock,
James Baker,	James R. Holgate,	Alonzo B. Shephard,
John J. Cameron,	William C. Johnson,	Byron N. Stevens,
Cassidy Chenoweth,	John M. Jenkins,	Fred. F. Sovereign,
Israel Cunkle,	Peter E. Kierland,	Joshua B. Sprague,
Thomas Cosgrove,	Anders Klingberg,	Charles C. Sprague,
John P. Cloyd,	Joseph Knowles,	Thomas B. Spalding,
Nelson H. Church,	Jahiel C. Kilgore,	Albert R. Tucker,
Amos A. Covalt,	Frederick H. Linde,	Dallas G. M. Trout,
William G. Cochrane,	Justin J. Leavitt,	Sylvester Thompson,
James G. Cameron,	Hugh E. Lindsay,	James Tweddale,
Moritz B. Carleman,	George W. Lee, Jr.	William L. Underwood,
Joseph W. David,	Augustus R. Logan,	William H. Wirt,
William A. Danforth,	Joel W. Morris,	George H. Waller,
William Dunlap,	Russell L. Moore,	Solon C. White,
Michael Donnelly,	Stephen P. McClure,	Otho B. Will,
Cyrenius A. David,	Adam E. Miller,	Basil M. Webster,
Arthur W. Edwards,	Andrew J. Miller,	George Williamson,
James H. Etheridge,	John McGinnis,	John Williamson,
Frank M. Elliott,	John C. Morgan,	Frank S. Wadsworth,
John W. Firkins,	James W. McLean,	John S. Whitley,
John S. Clark, M.D.,	Frederick L. Matthews, M.D.,	
Thomas R. McInnes, M.D.,	Robert Tobey, M.D.,	
Oliver Everett, M.D.,		

} *ad eundem.*} *Honorary.*

1869-70.

Lyman J. Adair,	John Ellison Best,	William L. Crowder,
William R. Aydelott,	Gilbert E. Bridgman,	Orville H. Conger,
George H. Aurner,	John Bloomingstone,	Milton C. Carver,
Thomas J. Adams,	Cyril P. Brown,	Paul H. Curtner,
George T. Acres,	Albert D. Ballou,	Thomas Coates,
D. Bryan Baker,	William J. Burns,	James McNab Cassels,
Charles A. Barnes,	David O. Bennett,	Lafayette W. Case,
Fred. T. Bicknell,	Thomas Blakeslee,	Howard C. Crist,
L. Lafayette Bond,	William M. Boyd,	Michael J. Donnelly,

Robert M. Wiggins, Ross Wiggins,
 Elmer C. Wiggins, James E. Wiggins,
 Daniel C. Wiggins, John W. Wiggins, W. E. Wiggins,
 William Lusk Wiggins, John Wiggins, James Wiggins,
 Joseph Van Dyke, Eugene Wiggins, John Van Dyke,
 J. A. Wiggins, J. A. Wiggins.

1888-9

William H. Austin, William H. Austin,
 James M. Adams, James M. Adams,
 Alexander O. Adams, Alexander O. Adams,
 Kenneth Beckwith, Kenneth Beckwith,
 Thompson B. Beckwith, Thompson B. Beckwith,
 Frank L. Beckwith, Frank L. Beckwith,
 John W. Beckwith, John W. Beckwith,
 James H. Beckwith, James H. Beckwith,
 Edward H. Beckwith, Edward H. Beckwith,
 Robert J. Beckwith, Robert J. Beckwith,
 Robert J. Beckwith, Robert J. Beckwith,
 William M. Beckwith, William M. Beckwith,
 James P. Beckwith, James P. Beckwith,
 Robert H. Beckwith, Robert H. Beckwith,
 Arthur H. Beckwith, Arthur H. Beckwith,
 Edward A. Beckwith, Edward A. Beckwith,
 James H. Beckwith, James H. Beckwith,
 John A. Beckwith, John A. Beckwith,
 William C. Beckwith, William C. Beckwith,
 John M. Beckwith, John M. Beckwith,
 Peter E. Beckwith, Peter E. Beckwith,
 Arthur Beckwith, Arthur Beckwith,
 Joseph Beckwith, Joseph Beckwith,
 Robert C. Beckwith, Robert C. Beckwith,
 Frederick H. Beckwith, Frederick H. Beckwith,
 Robert Beckwith, Robert Beckwith,
 George W. Beckwith, George W. Beckwith,
 Augustus R. Beckwith, Augustus R. Beckwith,
 Paul W. Beckwith, Paul W. Beckwith,
 Howard I. Beckwith, Howard I. Beckwith,
 Robert F. Beckwith, Robert F. Beckwith,
 Adam E. Beckwith, Adam E. Beckwith,
 William J. Beckwith, William J. Beckwith,
 John Beckwith, John Beckwith,
 John C. Beckwith, John C. Beckwith,
 James W. Beckwith, James W. Beckwith,
 John S. Beckwith, John S. Beckwith,
 Thomas H. Beckwith, Thomas H. Beckwith,
 Oliver Beckwith, Oliver Beckwith.

1889-90

John Beckwith, John Beckwith,
 Robert E. Beckwith, Robert E. Beckwith,
 John Beckwith, John Beckwith,
 John H. Beckwith, John H. Beckwith,
 Albert H. Beckwith, Albert H. Beckwith,
 William J. Beckwith, William J. Beckwith,
 John C. Beckwith, John C. Beckwith,
 Thomas Beckwith, Thomas Beckwith,
 William H. Beckwith, William H. Beckwith,
 John Beckwith, John Beckwith,
 Robert E. Beckwith, Robert E. Beckwith,
 John Beckwith, John Beckwith,
 John H. Beckwith, John H. Beckwith,
 Albert H. Beckwith, Albert H. Beckwith,
 William J. Beckwith, William J. Beckwith,
 John C. Beckwith, John C. Beckwith,
 Thomas Beckwith, Thomas Beckwith,
 William H. Beckwith, William H. Beckwith,

Samuel W. Durant,
 Samuel T. Davis,
 Isaac R. Dunning,
 Edward F. Dann,
 Daniel L. Dakin,
 John W. Dod,
 Jacob R. Dosch,
 Hamilton P. Duffield,
 Richard J. Eaton,
 Milton H. Everett,
 William C. Eichelberger,
 Robert S. Edgar,
 Perry M. Evans,
 Abel Ford, Jr.,
 William E. Fenwick,
 Edward R. Fletcher,
 George S. Focht,
 S. Campbell Fenton,
 William Fox,
 Benjamin F. Farley,
 O. G. Given,
 Augustus H. Guernsey,
 John Green,
 George Green,
 Strader S. Goldsberry,
 Samuel W. Gould,
 John W. Goe,
 Joseph C. Gifford,
 Jesse T. B. Gephart,
 William Henry,
 Benjamin R. Helms,
 George W. Hudson,
 William Harvey,
 Frederick C. Hageman,
 Marcus M. Hale,
 Thomas A. Holman

Bishop B. Kelley,
 Adrian A. Kitchingman,
 Horace R. Littlefield,
 Augustus Liljencrantz,
 Ledyard Verdine Lewis,
 Clark Leal,
 Benjamin F. LaRue,
 John M. Lester,
 Frank L. Lewis,
 Allen R. Law,
 Laurence A. Lawrason,
 Stephen W. Lee,
 William O. Mendenhall,
 Phineas S. Mulvane,
 William L. McLane,
 H. Walter Morehouse,
 William J. Moore,
 Andrew J. Moore,
 Julius A. Morris,
 George P. Morey,
 Pierre L. Monast,
 James A. Matthews,
 Nicholaus Molitor,
 Samuel Miller,
 Simon P. Morse,
 D. H. McFarland,
 Albert B. Modesitt,
 Henry M. Marvin,
 Charles D. Manning,
 T. Fletcher McFarland,
 George B. Noyes,
 Oliver C. Ormsby,
 Milo Place,
 Lewis C. Page,
 William H. Palmer,

Francis M. Pickens,
 Benjamin T. Phillips,
 Robert O. Purviance,
 Judson C. Panter,
 William B. Porter,
 Charles E. Quire,
 Walter F. Randolph,
 James W. Reeder,
 James C. Reynolds,
 Charles W. Russell,
 John Wiley Snider,
 William H. Stewart,
 Zachary T. Stanley,
 William M. Smith,
 Theophilus Sprague,
 James B. Stetson,
 Henry C. Soule,
 Conrad Secrist,
 H. Watson Smith,
 Sylvester S. Smith,
 John H. Stewart,
 Lewis A. Snyder,
 John T. Scott,
 Jacob D. Smith,
 Samuel L. Tyner,
 John W. Tope,
 William Todd,
 J. Austin Thompson,
 Delinso A. Walden,
 John C. Webster,
 John C. Waite,
 Leonard P. Woodworth,
 Charles A. Wilcox,
 Albert Wilgus,
 Gideon A. Weed.

David Dodge, M.D., J. F. Grimes, M.D., } *ad eundem.*
 Richard H. Plummer, M.D., }
 Andrew McFarland, *Honorary.*
 1870-1.

Edward V. Anderson,
 William W. Baxter,
 William E. Blackman,
 Income G. O. Bailey,
 Henry S. Bachman,
 Thomas H. Bragg,
 Alfred L. Buchan,
 George W. Brandon,
 James M. Bartholow,
 Elbert W. Clarke,
 Edward J. Chapman,
 Frank E. Conan,
 Norman S. Craig,
 Corwin W. Cornell,
 Daniel B. Collins,
 Benjamin D. Copp,
 Hezekiah J. Crumpton,
 Jesse W. Dawson,

R. Ralph Dewitt,
 Andrew C. Donovan,
 Albert A. Dye,
 John L. Hayes,
 Benjamin R. Hall,
 Joseph L. Hagerty,
 Charles A. Hudson,
 James H. Hutchins,
 Joseph V. Harris,
 Ephraim F. Ingals,
 Henry Jones,
 Joseph Evans Jones,
 Charles D. Knapp,
 George M. Macklin,
 Erasmus G. Minnick,
 Wm. T. Montgomery,
 Ennis N. McGarry,
 James N. Miller,

David C. Nicolson,
 George E. Newell,
 A. Palmer Peck,
 John F. Pritchard,
 Lewis L. Ratliff,
 David T. Douglass,
 Rinaldo E. Egbert,
 William Eastman,
 William L. Everett,
 George W. Frost,
 John M. Furnas,
 Marsena H. French,
 Thomas D. Ford,
 Melchert H. Garten,
 Charles H. Guibor,
 Henry A. Given,
 Jared Y. Galer,
 Robert C. Grigg,

Samuel A. Greenwell,
Gustav G. Goll,
William R. Geiger,
Thomas Gilluly,
Seth T. Hurst,
William L. Harcourt,
Jos. N. Hannaford,
Thomas Kelley,
Joseph C. Lincoln,
Thomas P. Lark,
Philander H. Leavitt,

Robert LaGrange,
William T. Leonard,
Robert J. Mitchell,
Patrick Henry McElroy,
John A. Masterson,
Robert McPherson,
Charles D. Roome,
Albert J. Roe,
J. Wilson Sparks,
Alfred G. R. Schlosser,

Preston Stebbin,
J. Oliver Stanton,
E. LeRoy Turner,
Leverett W. Thomas,
Isaac H. Taylor,
W. W. Williams,
Charles A. White,
John A. White,
Fred. B. Wood,
Ephraim B. Young.

William S. Baker, M.D., Ill.; Amos Knight, M.D., Mich.;
Mahlon H. L. Schooley, M.D., Mo.; Dan. L. Jewett, M.D., Ill., } *ad eundem.*
Thomas M. Hess, M.D. Ill.; Zacheus Bass, M.D., Vt., *Honorary.*

1871-2.

Orion John Hall Adams,
William Franklin Artz,
Emory Cooke Bartholow,
Charles Irwin Booth,
Charles Henry Burbank,
F. Antes Canfield,
Hiram Stillman Chapin,
Albert Chenowith,
Sylvester Clayberg,
Charles Theodore Corey,
Oliver Philip Crane,
Tho's Nath'l Cunningham,
David Byron Darr,
Thomas Byron DeWitt,
John Chas. Dorchester,
John William Dunn,
Lehman Herbert Dunning,
Cyrus Monroe Easton,
W. Wilberforce Edgerton,
Eli Wesley Fairman,
John McLean Flemming,
S. Cuthbertson Freeland,
George Blake Galer,
John Hurley Gardiner,
John Gardner,
Eugene Sherman Garvin,
John Hall Gernon,

Robert Samuel Hall,
Plymmon Sanford Hayes,
William Henry Hill,
Wm. Franklin Hilsabeck,
R. Harrison Huddleston,
Samuel Michael Jenks,
Edmund Janvier Kendall,
George Lasher,
Sherwell Kier McBride,
Wm. Leslie McCandless,
Andrew McFarland,
Patt. Leonard McKennie,
James McMorris,
Mason Crarey McPherson,
Horatio Nelson Mackey,
Darwin Earll Magoon,
A. Siedschlag v Mansfelde,
William Briscoe Mead,
Geo. Frederick Merritt,
Lewis Curtis Messner,
Perry Henry Millard,
William Keller Miller,
Otis Moor,
Amos Lorin Norris,
John William Norris,
Abram Owen,

Zorah Elon Patrick,
Charles William Phillips,
Richard Plackett,
Homer Hamilton Pratt,
Horace James Pratt,
Albert Nelson Richardson,
George Frank Roberts,
David Lancaster Ross,
Dennis Lincoln Russell,
Cyrus Smith,
Eugene Jackson Smith,
John Isaac Smith,
John Alexander Smith,
Oliver Perry Smith,
Wm. Francis Standiford,
James Wallace Standley,
Albert Bliss Strong,
Ewing King McAdow
Taylor,
George Haynes Tebo,
Smith Chapman Thompson,
John Gilbert Truax,
T. Louis Arch'd Valiquet,
Spencer Joseph Way,
Robert Williamson Wells,
Orville Briggs Wiggins.

Ernst Schmidt, M.D., *ad eundem.*

1872-3.

Sanford Orville Alford,*
John Isaac Ashbaugh,
Franklin Bedford,
William Henry Battin,
John Marshall Barclay,
Henry Clay Bostwick,
Jos. Boardman Browning,
Clavius Confucius Birney,
John Henry Crissler,
Charles Harte Carey,
Erie Benton Crommett,
Francis Bowers Corbett,

Cass Mason Dodge,
William Lorelle Duffin,
David Wallace Edmiston,
Marshall Enfield,
Jesse Walter Evans,
John Grass,
Charles Von Hiddessen,
William Albert Horton,
Charles Henry Hamilton,
William Johnson Hurt,
Andrew Jackson Hynds,
Frederick Andrew Hess,

Charles Frederick King,
Ernst Albert Kittell,
Joshua Adams Kittring,
Martin Henry Luken,
Frank Edward Lewis,
Nathan Allen Loofbourow,
George Bailey Little,
Columbus Myers,
Pleasant Winston Menden-
hall,
George McCulloch,
Morris Galusha McLean,

James Harvey Orear,	John Frederick Schæfer,	John Schnee Thompson,
Oliver Cromwell Pider,	Carter Hutchinson Smith,	Reuben Notley Turner,
Dolphin Walter Pearson,	John Jerome Stone,	Henry John Thomas,
Willard Walter Rusk,	George Daniel Swaine,	John Godfrey Walker,
George Warren Reynolds,	Everett Russell Smith,	John Tilgham Walker,
Hamilton Rush Riddle,	John Newland Starr,	George Christian Wellner,
Milton Granville Sloan,	Dan'l McIntosh Slemmons,	Edward Burbank Weston,
Fred'k Emerson Sherman,	Kittle T. Stabeck,	Henry Abbott Winter,
Frederick Shimonek,	Milton Shoemaker,	Marshall William Wood.

A. Reeves Jackson, Chicago, Ill.; Philip Adolphus, M.D., Chicago, Ill.;
Thos. G. Catlin, M.D., New York; Chas. L. Allen, M.D., Rutland, Vt., {

Honorary.

1873-4.

William Andrew Allen,	John Edgar Hathorn,	Ralph Parkin,
Sanford Fillmore Bennett,	Truman Aug. Herrington,	George Weston Parsons,
Victor Arthur Bertram,	Wilbur Alson Hendryx,	William Parsons,
Charles LeRoy Burroughs,	Gershon Hyde Hill,	Frank Howard Payne,
John Henry Byrne,	Lewis Cass Hormel,	Weston Theodore Plumb,
Oscar Nathan Carr,	John Wesley Lane,	Kossuth Fillmore Purdy,
Theodore Jefferson Catlin,	Abraham Leigh,	Frank Allen Reed,
George Henry Chapman,	William Russell Lewis,	Addison Winfield Rickey,
Frank Wilbur Chase,	Robert A Livingston,	Laurel Elmer Robison,
Ira Bradwell Connatt,	Frank Howard Lord,	William Scott Rofe,
James Wells Cook,	Henry Smith Lytle,	Frank Lafayette Rownd,
James Edwin Cowan,	Herbert Marcus McKenzie,	Joseph Augustus Scroggs,
Henry Crowder,	Rob't Edw. McClelland,	Edgar Barber Shumway,
Frederick William Denke,	Addison Webster McCoy,	Archie Robertson Small,
Robert Ford Dundas,	James Harold McCune,	Arthur Henry Steen, Jr.
Leonidas Hamlin Eaton,	Jas. Gallagher McElroy,	Daniel Morrison Benonia
David William Edgar,	Oliver Harrison Martin,	Thorn,
Andrew Judson Ervey,	Samuel Warren Mercer,	Edson Reuben Wait,
William Henry Franks,	George Henry Miller,	Lewis Franklin Walker,
William Harrison French,	Frank Laurence Miles,	Spencer Cone Wernham,
Ira Hamilton Gillum,	Theoph. Wells Mitchell,	James Delaforet Whitley,
Ezra T Goble,	Ellis Crosby Moore,	Constantine Wiley,
Zenas Harmon Going,	Will Harrison Morgan,	Thomas Royston Wiley,
Geo. Washington Greaves,	Lea Murphy,	Arthur Lee Wright,
William Samuel Grimes,		Byrd Sydney Young.

P. P. Rogers, Bloomington; E. A. Wilcox, Chicago; T. J. Bluthardt, Chicago;
E. B. Collins, *Honorary.*

1874-5.

Wm. Thomas Adams,	Renaldo DeMelville Clark,	Thomas Edmund Hall,
Theophilus L. Ashbaugh,	Henry Augustine Clarke,	Henry Leonard Harrington
Samuel Leonard Baugh,	Thomas Henry Cornwall,	Harvey Lindsey Harris,
Samuel Henry Bell,	Joseph H. Craig,	Ryerson George Healy,
James Gordon Berry,	David Alexander Drennan,	Robert Willis Hoyt,
Albert Henry Bill,	Edward Henry Dudley,	William Hutchinson,
John Binnie,	Charles Egan,	Jacob Snyder Kauffman,
John Blackford Blue,	William Clarence Egan,	George Dutton Ladd,
Isaac Henry Cadwallader,	George Wyatt Farrow,	Edmund Matthew Landis,
William Burr Caldwell,	Luther Melancthon Focht,	Olin Joseph Lawry,
Neil D. Campbell,	Louis Henry A. Fredericks,	Wallace Frederick Lewis,
Edwin Alphonso Carpenter,	Henry Fritcher,	Edward Hanson Lockwood,
Marshall Cassingham,	Marc. L. Fullenwider, A.B.,	Henry Baldwin Losey,
George Chapman,	Luther Moody Griffin,	Thomas Cook McCleery,

Charles Angus McDonell,	Frank John Pope,	Andrew Theodore Steele,
James Johnson McFadden,	William Gardner Putney,	Alexander Douglas Taylor,
George W. McKinney,	Franklin Reyner,	George Thurston Thomas,
John Drake Mandeville,	Walter Forward Reynolds,	Jared Hall Thompson,
Childs Mantor,	George Riley,	John William Trimmer,
Delos Danforth Marr,	Amnon James Ryan,	Frederick Turner,
Thomas Munson Michaels,	Gustavus Frank Schreiber,	William Harrah Watson,
Frank Helton Morrical,	Charles Scott,	Samuel S. Weidner,
William Walter Mulliken,	David Ernest Sedgwick,	Grier William Wheeland,
James Albert Nowlen,	Lewis Cass Seeley,	Arthur LeRoy Wheeler,
John Phineas Parks,	John Wesley Spear,	Frederick John Wilkie,
John Pehrsoon,	William Wheeler Squire,	Lucas Richard Williams.

John Cain Johnson, M.D., *ad eundem.*

Professor Albert Smith, M.D., LL.D., *Honorary.*

1875-6.

Wells Andrews, Jr.,	Robert Hutchinson,	Campbell Wm. Patrick,
Benson Banton,	Johan Christian Hvoslef,	Augustine Perkins,
Ira Bishop,	Oliver Perry Henry Jeffries,	Henry Pettibone,
David Hampton Bowen,	Frank Sebra Jones,	Willis F. Pierce,
Louis Braun,	Henry Walbank Jones,	George Franklin Plew,
Charles Henry Buchanan,	Joseph Palmer Johnson,	Geo. Washington Ramsey,
Frank Wayland Bullock,	Alphonse F'd Kalckhoff,	William Henry Reedy,
Robert William Butler,	Andrew Kershaw,	Frank Stewart Reynolds,
William Harris Cook,	Alfred Moses Lancaster,	Leonard Rogers,
William Henry Conibear,	Wm. Marcellus Larabee,	Charles Austin Rood,
William Herbert Doolittle,	Frank Lightfoot,	John Stewart Ryburn,
James Dunn,	William M. Macfarlane,	Chauncy Morgan Skinner,
Frank Wallace Edwards,	Finla McClure,	Calvin Knox Smith,
Joseph Hoffman Eskridge,	James D. McIntyre,	Eugene Smith,
Frank Bergeron Florentin,	Jacob May,	Eugene Riley Smith,
Cyrus W. France,	James Allen Meade,	Thomas Albert Smith,
Geo. Washington Gammon,	Johann Herm'n Wm. Meyer	Edgar Snyder,
John R. Gardiner,	William Walker Meyer,	Benjamin Elias Stricker,
Byron Wilson Griffin,	Edward Willison Minton,	John Albert Sturges, M.D.,
Allen Wesley Hagenbuch,	Francis Marion Moore,	Aug. Theodore Thieman,
Royal Gray Hamilton,	Christopher Dean Morey,	George King Tillotson,
James Monroe Harman,	Hiram Irving Nance,	Charles Henry Venn,
Gustavus French Harvey,	Floyd O'Brien,	Clark Rienzi Warren,
John Henry Heron,	Michael Talty O'Clery,	Robert R. Williams,
Noah Reynolds Hobbs,	Smith Orr,	John Brand Young,
Samuel Judd Holmes,	Brodie Watson Parks,	

1876-7.

Eugene S. Atwood,	Herbert Roderick Bird,	Charles P. Caldwell,
Silas Addison Austin,	John Charles Bryan,	William Joseph Conan,
Charles Rucker Aiken,	Thomas Davis Baird,	George P. Cunningham,
Abraham Ashbaugh,	Benjamin Hirst Dean,	Daniel C. Barroch,
Macaulay Arthur,	John W. Glendenning,	Levi Dixon,
John Wesley Andrews,	Jas. St. Clair C. Cussins,	William Morris Evans,
George Edward Brown,	Robert Cottingham,	James Marcus Everett,
Vernon Row Bridges,	Charles A. Cromett,	Frank William Epley,
William T. Belfield,	Charles E. Clingan,	Wm. Robert Freek,
William Harden Boals,	Andrew M. Crawford,	Dexter B. Farnsworth,
George Henry Barney,	Charles E. Caldwell,	John Welton Fisher,
William A. Burnham,	Irving LeRoy Cutler,	George W. Gurnea,

George Frederick Gray,	Charles A. Luscher,	Albert Bird Royal,
William M. Graham,	Ottul E. Lindboe,	James Lee Reat,
William O. Harland,	William H. Lynn,	Milo Wakely Scott,
Edwin Wm. Hunter,	James McDougale,	Horace W. Smith,
Charles A. Hayes,	Joseph C. McMahan,	Farquhar Stuart,
Hamilton W. Hewit,	John R. McCluggage,	Oliver Thomas Shenick,
Sylvester Clay Ham,	Theodore W. Morse,	Thomas P. Shanahan,
Newell H. Hamilton,	John W. Morton,	Myron Arthur Tibbits,
Joseph Mosher Heller,	Freeman C. Mason,	James Lewis Taylor,
Virgil E. Hestwood,	Thomas C. Malone,	Merritt W. Thompson,
Lyman Drake Jackson,	Hosea F. C. Miller,	William H. Ten Brook,
William H. Jennings,	Jesse Marion Mathes,	William Treacy,
Jacob C. Joralemon,	William Netter,	Ryan T. Van Pelt,
Charles Ludwig Koch,	Edwin McL. Northcott,	Clark Wesley Voorus,
Henry Chas. Kerber,	Frederick R. Nitzsche,	Charles Myron Willis,
Frederick S. Luhman,	James Henry Plecker,	Clarence Scott Wells,
Edwin J. Lewis,	George H. Peters,	Winfred Wylie,
Leslie Coulter Lane,	William F. Quirk,	William H. Washburne,
John W. LaGrange,	Frank D. Rathbun,	Joel Wallace Whitmire,
James Lawless,	Hugh Alexander Rose,	Robert H. Williamson,
John Hinton Lowra,	Joseph Bentley Rogers,	Charles Zuppan,
Elmer Freemont Latta,	John Allen Russell,	
James Degnan Reynolds, M.D.,	Julius Otto, M.D.,	} <i>ad eundem.</i>
Charles Peter Caldwell, M.D.,		

1877-8.

Edward Dudley Arnold,	*Augustus Lessure Craig,	Lucius Henry Hayman,
James Simpson Alford,	Fred Warren Cram,	Henry Miller Hewitt,
Jeremiah Allen Anderson,	Victor Hugo Christiancy,	Judson DeForrest Irwin,
James Henry Abrams,	Jas. Leeworthy Camp, Jr.,	Hortensius L. Isherwood,
Benj. Franklin Brattain,	George Dawley,	Austin H. Johnson,
Aristides Edwin Baldwin,	Edward McLaren Darrow,	Elijah Stephens Kelly,
Andrew Wash. Bowman,	James Dinsdale, A.B.,	William Henry Kane King
Alonzo Festus Burnham,	James J. Dewey,	Phillip Amis Kemper,
J. Henderson Burlingame,	Ozias DePuy,	John Augustus Logan,
Robert Dempsey Boyd,	Cyrus Felix Demsey,	Charles Melville Long,
Alfred Marshman Browne,	*Wm. Nehemiah Daniels,	John Redfield Murphy,
Commodore Perry Brown,	Frank Paris Eldridge,	William Thomas Murphy,
*Geo. Math. Bergen, A.B.,	Lyman Washington Ford,	Ashbel Henry Morse,
D. Francis Burton, B.S.,	Thomas Joseph Forhan,	Uriah Clay McHugh,
John Samuel Barry,	William Warren Furber,	Samuel Ross Miller,
John Edmund Preble Butz,	James Fieldhouse,	Samuel Boreland Miller,
Edwin George Bennett,	C. Leonard Ferris, A.B.,	Andrew Caldwell Mailer,
Henry Green Brainerd,	John Eugene Garrey,	Hiram Foster McCoy,
Orvis Mann Burhans,	Byron Benjamin Godfrey,	Hans Von Metzradt,
Edwin Orlando Boardman,	Michael August. Glennan,	*Robert Alex. McClelland,
*Sau Boganau, A.B.,	*Albert Goldspohn, B.S.,	Aaron Mills,
Frederick Herbert Bates,	Levi Nevada Hicks,	Elverton E. Major,
George Wesley Bellus,	Jefferson Roger Hobart,	Emanuel Cross Nolan,
Francis Bascom Bullard,	*William Edward Hall,	John Chrysler O'Conner,
Arthur Grant Bond,	Joseph H. Hall,	Fred William Patterson,
John Randolph Currens,	Herbert H. Hurd, A.B.,	Epaphroditus J. Porter,
Lewis William Carlton,	Lawrence B. Hathaway,	Howard Lewis Pratt,
Alfred Cleveland Cotton,	Charles Hardman,	Gilbert Lafayette Pritchell,
Jacob Culver,	Alfred Hinde,	*James Henry Phillips,

Henry Hull Park,	Albert Parker Rounsevell,	Carmi C. Thayer, B.D.,
Abra Claudius Pettijohn,	Joseph Enimet Sansom,	William Dean Wilson,
Dennis Wilson Porter,	John B. Sage,	Benjamin Oliver Webb,
Walter Howard Porter,	Christian Sether,	William S. Wheelwright,
Edward Quinn,	James Emmett Shaw,	Edward Newby Wheeler,
Isaac Hale Rathbun,	Ethan McAferty Stretch,	Isaac Newton Wear,
*Addison Milton Rathbun,	Charles Fred. Smolt, B.S.,	Colin Christopher Watson,
Herman Rakenius,	George Stuart,	Elwood Weems,
Charles Corneau Reed,	Albert Germain Sexton,	Windsor P. Woodbridge,
Duncan Reid, Ph.B.,	Frank Oliver Sherwin,	Fredk. Eugene Wadhams,
Andrew Jackson Robinson,	William Lloyd Smith,	*Eugene Wolcott Whitney,
Talcott Austin Rogers,	Jerome H. Salisbury, A.B.,	Albert Polk Wolfe,
Emery Eugene Reynolds,	James Edwin Scott,	Vincent Phelps Young,
George Ryon,	William Bike Stiver,	
Dr. John E. Owens, Dr. Norman Bridge, } <i>ad eundem.</i>		
Dr. James Nevins Hyde, Dr. D. J. Loring }		
Dr. John Burgess Walker, <i>Honorary.</i>		

* Students who received the Certificate of Honor for attendance upon two full winter and two full summer courses at this institution.

1878-9.

Chauncey Willard Amy,	Julian Arthur Dubois,	* William Meyer,
Marion J. Anderson,	Thaddeus Aug. Dumont,	Chas. Frederick McComb,
Erastus Yeomans Arnold,	Karl Fried'k. W. Eberlein,	Hugh E. McCaw,
Samuel Bailey,	James Plaster English,	J. Wilkinson McCausland,
Clarence Perley Battles,	Heman E. Farnsworth,	John Calhoun McClintock,
* Rufus Henry Bartlett,	* Chas. Elwin Fogg, A.B.,	Chas. William McGavren,
Edwin J. Bartlett, A.M.	Henry Jacob Fleischer,	Carroll Everard Miller,
* Robert Wesley Baker,	Thomas Benton Francis,	Wm. Emil Julian Michelet,
Osrow Dorcelia Benson,	* Otto Tiger Freer,	Albert Roscoe Mitchell,
Stillman Marion Benner,	Wm. H. Harrison Gable,	John Vincent Moran,
Benjamin Jephthah Bill,	Morris Gibbs,	Daniel Grove Moore,
William Thomas Bishop,	Benjamin Marvin Gill,	* Harold Nicholas Moyer,
Adelbert Henry Bowman,	Orris William Grant,	Timothy Douglas Murphy,
William Burgess Brengle,	Thomas Baldwin Graham,	* John Benjamin Murphy,
John Franklin Bradshaw,	Bernard Charles Gudden,	Joseph Aloysius Muenich,
* Chas. Theodore Burchard,	Addison Hawkins,	John Tenbrook Newton,
Martin Caldwell,	Edward Leander Hills,	John Francis O'Keefe,
Charles David Camp,	Wm. Wesley Hitchcock,	John Walter O'Connor,
* James Cavaney,	Charles Henry Holmes,	Harlow N. Orton,
Geo. Gillette Chittenden,	Elwyn Ashworth Holroyd,	William Enos Parker,
Wm. Wallace Cole, A.B.,	Harry Pettit Huntsinger,	Emery Allen Paschal,
Albert Stewart Core,	Henry Porter Johnson,	John Thompson Rice,
Charles John Creighton,	Francis Marion Jordan,	Charles Winter Robbins,
Willis Edward Crane,	Samuel L. Kilmer,	Chas. Alex. Rogers, M.D.,
Theodore Parker Crosse,	Charles Krusemarck,	Joseph Louis Ross,
Stephen Cummings,	* Antonio Lagorio,	Moses Archie Rush, B.S.,
Charles Eustache Cyrier,	William Henry Lanyon,	Rockwood Sager,
John Oscar Dawson,	Fred. Willard Lester,	Ora Owen Sawyer, B.S.,
Edward Gomer Davies,	James Lonsdale,	William Raymond Shinn,
James Blaney Devlin,	James Ance Lord,	John Campbell Sheridan,
Constantine L. Dicken,	Edward Macdonald,	Anton Shimonek,
* James Michael Dinnen,	George Lemuel Marshall,	Courtney Smith,
George Warritte Dosh,	Allan Aleyne Mathews,	George Lewis Smith,
Cyrus Donaldson,	Edgar Jehial Meacham,	Wm. Theo. F. Smith,

William Peter Smith,	Charles Stuart, M.D.,	Florado Houser Wellcome,
Francis Marion Smiley,	*John H. Thornton,	Fredk. C. Werner, Ph.G.,
Thomas J. Sprague, Jr.,	*William Porter Verity,	Herman L. Wilson, M.D.,
Theodore Parker Stanton,	Wm. Philander Walker,	David H. Worthington,
Simon Strausser,	Solon Roberson Wakefield,	Frank Rubin Woodard,
Geo. C. Stockman, B.S.,	James Wallace,	Magnus Youngstedt.
James Harrison Stipp,	Francis Alvin Weir,	

Dr. J. H. Gardiner, *Honorary.*

*Students who received the Certificate of Honor for attendance upon two or more full winter and two or more full summer courses at this institution.

1832-40.

Albion David Andrews,	John Smith,	Charles Deffenbach Jones,
Lucius Adley,	John F. Hartman,	James D. Knight,
Robert D. Cogswell,	James Stewart (dead),	Franklin J. Rice,
John A. Smith,	Edward C. Johnson,	at school.

1841-1.

James Milton Holmes,	Fredrick August Cooper (dead),	W. Kelly,
Theodore J. Richards,	Gaydon,	Robert W. Stewart,
Carl C. Dunderberg,	Charles A. Lewis,	David Wason,
Volney L. Fisher,	George W. Merrill,	Henry T. Woodruff,
John Wilson,		

C. Miller, Isaac L. Rogers, at school.
The Lewis, at school.

1841-2.

Robert S. Adams,	May (Hawley),	E. B. Goodell,
C. H. Bangs,	G. Whaley Jones,	V. P. May,
G. F. Barker,	A. C. Jones,	John S. Taylor,
W. K. Bays,	E. H. Johnson,	Sam. Howard Woodworth,
E. F. Dodge,	A. D. Kane,	
Joseph H. Hall,	E. W. Ketchum,	
	E. A. Fenn, at school.	

1842-3.

E. H. Battersby,	J. Henry (dead),	L. A. Rogers,
Edward Utter,	J. H. Johnson,	J. F. Smith,
W. K. Fox,	A. C. Johnson,	A. F. Van Dusen,
Hyatt A. Frost,	J. M. W. Lane,	J. F. Wason,
John Galt,	J. H. Morse,	J. L. R. Woodworth,
	E. K. Smith, at school.	
	Thomas S. Smith, at school.	

1843-4.

Franklin August Smith,	Thomas W. Smith,	Geo. Stephen Martin,
Alfred Luther Lawrence,	Thomas Frank Smith,	Samuel H. Freeman,
Adrian Overy,	George Smith,	John Clark,
William Carter Caldwell,	Frederick Henry Kyles,	George West Wilson,
Ed. Franklin Bennett,	James Henry Jones,	William Henry York,
	George H. Moore, M.D., at school.	

William Lewis Smith,
Francis Marion Bailey,
Thomas J. Sprague, Jr.,
Jackson Lewis Smith,
Simon Greenway,
Geo. C. Goodenow, M.D.,
James Hamilton Ship,
Thomas Allen Hall,
Dr. J. H. Goodenow, Chicago.

* Doctors who received their education from the University of Illinois at Urbana are indicated by an asterisk.

GRADUATES
OF
CHICAGO MEDICAL COLLEGE,
SINCE ITS ORGANIZATION.

1859-60.

Abraham Dexter Andrews,	John Conant,	Charles DeHaven Jones,
Lucian Ashley,	John F. Hopkins,	James M. Kendall,
Rupert D. Cogswell,	James Stewart Jewell,	Thomas J. Rigg,
Ezra A. Steele, Edward C. Dickinson, <i>ad eundem</i> .		

1860-1.

James Milton Barlow,	Frederick Samuel Cooper	Frank W. Reilly,
Theodore J. Bluthardt,	Grayston,	Dudley W. Stewart,
Carl C. Dumreicher,	Oscar A. Lewis,	Hiram Wanzer,
Sidney L. Fuller,	George W. Morrill,	Henry T. Woodruff,
John Nicolai,		

C. Miller, Daniel C. Roundy, *ad eundem*.
Titus Deville, *Honorary*.

1861-2.

Robert S. Addison,	Stacy Hemenway,	E. B. Rockwell,
C. H. Bacon,	G. Wheeler Jones,	U. P. Stair,
O. F. Bartlett,	A. G. Jones,	John S. Taylor,
H. K. Deen,	E. H. Neyman,	Jno. Maynard Woodworth,
E. F. Dodge,	A. D. Rouse,	
Joseph Haller,	G. W. Rohr,	
	F. R. Paine, <i>Honorary</i> .	

1862-3.

S. H. Bottomly,	J. Henry Leitch,	L. S. Rogers,
Edward Deans,	E. H. LeDuc,	J. J. Samuels,
W. R. Fox,	A. C. Matchette,	A. E. Van Deventer,
Hyatt A. Frost,	J. N. McLane,	L. P. Warner,
John Guffin,	J. D. Morris,	J. L. R. Wadsworth,
	S. B. Kimball, <i>ad eundem</i> .	
	Thomas S. Mitchell, <i>Honorary</i> .	

1863-4.

Daniel Bingman Bobb,	Thomas Hankinson,	Alex. Stephen Martin,
Albert Luther Converse,	Thomas Renick Hayes,	William D. Plummer,
Adam Given,	George Kilner,	John Quirk,
William Carter Griswold,	Percival Gates Kelsey,	George Ware Wilson,
Ed. Franklin Greenleaf,	James Sidney Lackey,	William Henry York,
	George H. Means, M. W. Wilcox, <i>ad eundem</i> .	

GRADUATES

OF

CHICAGO MEDICAL COLLEGE

SINCE ITS ORGANIZATION

1858-60

Albion D. Adams, John C. Adams,
Lester A. Adams, John T. Adams,
Robert D. Adams, Thomas J. Adams,
John A. Adams, Robert C. Adams, et al.

1860-1

John Milton Adams, Thomas J. Adams,
Carl C. Adams, George W. Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams, et al.

1861-2

Robert S. Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams, et al.

1862-3

John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams, et al.

1863-4

John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams,
John Adams, John Adams, et al.

1864-5.

Henry C. Barrel,	A. B. Hanna,	John C. Pratt,
Marx Block,	Charles Isham,	Melvin N. Rust,
R. F. Blount,	G. A. Kuechen,	W. D. Saxton,
J. Y. Campbell,	J. E. Link,	W. H. Searles,
Thomas Cochrane,	S. McGiffin,	Julien S. Sherman,
Daniel Duckett,	Henry P. Merriman,	C. M. Spalding,
J. F. Flemming,	R. C. Moore,	J. W. St. John,
J. Y. Frazey,	S. M. Pegram,	John F. Williams,
Alays Graetinger,	W. H. Pevler,	
David V. Cole, D. Hinkley, J. E. Thayer, D. B. Wren, <i>ad eundem</i> .		
E. C. DePay, <i>Honorary</i> .		

1865-6.

Isaac Newton Bishop,	Daniel Smith Jenks,	Henry Cochrane McCoy,
Henry Wilson Boyd,	Charles Titen Johnson,	William Abbot Nason,
James Brewster,	Joseph Fuller Kelsey,	Henry Shimer,
William Harmon Buchtel,	Ethen Allen Lee,	Will Eugene Turner,
Davis Fisher Crouse,	Samuel Anderson	Lyman Ware,
John W. Filkins,	McWilliams,	Nathaniel Wilbur Webber,
Herbert Harris,	John McCarthy,	Herbert York,
William Horne,	Wright E. Morris,	
William H. Baxter, William Spencer Caldwell, }		<i>ad eundem</i> .
George H. Calkins, William D. Carter, }		<i>Honorary</i> .
John Charlton, Samuel France, J. P. Randall, }		
L. D. Robinson, William C. Matchette, }		

1866-7.

Elvin Franklin Baker,	Isaac R. Lane,	Fred Albert Reckard,
John W. Barlow,	Elmer Y. Lawrence,	Chester Reeder,
Thomas S. Bond,	William Martin,	Rufus R. Resseguie,
Charles C. Crocker,	Theron Nichols,	David Robertson,
John T. Curtiss,	Henry P. Oggel,	William L. Secomb,
Madison T. Didlake,	Thomas D. Palmer,	Daniel A. Sheffield,
Peter Eppler,	Wesley Park,	Edward T. Twining,
John George Fredigke,	Jacob Adelbert Parmenter,	Martin Ira Whitman,
David J. Hussey,	David Henry Patton,	William John Whelan,
James M. Hutchinson,		
Joseph Pancoart Johnston, Asher Goslin, E. W. Beebe, }		<i>Honorary</i> .
Noble Holton, W. Law,		

1867-8.

John A. Ballard,	Edward S. Cleveland,	Allen W. Gray,
Frederick Bippus,	Gordon M. Conville,	Generous L. Henderson,
Otho Bonser,	Albert C. Corr,	John W. Johns,
James Bradley,	James Culbertson,	William J. Johnson,
Norman Bridge,	Henry H. Deming,	Stafford P. Jones,
Henry P. Brookhart,	Horace O. Dodge,	John Law,
Peter Brumund,	William Dougall,	Henry G. Morgan,
Albert E. Bulson,	William H. Fitch,	Dennis W. Nolan,
Theodore A. Bunnell,	James F. Fitzsimmons,	Elwin M. Park,
Thomas L. Carey,	Francis L. Flanders,	John H. Payne,
Stephen J. Caswell,	Jones J. Good,	Charles L. Rutter,

Orrin W. Sadler,	J. Monroe Stebbins,	Benjamin R. Vandoozer,
Nicholas Senn,	James S. Stitt,	Milton W. Walton,
Allen C. Simonton,	Daniel R. Taylor,	J. Grundy Winegarden,
Henry C. Snitcher,	Salem Town,	J. Barrett Woodson,
Joseph Haller, T. S. Stanway, <i>ad eundem</i> .		
D. M. Bond, John E. Davies, John Parsons, <i>Honorary</i> .		

1868-9.

Samuel Alexander,	Simon H. Drake,	A. B. McCandless,
Daniel J. Allaben,	George Keating Dyas,	D. Irwin McMillan,
Charles Ashworth,	J. W. Folke,	Joseph Milliron,
William A. Barstow,	George H. Fuller,	Pacificus B. Porter,
George W. Barton,	James S. Gibson,	William E. Quine,
Carl Oscar Bendeke,	George W. Goodner,	Nelson Rinedollar,
Wallace Blanchard,	Charles S. Hamilton,	Isaac P. Sinclair,
Dwight E. Burlingame,	Green B. Hoblit,	Henry H. Sloan,
William H. Crothers,	Theodore H. Johnson,	Joseph Sterrett,
William C. Chafee,	Edward R. Kittoe,	Daniel C. Stillians,
Charles N. Cooper,	Joseph L. Kitchen,	Thomas G. Williams,
William Deal,	David T. Martyn,	
Benjamin W. Bristow, J. H. Curtis, Ernest Stehr, <i>ad eundem</i> .		
Jacob Hoke, J. H. Newland, Meinrad Risch, Shubael M. Reynolds, <i>Honor.</i>		

1869-70.

Francis Homer Blackman,	Chas Warrington Earle,	Willard Parker Pike,
John Wesley Boggess,	Maurice Edwards,	Stephen William Ranson,
John Waldo Booth,	Geo. Washington French,	Cyrus Clay Reichard,
Reuben Willis Bower,	John Hall Hudson,	Albert Lewis Shay,
Henry Harrison Clark,	Clark Israel Miller,	William Moffat Stratton,
Lester Curtis,	George Franklin Nealley,	Charles Elliot Wing,
Lucius Dillie,	Geo. Washington Pattee,	
Darwin L. Manchester, Mary H. Thompson, D. W. Young, <i>ad eundem</i> .		
J. M. Jenkins, T. F. Mayhem, Daniel Newcomb, B. L. Steel, <i>Honorary</i> .		

1870-1.

David H. Alvis,	Isaiah Wright Ghrist,	Jacob Schneck,
Wilbur Parsons Buck,	Norman Lewis Kean,	Andrew Jackson Smith,
Elbert Judson Clark,	Daniel Lichty,	Theodore F. Stair,
Harlan Page Cole,	George Edwin Lord,	Alfred Swanson,
Amasa Franklin Chandler,	Liston H. Montgomery,	J. Seymore Taylor,
Frank Howard Davis,	Orrin William Moon,	Daniel Ellsworth Thayer,
Joseph Warren Dysart,	Anson Smith Munsell,	Robert Thomas Williams,
John Turner Everett,	John James Rousseau,	Henry Wilcox Westover,
Charles Badger, George Mathias Bell,		} <i>ad eundem</i> .
O. W. Blanchard, John G. Frank,		
J. J. Clemmer, R. George English, <i>Honorary</i> .		

1871-2.

John Magnus Anderson,	F. B. Eisen Bockius,	Myron Miner Grannis,
George Ransom Bartron,	Charles Wesley Burrill,	Hezmer Carlisle Hastings,
John Bassian,	Willis Butterfield,	Marcus Patten Hatfield,
Sylvester Sherwood Bedal,	Henry Coakley,	Harvey VanNess Hicks,

Albert Edward Hoadley,	Aretus Kent Norton,	Alvan Homer Smith,
John Osborne Hobbs,	John Clark Patterson,	Joseph VanBuskirk,
Alfred Hamilton Levings,	Roswell O. P. Phillips,	Jesse Louis Twining,
Martin Matter,	Henry Dwight Porter,	John Strange Wood,
Benj. F. McMennamy,	Nicholas Schilling,	Ira Willis Waite,
Chas. Sammis McQuaid,	Edward Augustus Shafer,	Henry Young,
Frank Clinton Miller,	Samuel Smith Strayer,	
	T. Cleaver, <i>ad eundem</i> .	

1872-3.

Herman Wm. Alexander,	Peter T. Hanson,	Thomas David Ray,
Frank Trimper Allen,	Frederick J. Huse,	August Rhoads,
Epenetus Reed Bacon,	Thomas Killough,	William Henry Sibert,
John Samuel Baker,	Chauncy E. Koon,	William Henry Smith,
Charles Hervey Black,	Jehu Lewis,	Oliver Wilson Spicer,
Robert Henry Bradley,	Charles T. Lichtenberger,	John Campbell Spray,
Joel Benjamin Bradshaw,	Egbert Eugene Loomis,	Daniel A. King Steele,
Henry Turman Byford,	Daniel Lord,	Josephus Allen St. John,
George Wallace Dodge,	James Henry Lowe,	Benjamin Guthrie Tweed,
Ebenezer F. Donaldson,	Joseph Smith McCord,	James Riley Walker,
George Monroe Emrick,	John McLean,	William Frederick Wiard,
William Everett Fraser,	John Robert Moore,	G. Washington Williams,
Chris. Porter Gibson,	Joseph P. Otto,	Charles Wirth,
Walter S. Haines,	Benjamin Julian Perry,	
	Enoch Lewis, D. Scott, <i>ad eundem</i> .	

1873-4.

Mortimer David Allen,	William Herron Gale,	Wmolt Leland Ransom,
Washington B. Anderson,	Henry Gradle,	Frank C. A. Richardson,
Wm. Clarence Bedford,	James Isaac Hale,	Fred. Julius Schlieman,
James Charles Bigelow,	Wilford F. Hall,	Elijah Jeffries Snitcher,
Horace Henry Briggs,	William Hausman,	Charles Chester Sperry,
Henry James Brooks,	William Gardiner Hill,	Henry Joseph Stalker,
Xenophon Chapman,	Charles Hervey Hunt,	John Christian Sundberg,
Willis F. Cobb,	Geo. Merrit Illingworth,	John David Tritton,
Lewis Samuel Cole,	Alexander Porter Kell,	William Foote Whyte,
Edmond Dewitt Converse,	Gideon P. Kidd,	Dallis M. Wick,
Lucien Charles Cowles,	Vallorous Frank Kinney,	Edwin Percy B. Wilder,
James Bennet Corr,	Fred. Falkenberg Laws,	George Edwin Willard,
Marion Carrol Dale,	Jas. Martin McClanahan,	G. Washington Willeford,
Edmund James Doering,	Edson Carey Miller,	Frederick C. Winslow,
Noble Filmore Felker,	John Hester Mitchell,	
	Loyal Firman Crawford, <i>ad eundem</i> .	
	Charles C. Hamrick, <i>Honorary</i> .	

1874-5.

Charles Edward Baylies,	Peter Amundson Flaten,	Christopher M. Hopkins,
Hermion Rice Bulson,	James Polk Fox,	Cornelius Herz,
James Burry,	Clark Gapen,	Edwin Ben Howell,
Martin Augustine Colman,	Boston H. B. Grayston,	Wm. Henry H. Hutton,
Herbert Dwight Ensign,	Henry David Hardacker,	Chancey Almer Kelsey,
William Henry Fayette,	Milton Henry Haskins,	Thomas Bigelow Lacey,
George William Field,	Charles Hemphill,	Peter Langland,

Homer O. Leonard, John Cosgrove Skelley, Moroni Ware,
 Daniel Webster Lynch, Edwin Dexter Stoddard, Frank Rowan Webb,
 James Andrew Mabbs, Alfred Otis Strout, Alonzo Lyons Whitcomb,
 Henry Clay Miner, John Albert Sturges, John Tyler White,
 Hugh Thos. Montgomery, Charles Samuel Taylor, Henry Bird Young,
 Luther Daniel Scherer, Jas. Wallace Thompson, Wallace Young,
 Warren L. Seaman, George W. VanHorne,
 William Edwards, Augustus L. Justice, Frank Lawrence Miles, *ad eundem*.
 Thomas A. Howard, Marshall Frederick Price, *Honorary*

1875-6.

Frank Allport, Arthur Burley Hosmer, Camillis Elwood Richards,
 Seth Scott Bishop, Wm. Thomas Howarth, William M. Richards,
 Wallace Marion Brackett, Carl Kallenback, Stephen Olin Richey,
 Wm. Gardner Brown, James Rufus Kewley, Samuel Joshua Ross,
 Charles Peter Caldwell, Chester Hoel Latham, George Christoph Saur,
 Theodore W. Chase, Carl Edwin Lundgren, Frederick C. Schaefer,
 John William Coombs, James Henry McDonald, John William Scott,
 Augustus Bates Clark, D. A. McBarry Mitchell, Jeremiah Beckner Stair,
 Frank Cogswell, Jacob Ansel Mack, Theron Clark Stearns,
 Dwight Mark Crum, John Albert Mayer, Thomas Harrison Stetler,
 Damon S. Cummings, John Theo. Montgomery, John Wesley Stouffer,
 Henry Noltienous Drewry, Henry Clay Mooney, Robert Tilley,
 Isaac Hottenstein Fry, Isaac Hall Orcutt, John Henry Voje,
 William Fulton, Julius Otto, John Powell Williams,
 Samuel Wiggins Gillespie, Charles Albert Palmer, George Lamont Winn,
 John Dennis Hogan, Roswell Park, John James Youtsey,
 John Marshall Horton, Charles Phipps,
 Moses Mitchell Davis, P. Taliaferro Wilson, *ad eundem*.
 John Ingram Stillians, *Honorary*.

1876-7.

John Philip Bading, Samuel Franklin Farrar, Henry Burton McCray,
 Elizur Kent Bailey, George Fred. Fleischman, Frank Price Nourse,
 Frederick Anton Beck, Lucius Field Foote, Hiram Lowell Pease,
 Victor Antoine Bergeron, Gustavus Henry Gray, Joseph Irwin Pogue,
 Charles Davis Boardman, Truman Augustus Hand, George W. Pratt,
 George Wendell Bothwell, Theodore F. Johnson, John Garrett Reid,
 James Brooks, Charles Davenport Jones, George Olin Rutledge,
 James Brown, William Henry Kirby, Frank Fitch Safford,
 Justin Herbert Burdick, Nathaniel Seba Lane, Frederick Schoop,
 Robert Artell Carson, Edwin Ruthven Lovesee, Frank Wesley Searles,
 G. Philander Chenoweth, Frederic Louis Marcotte, Gustavus A. H. Sienank,
 Edgar Vorris Dales, Isaac McComb, Ed. Hutchins Webster,
 Chas. Sanford Dickson,
 Isaac L. Potter, *ad eundem*.
 Julius A. Freeman, *Honorary*.

1877-8.

George B. Abbott, Burtis Fairchild Boyer, John Wesley Dal,
 John Dexter Andrew, Rudolph Hans Broe, John Enlow,
 Robert Hall Babcock, William H. Byford, Jr., William Mattocks Farr,
 John S. Beers, William Wallace Cook, Jesse Henry Fellows,

Albert Green,	Edwin E. Moore,	Henry C. Sibree,
Albert J. Irwin,	Frank Mueller,	William Henry Smith,
Lyman Andrews Irwin,	Niels Julius Nielsen,	Wm. Tennessee Speaker,
David Lee Kenyon,	Frederic Lawrence Nutt,	Horace Mann Starkey,
William Riley Lawrence,	William Freeman Nye,	Leonard Airs Stearns,
Milton Sumner Marcy,	Edward Pearce,	Ora Francis Thomas,
Joseph Matteson,	Newton Pierpoint,	Frank Eudoras Waxham,
William Henry McClain,	Charles Bishop Richmond,	Edwin Herbert Webster,
James Wesley McKibben,	C. James Rivenburgh,	Granville Newman Wood,
Joseph E. McNeill,	M. Montgomery Rowley,	Plumer M. Woodworth,
Harper McWorkman,	John Lazelle Sawyers,	Mac Samuel Wylie,
Geo. Washington Moody,	John Schwendener,	
	Emanuel Ridgway, <i>Honorary.</i>	

1878-9.

John Francis Abel,	Dennis John Hayes,	Geo. William Robinson,
Robert Henry Brown,	Ernest Clark Helm,	William Henry Schick,
Charles Henry Bryant,	Wm. Malcolm Jackson,	Smith Augustus Spilman,
Eddie Livingstone Cary,	Hugh Lawrence Jenckes,	Frank Eugene Stevens,
Lorents Andreas Claussen,	Homer Luther Leland,	John Stout,
Shobal Vail Clevenger,	Thomas Smith McDavitt,	Norton Strong,
Francis Jewell Crane,	Matthew H. McKillup,	Abraham L. Thomas,
Charles Hubert Fegers,	Henry Clay Mitchell,	Robert VanDeusen,
Adalbert R. Fellows,	William David Morgan,	John M. Wilcox,
William Griggs Goffe,	John Francis Mulholland,	William Calvin Wolf,
Henry W. Haldeman,	Penn Walker Ransom,	Ansel Woodworth,
Omar Oakley Hall,	William Henry Roberts,	George Harvey Wright,
Everett Charles Hartley,	Philemon D. Harding, <i>Honorary.</i>	

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Lecturer on Diseases of the Chest and Physical Diagnosis.

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Lecturer on Anatomy.

J. SUYDAM KNOX, A.M., M.D., 16 Loomis Street,
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Curator of the Museum and Director of the Histological Laboratory.

C. FENGER, M.D.,
Lecturer on Pathological Anatomy.

A. B. STRONG, M.D.,
D. W. GRAHAM, A.M., M.D.,
Assistants in Clinical Surgery.

EDMUND M. LANDIS, M.D.,
Registrar of the Surgical Clinic.

D. R. BROWER, M.D.,
W. S. HARROUN, M.D.,
Assistants to the Chair of Clinical Medicine.

WM. T. BELFIELD, M.D.,
Demonstrator of Physiology.

J. H. SALISBURY, A.B., M.D.,
Demonstrator of Chemistry.

CHARLES VENN, M.D.,

F. E. SHERMAN, M.D.,

E. W. WHITNEY, A.B., M.D.,
Assistant-Demonstrators of Anatomy.

MR. FRANK JORDAN GOULD,
College-Clerk.

SPRING FACULTY

OF

RUSH MEDICAL COLLEGE

Session 1896

ISAAC N. HANFORD, M.D., President of the Spring Session	JOHN E. OWENS, M.D., of Chicago	FRANK J. WADSWORTH, M.D., Secretary of the Spring Session	E. PLETCHER INGLE, M.D., of New York	LAFAYETTE W. CASE, M.D., of New York	PHILIP ADOLPH, M.D., of New York	NORMAN BRIDGES, M.D., of New York	EDW. WARREN SAWYER, M.D., of New York	ALBERT B. STROM, M.D., of New York	J. SUTHERLAND, M.D., of New York	J. NEELY HYDE, M.D., of New York	O. C. OLIVER, M.D., of New York	C. FENNER, M.D., of New York	A. B. STROM, M.D., of New York	L. W. CLEGGAN, M.D., of New York	EDWIN M. LARSON, M.D., of New York	D. E. BROWN, M.D., of New York	W. S. HARRISON, M.D., of New York	W. T. BENTLEY, M.D., of New York	J. H. SALLISBURY, M.D., of New York	CHARLES VERN, M.D., of New York	E. E. SHERMAN, M.D., of New York	E. W. WHITNEY, M.D., of New York	MR. FRANK JORDAN, M.D., of New York
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FACULTY

OF THE

CHICAGO MEDICAL COLLEGE.

SESSION 1879-80.

N. S. DAVIS, M.D., LL.D., DEAN OF THE FACULTY, 65 Randolph Street,
H. A. JOHNSON, A.M., M.D., 4 Sixteenth Street,
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EDMUND ANDREWS, A.M., M.D., 6 Sixteenth Street,
RALPH N. ISHAM, M.D., 47 South Clark Street,
Professors of Principles and Practice of Surgery, and of Medical and Clinical Surgery.

EDWARD W. JENKS, M.D., LL.D.,
Professor of Medical and Surgical Diseases of Women, and of Clinical Gynecology.

E. O. F. ROLER, A.M., M.D., 1084 Indiana Avenue,
Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Children.

SAMUEL J. JONES, A.M., M.D., 170 State Street,
Professor of Ophthalmology and Otology.

J. H. HOLLISTER, M.D., 73 Randolph Street, Corresponding Secretary and Registrar,
Professor of General Pathology and Pathological Anatomy.

J. S. JEWELL, A.M., M.D., 70 East Monroe Street,
Professor of Nervous and Mental Diseases.

WM. E. QUINE, M.D., 1678 Wabash Avenue,
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Professor of Medical Jurisprudence and Hygiene.

MARCUS P. HATFIELD, A.M., M.D., 1851 Wabash Avenue,
Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology.

R. L. REA, M.D., 112 East Monroe Street,
Professor of Anatomy.

LESTER CURTIS, A.M., M.D., 785 Wabash Avenue,
Professor of Histology.

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Lecturer upon Physiology.

ROSSELL PARK, A.M., M.D.,
Demonstrator of Anatomy and Assistant to the Chair of Anatomy.

D. A. K. STEELE, M.D.,
Lecturer on Surgery.

H. M. STARKEY, M.D.,
Assistant to the Chair of Chemistry.

F. E. WAXHAM,
Assistant-Demonstrator of Anatomy.

JAMES J. LARKIN,
Prosector to the Professor of Anatomy.

FACULTY OF THE CHICAGO MEDICAL COLLEGE

Session 1910-11

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 H. A. JONES, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, Chicago
 EDWARD W. HENCKS, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago
 E. O. ROBERTS, A.M., M.D., Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Chicago
 SAMUEL J. JONES, A.M., M.D., Professor of Surgery, Chicago
 J. H. HOLLISTER, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Medicine and Therapeutics, Chicago
 J. S. DEWEY, A.M., M.D., Professor of Internal Medicine, Chicago
 WM. F. QUINN, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pediatrics, Chicago
 H. F. MERRIMAN, A.M., M.D., Professor of Mental Diseases, Chicago
 MARCELL HATFIELD, A.M., M.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago
 R. L. REED, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Surgery, Chicago
 LESTER CURTIS, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Chicago
 HENRY GRADY, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago
 BOSWELL PARK, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago
 H. A. REED, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago
 H. M. STARKY, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago
 F. E. WAXHAM, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago
 JAMES J. TANNON, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Chicago

FACULTY

OF

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SESSION 1879-80.

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CHAS. WARRINGTON EARLE, M.D., TREASURER, 37 Park Avenue,

Professor of Diseases of Children, and Adjunct Professor of Practice of Medicine.

ISAAC N. DANFORTH, M.D., 349 W. Adams Street,

Professor of Pathology and Diseases of the Kidneys.

JOHN E. OWENS, M.D., 643 Michigan Avenue,

Professor of Surgery.

HENRY M. LYMAN, A.M., M.D., 533 W. Adams Street,

Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine.

DANIEL R. BROWER, M.D., SECRETARY, 571 W. Adams Street,

Professor of Nervous and Mental Diseases and Medical Jurisprudence.

SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON, M.D., COR. SEC'Y, 125 State St., ✓

Professor of Physiology.

DAVID W. GRAHAM, A.M., M.D., 101 Warren Avenue,

Professor of Anatomy.

PLYM S. HAYES, M.D., 1266 Indiana Avenue,

Professor of Chemistry.

WM. J. MAYNARD, A.M., M.D., 435 W. Van Buren Street,

Professor of Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Dermatology.

WM. T. MONTGOMERY, M.D., 435 W. Van Buren Street,

Professor of Ophthalmology and Otology.

E. FLETCHER INGALS, M.D., 188 Clark Street,

Clinical Professor of Diseases of Chest and Throat.

JOHN O. HOBBS, M.D., 364 Blue Island Avenue,

Demonstrator of Anatomy.

LOTTA E. CALKINS, M.D.,

Assistant to Demonstrator of Anatomy.

MARIE J. MERGLER, M.D., Cor. Halsted and Randolph Streets,

Assistant to Chair of Materia Medica.

FACULTY

OF

WOMAN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE

NEW YORK

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CHAS. WARREN, M.D., Professor, the second course.

Professors of Anatomy and Physiology, and Clinical Medicine.

Medicine.

ISAAC N. DARTMOUTH, M.D., the third course.

Professors of Pathology and Therapeutics, and Hygiene.

JOHN E. OWENS, M.D., the fourth course.

Professors of Surgery.

HENRY M. LEWIS, A.B., M.D., the fifth course.

Professors of Therapeutics and Obstetrics.

DANIEL R. PROWSE, M.D., the sixth course.

Professors of Anatomy and Physiology, and Clinical Medicine.

SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON, M.D., the seventh course.

Professors of Obstetrics.

DAVID W. CRAWFORD, A.B., M.D., the eighth course.

Professors of Anatomy.

ELMER HAYES, M.D., the ninth course.

Professors of Chemistry.

WM. A. VETTER, A.B., M.D., the tenth course.

Professors of Internal Medicine, Pathology, and Therapeutics.

WM. T. MONTGOMERY, M.D., the eleventh course.

Professors of Obstetrics and Gynecology.

E. FLETCHER INGALLS, M.D., the twelfth course.

Clinical Professor of Diseases of Children.

JOHN O. HOBBS, M.D., the thirteenth course.

Professors of Diseases of Women.

LOTTIE E. CALKINS, M.D.,

Professor of Diseases of Women.

MARIE J. MESSLER, M.D., the fourteenth course.

Professor of Diseases of Women.



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REYNOLDS' HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

My Own Times; Embracing also The History of My Life. By JOHN REYNOLDS, Late Gov. of Ill., etc. Portrait. Reprint of original edition of 1855, with complete Index added. Cloth boards; Gilt-top; Side and bottom uncut; Antique Paper; Pp 425; 8vo. 1879. Edition of 212 copies. Price, \$7.50.

We are pleased to learn that the Fergus Printing Company has undertaken the work of reprinting the volume of "My Own Times; embracing also the History of My Life," written by the late Gov. John Reynolds. * * * Copies of the volume referred to are exceedingly rare, and hardly can be procured at any price. The Publishers are deserving of thanks for their efforts to rescue from oblivion a meritorious work like the above.—*Bellefille Advocate*, Dec. 12, 1879.

This is a reproduction, in an attractive form, and with the addition of a full index, of a book, the story of which is an illustration of the difficulties which all who have devoted themselves to historical investigation have had to encounter in this country. Governor Reynolds was one of the most prominent figures in western public life, and it would be supposed this epitome of the story of the young days of the western country would have commanded a ready sale. Not so. Completed in 1854, the first edition, probably not more than four hundred copies, was printed in a small job office at Belleville, and taken by a single bookseller of Chicago, at the author's personal instigation. Nearly the whole edition was destroyed in the great fire of 1857.

Practically out of print, the present volume is rather a new work than the reprint of an old; and a creditable one it is. The extensive range of politics, internal improvement, public life and personal experience, naturally traversed in this bulky volume, render even a slight analysis impossible. It is discursive and sketchy, and abounds in details of purely local value, but it contains also a mass of information which the enquirer would look for in vain elsewhere. Above all it is stamped with an originality and individuality which set well upon the shoulders of a western man.—*Mag. of Am. Hist.*, Aug. 1880.

The year 1800 found the territory now occupied by the populous State of Illinois a savage wilderness, with a total white population—American and French—of about 2,000 scattered throughout its domain. Of these it is estimated that the French creoles numbered some 1,000, and the negroes (slaves and freemen) about 200 more. The white colonies extended in sparse settlements, from Kaskaskia, fifty miles or more, to Cahokia, and back east from the Kaskaskia river only a few miles. The colonies of Kaskaskia, Turkey Hill, the New Design, Horse Prairie, another not far from Kaskaskia, Piggott's Fort, Whiteside Station, Belle Fountain and another very small one, comprised all the American settlements in Illinois at that period. Their population was about 800 strong, all told. This period of the history of Illinois is noted here, and probably will be for many generations, as the time when the parents of Gov. John Reynolds removed to Illinois from Tennessee and added the seventh family to the population of a white settlement two and a-half miles from Kaskaskia. Gov. Reynolds was then 12 years old. In the volume before us he describes the condition of the country, the Indians, the privations of the whites, their progress in agriculture, education, government and social characteristics during the next nine years, at considerable length, and thus furnishes a fund of useful and interesting information.

About this time, having reached his 20th year, the Governor entered a college some six miles from Knoxville, Tenn., where he spent two years in improving his mind, returning to Illinois in 1811. Afterward he studied law at Knoxville.

Then began the War of 1812 with Great Britain, and then, too, the growing State of Illinois became the theater of stirring public events which gave her a prominent place in the history of the West. Four chapters are devoted to this period, including the massacre at Chicago, the destruction of Peoria and affairs in that vicinity, etc.

Then came the organization of the Territory of Illinois, the administration of Governor Edwards, the revision of the laws, and the first Legislature; Lewis and Clark's expedition to the Pacific coast; the extension of the settlements; the reign of "regulators" and mob-law, the history of religious denominations in Illinois; the professions; the history of slavery in the Territory, and the author's domestic record, with numerous other events of more or less interest.

In 1818 the State Government was formed, and its progress is noted in detail. A large space is given to the subsequent political history and internal improvement of the State, until the breaking out of the war with the Winnebago Indians. Several chapters are filled with the history of the Blackhawk war and its attendant excitements and events. The history of education and early newspapers in Illinois receives due attention.

The Governor also relates the national situation during his term in Congress from 1834 to 1841, inclusive; his visit to Europe in 1839; the pioneer railroad operations in the State; the construction of the Illinois- and -Michigan Canal, with other internal improvements, and the history of the Mormon troubles and excitement.

Such is a brief outline of Gov. Reynolds' book. It is valuable as reflecting the spirit of the pioneer days of Illinois, and as the record of a young and enterprising State struggling against adverse circumstances, and becoming one of the most prosperous of American commonwealths. Nor will the private history of Gov. Reynolds, the sturdy pioneer Executive and Representative of the State, fail to interest the reader. He belongs to Illinois, because he aided in bringing her to the present prosperity which she enjoys. He passed nearly half a century in prominent public life in Illinois—as Judge Advocate, Judge of the Supreme Court, member of the Legislature, Governor, Congressman, Canal Commissioner and Speaker of the House—and is so closely identified with the State that his histories can not be separated.

This volume was first published by Gov. Reynolds in 1855. The edition was small, and most of it was destroyed before it was sold in a fire in Chicago. Thus it became one of the lost books of the earth. Fortunately it was not totally exterminated, and now its revival by the enterprising Chicago house whose imprint it bears is no less important than it is gratifying to those who have the interests of the State at heart.—*Chicago Journal*, Dec. 30, 1879.

Sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

REYNOLDS HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

My Dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours, etc.,
J. M. Reynolds.

It is a pleasure to learn that the volume of the "History of Illinois" has been published. The volume is a valuable addition to the literature of the State, and it is hoped that it will be widely read and appreciated. The author has done his best to give a full and accurate account of the history of the State, and it is believed that the work will be found to be a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the past.

The volume is a reproduction of a full and complete history of the State, and it is hoped that it will be widely read and appreciated. The author has done his best to give a full and accurate account of the history of the State, and it is believed that the work will be found to be a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the past.

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ILLINOIS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

KASKASKIA AND ITS PARISH RECORDS:

OLD FORT CHARTRES:

AND

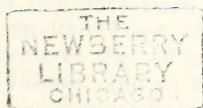
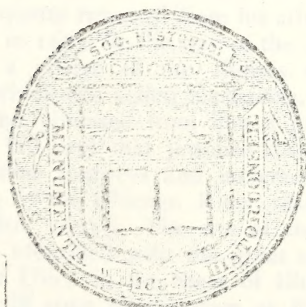
COL. JOHN TODD'S RECORD-BOOK:

BY

EDWARD G. MASON,

CHICAGO.

no. 12



CHICAGO:

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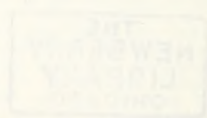
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KASKASKIA AND ITS PARISH RECORDS.

A Paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, Dec. 16, 1879.

IN Southern Illinois, near the Mississippi, a hundred miles or more above the mouth of the Ohio, is situated the ancient village of Kaskaskia, supposed to be the oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Father of the waters. The eminent historian who concedes to it this distinction finds it difficult to fix the date of its origin, and leaves that undetermined.* Its foundation has been variously ascribed to members of La Salle's expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi on their return in 1682,† to Father James Gravier in 1683 or in 1685,‡ to Tonti in 1686,§ and to others still, missionaries or explorers, at different dates in the latter part of the seventeenth century. But the uncertainty upon this point has arisen, in part at least, from the confounding of Kaskaskia with an earlier Indian settlement of the same name on the Illinois River, where was established the Jesuit mission afterwards removed to the existing village. And this, perhaps, will be more apparent from a brief sketch of the history of that mission.

When Father Marquette returned from his adventurous voyage upon the Mississippi in 1673, by the way of the Illinois, he found on the latter river a village of the Illinois tribe, containing seventy-four cabins, which was called Kaskaskia. Its inhabitants received him well, and obtained from him a promise to return and instruct them. He kept that promise faithfully, undaunted by disease and toilsome journeys and inclement weather, and, after a rude wintering by the Chicago River, reached the Illinois village again, April 8th, 1675.|| The site of this Indian settlement has since been identified with the great meadow south of the modern Town of Utica in the State of Illinois, and nearly opposite to the tall cliff soon after known as Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, and in later times as Starved Rock.¶ Marquette

* Bancroft's History of the United States, I. p. 195.

† Davidson and Stuve's History of Illinois, p. 110.

‡ Atlas of State of Illinois, pp. 169, 202.

§ Montague's History of Randolph County, Illinois, p. 12.

|| Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 55.

¶ Parkman's Discovery of the Great West, p. 69.

established there a mission, to which he gave the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and, for a little time, was able to teach the chiefs and the people. But continued illness soon obliged him to set forth upon that return voyage which brought him to a lonely grave in the wilderness.

To him succeeded the zealous priest, Claude Allouez, who seems to have been at the mission the following year, and at all events reached it in April, 1677. He was lodged, as he says, in Marquette's cabin, and erected a cross 25 feet high in the midst of the town, which the old men earnestly commended him to place well so that it could not fall. Departing shortly after, he returned in 1678, but the incursions of the resistless warriors of the Five Nations scattered the Illinois, and checked the mission, and the approach of La Salle, who was unfriendly to him, compelled Allouez's retirement the following year. The attempts of the priests who accompanied La Salle to continue the work, were set at naught by the attacks of the Iroquois upon the Illinois, who fled before their fierce oppressors. In 1684, however, Allouez returned under more favorable auspices, and was at the mission the greater part of the time until his death in 1690.

He was followed by the famous Jesuit, Sabastian Rasle, who embarked in a canoe at Quebec, in August, 1691, to go to the Illinois, and completed his journey of more than eight hundred leagues the following spring. Within two years, he was recalled to his original charge among the Abnaki Indians, to find a martyr's fate long after at the hands of New England soldiers by the waters of the Kennebec.

Father James Gravier, who had been at the mission during Allouez's absence in 1687, received it from Father Rasle, and built a chapel within the walls of Fort St. Louis which overlooked the village. His journal of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady at the Illinois from March 20th, 1693 to February 15th, 1694, gives a very interesting account of his labors among the Indians upon the Illinois River.* This, it will be noticed, is ten years or more after the time when some have supposed he founded the present Kaskaskia, three hundred miles or more to the southward, upon the Mississippi. The Illinois nation or confederacy was composed of five bands or tribes the Kaskaskias, the Peorias, the Cahokias, the Tamaroas, and the Mitchigamias. Gravier's work was principally among the first of these, but extended also to the Peorias. He longed to include in it the Tamaroas and the Cahokias, who were on the Mississippi, between his mission and the site of the Kaskaskia o

* Shea's History of Catholic Missions, pp. 410-415.

established there a mission to which he gave the name of
Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and in a
time yet to be told the church and the people - the mission
thence seems to have been an act of devotion to the Virgin
which brought him to a lonely grave in the wilderness.

To him succeeded the second Father Charles, who
seems to have been at the mission the following year and
eventually died in the year 1817. He was followed by
Maurice, who and visited a time or two in the year 1817
of the year, and the old man, who was a very old man
place well so that it could not be. The mission was
renamed in 1817, but the government of the mission was
the five Nations around the house and church and the
and the approach of 1818, when the mission was
called. The mission was the following year. The mission
the place who accompanied 1818 in the year 1818, and
set at night by the church of the mission upon the
who had before their eyes the mission. In 1817, the
Mission returned under some favorable circumstances and
mission the greater part of the year 1818 in the year
He was followed by the second Father Charles, who
established in a church in 1818, in the year 1818, and
mission and completed his journey in the year 1818, and
leaves the following year. Within two years of his death
to his original church among the five Nations, and
many's last days at the mission of the five Nations, and
the years of the mission.

Father James, who had been at the mission of
Mission's church in 1818, and in the year 1818, and
built a chapel within the walls of the mission, and
looked the village. The mission of the five Nations
Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and the mission of the five Nations
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to-day, but was unable to do more than to make them a single brief visit, because he was alone in the land. Of the Mitchigamias, who were still lower down the great river, but north of the place he is said to have founded in 1683 or 1685, and whose village he must have passed in order to reach it, Gravier seems hardly to have heard, and it is but reasonable to infer that at the date of his journal he had not traveled as far as their settlement.

During his stay in this region, Father Gravier studied the language of the Illinois, and reduced it to grammatical rules, and was regarded by his successors as the real founder of the mission, because he ensured its permanency.* When recalled to Michilimackinac, about 1699, he left the Fathers Bineteau and Pinet in charge of the different branches of the original establishment, and with them labored Gabriel Marest, who seems to have been particularly associated with the Kaskaskia tribe. It will readily be seen that in the writings of such a number of missionaries, at these various dates, concerning a mission frequently spoken of as at Kaskaskia, or the village of the Kaskaskias, many allusions might occur which would seem to refer to the present place of the name.

But the evidence that this mission remained upon the Illinois River until the year 1700, and that there was no settlement before that time upon the site of the Kaskaskia we now know, appears to be well-nigh conclusive. A letter written to the Bishop of Quebec by John Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, a missionary priest, describes the journey of his party from Michilimackinac to the mouth of the Arkansas, by the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, in the year 1699.† They stayed at the house of the Jesuit Fathers at Chicago, and set out from there about November first, on what one of their predecessors calls the divine river, named by the Indians Checagou, and made the portage to the River of the Illinois. Passing the Illinois village before referred to, they learned that most of the Indians had gone to Peoria Lake to hunt. Arriving there, they met the Fathers Pinet and Maret, with their flock, of which St. Cosme gives a good account, and he speaks of their work as the Illinois mission. The party journeyed onward, under the guidance of La Salle's trusty lieutenant, Tonti. While on the Illinois River, certain Indians attempted to prevent their going to the Mississippi, and intimated that they would be killed if they did so. Tonti replied that he did not fear men, that they had seen him meet the Iroquois, and knew that he could kill men; and the Indians offered no further opposition. They reached the Mississippi the 6th of December,

* Marest's Letter, Kip. p. 206.

† Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 43.

to-day, but was unable to do more than to make them a single brief visit because he was alone in the land. (The Illinois gamblers who were still hawking their green eyes, but nearly all the place he is said to have founded in 1765 or 1766 and whose village he most have passed in order to reach it, I cannot seem hardly to have heard, and it is just reasonable to infer that the date of his journal he had not traveled as far as their settlement. During his stay in the region Father Charbonnet, who, and language of the Illinois, and rendered it to him, and he, and was regarded by his successors as the real founder of the mission, because he entered its possession. When he returned to the mission, about 1766, he left the Father Charbonnet and Father in charge of the different branches of the original establishment, and with them labored (but not alone, who came to the place particularly associated with the Kaskaskia tribe. It will be seen from the writings of such a number of missionaries as these various times, concerning a mission to the Illinois, that at Kaskaskia, or the village of the Kaskaskia, were often the place, occur which would seem to refer to the present place of the Illinois. But the evidence that this mission remained upon the Illinois River until the year 1766, and that there was no settlement before that time upon the site of the Kaskaskia, was long ago to be well-nigh conclusive. A later mission to the Illinois, Quebec by John Francis Buisson, S. J., in 1767, a mission, priest, described the journey of the year, from which Buisson to the mouth of the Arkansas by the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, in the year 1767. They arrived at the mouth of the Illinois Father at Chicago, and so on down the river, but first, on their way, one of their missionaries, who the river, named by the Illinois, Charbonnet, was near the mouth of the River of the Illinois. During the Illinois village, which is now, as they learned that most of the Indians had gone to France, late to hunt. Among them, they met the Father, and they, with their dogs, of which he had a great number, and he spoke of their work at the Illinois mission. The party, encouraged onward, under the guidance of La Salle's former lieutenant, Father. While on the Illinois River, they attempted to prevent them going to the Illinois, and intended that they would be killed if they did so. That is, they did not fear that they had seen him about the mission, and knew that he could not mean that the Indians would no further opposition. They reached the Mississippi the day of the mission.

1699, and the next day reached the village of the Tamaroas, who had never seen any "black gown," except for a few days when the reverend Father Gravier paid them a visit. A week later, they ascended a rock on the right, going down the river, and erected a beautiful cross, which their escort saluted with a volley of musketry, and St. Cosme prayed that God might grant that the cross, which had never been known in those regions, might triumph there. From the context of the letter, it is evident that this ceremony took place not far below the site of the present Kaskaskia, which St. Cosme must have passed to reach this rock, but he makes no mention of such a village. Furthermore, within fifteen miles or so of Kaskaskia, there is a rocky bluff on the Missouri side of the river, known now as the Cape of the Five Men, or Cap Cinq Hommes. This doubtless is a corruption of the name of the good Father St. Cosme, as appears from a map made a little more than one hundred years ago, which gives both names, Cinquhommes and St. Cosme, to this very bluff. It probably is the identical one which he ascended, and he could not have spoken of the cross as unknown in those regions, had there been any settlement so near the spot as the Kaskaskia we now know. Tonti, who was the leader of this party, is thought by some to have founded Kaskaskia in 1686. Nobler founder could no town have had than this faithful and fearless soldier, but the facts just narrated make such a theory impossible.

Again, in the early part of the year 1700, a bold voyager, Le Sueur, whose journal is in print,* pushed up the Mississippi from its mouth, where D'Iberville had just planted the banner of France, and passed the site of Kaskaskia, without notice of such a place. He speaks of the village of the Tamaroas, where, by this time, St. Cosme had taken up his abode on his return from the south. About July 15th, going northward, Le Sueur arrived at the mouth of the Illinois, and there met three Canadian *voyageurs* coming to join his party, and received by them a letter from the Jesuit Marest, dated July 10th, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin at the Illinois. The letter of St. Cosme, and the journal of Le Sueur, seem to show clearly enough that down to the middle of the year 1700, the present Kaskaskia had not been settled, and that the Mission was still on the Illinois River:

And lastly, we have the journal of the voyage of Father James Gravier, in 1700, from the country of the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi;† from which we learn that he returned from Michilimackinac, and set out from Chicago on the 8th of Sep-

* Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 92.

† P. 116.

tember, 1700. He says he arrived too late at the Illinois, of whom Father Marest had charge, to prevent the transmigration of the village of the Kaskaskias, which was too precipitately made, on vague news of the establishment on the Mississippi, evidently referring to the landing of D'Iberville the year before. He did not believe that the Kaskaskias, whom Marest accompanied, would have separated from the Peorias and other Illinois, had he arrived sooner; and he obtained a promise from the Peorias to await his return from the Mississippi. After having marched four days with the Kaskaskias, Gravier went forward with Marest, whom he left sick at the Tamaroas village, and departed from there October 9th, 1700, to go to the lower part of the Mississippi, accompanied only by some Frenchmen. The Indians with Marest, we may presume, halted upon the peninsula between the Kaskaskia and the Mississippi Rivers, where we soon after find them; and thus doubtless was accomplished the transfer of the mission to its final location. The eagerness of the Illinois tribes to be in closer communication with the French was probably intensified by their desire to escape any further assaults from their dreaded enemies, and to rear their wigwams where they would never hear the war-cry of the Iroquois. Both motives would operate more powerfully with the Kaskaskias than with any others, because they had been longer under the influence of the French, and because, in their old location, they were the first to receive the onslaughts of the relentless foemen of the Illinois. Hence they set out to go to the lower Mississippi, but Gravier's influence, and perhaps Marest's illness as well, led them to pause at the first suitable resting-place, and that became their permanent abode. And when we consider that a few years later, this same Father Marest, who accompanied these Indians on their migration, was stationed at the present Kaskaskia, in charge of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception, as appears from his letters,* that he died and was buried there, as is shown by the parish records;† and that we hear nothing further of a mission of this name on the Illinois River; we may reasonably conclude that the Kaskaskia of our time should date its origin from the fall of of the year 1700, and should honor James Gravier and Gabriel Marest as its founders.

From Marest's letters we know that some Frenchmen intermarried with the Indians of this village, and dwelt there, and we may naturally infer that their presence attracted others of their race, trappers, fur traders, and *voyageurs* to the new location. And so, almost at the dawn of the history of the territory included

* Marest's Letter, Kip. p. 197.

† Kaskaskia Parish Records, p. 9. Burial Register.

October 1700. He says he arrived two days at the Illinois of whom Father Marlet had charge to prevent the transportation of the village of the Kaskaskias, which was too permanently made. On vague news of the establishment on the Illinois, evidently relating to the landing of 1711, he the year before. He did not believe that the Kaskaskias whom Marlet accompanied would have separated from the French and other Illinois, and he arrived sooner; and he obtained a passport from the French to await his return from the Mississippi. After having remained four days with the Kaskaskias, Marlet was engaged with Marlet, whom he left at the Tennessee village; and departed from there October 21st, 1700, to go to the lower part of the Illinois, accompanied only by some Frenchmen. The Indians with Marlet, we may presume, landed upon the peninsula between the Kaskaskias and the Mississippi. Kaskaskias, whom we now call the Illinois; and thus doubtless was transported the transfer of the mission to its final location. The separation of the Illinois relation to be in closer communication with the French was probably intended by their desire to change any further relations from their divided enemies, and to take their relations where they would never bear the weight of the French. Both missions would operate more powerfully with the Kaskaskias than with any others, because they had been longer under the influence of the French, and because in their old location they were the first to receive the onslaught of the religious French, the Illinois. Hence they set out to the lower Tennessee, but Marlet's influence, and perhaps Marlet's illness as well, led them to pass at the first suitable resting-place, and then because their permanent abode. And when we consider that a few years later, this same Father Marlet, who accompanied these Indians on their migration, was stationed at the present Kaskaskia, in charge of the mission of the Illinois, it is not surprising to suppose that he died and was buried there, as shown by the parish records; and that we have nothing further of a mission of this name on the Illinois River; we may reasonably conclude that the Kaskaskias of our time should have its origin from the fall of the year 1700, and should honor James Marlet and Father Marlet as its founders.

From Marlet's letters we know that some Frenchmen later married with the Indians of this village and their sons and we may naturally infer that their presence attracted others of their race, through the trade and proximity to the new location. And so, almost at the dawn of the history of the country included

within the limits of the State of Illinois, the present Kaskaskia was inhabited by a mixed population of whites and Indians, under the sway of the priest of the Order of Jesus. At first a mission simply, then a trading station, and soon a military post; within twenty years from its foundation, it had enough of the features of a permanent settlement to justify the worthy priests in organizing there a parish, which succeeded to their beloved mission, and was known by the same name.

A large portion of the church records of this parish, beginning perhaps with its establishment, and some extracts from those of the earlier mission, have fortunately been preserved to this day; and they throw many a curious and interesting side-light upon the events of the times in which they were written. Of their authenticity there can be no question. Some of them are still in the custody of the priest of the parish, and others are in the possession of a prelate* of the church that has labored so long and so zealously in the region of which these records illustrate the history. By his thoughtful care, the earlier books, which suffered damage at Kaskaskia in the flood of 1844, were removed to a place of greater security. And recently the volumes containing the entries made between the years 1695 and 1835 have been arranged and re-bound, and with proper care may remain a monument of the early history of what is now the State of Illinois for many years to come.

In the re-binding, has been preserved intact the old parchment cover of the first of these records, on which may be dimly traced in the faded ink the words "*Registrum pro anno 1696*," but the remainder of the inscription is too indistinct to be deciphered. Probably it is the same in which Father Marest carried the scanty records of the mission at its removal. The originals of these mission records have not been preserved, and we have in their stead a copy of a portion only, entitled "*Extrait des Registres de Baptême de la Mission des Illinois sous le titre de l'Immaculée Conception de la S. V.*" The copy itself, a small quarto of six pages, is in Latin, and the first entry is of the baptism, March 20th, 1695, by James Gravier, of Pierre Aco, the newly born son of Michael Aco and Maria Aramipinchicoue. The godfather was D. de Mautchy, in whose place stood D. Montmidy, and the godmother was Maria Joannæ, grandmother of the boy. This Michael Aco was one of the Frenchmen who accompanied Father Hennepin on his journey to the Upper Mississippi, when the Falls of St. Anthony were discovered and named, and probably was the leader of the party, although the intrepid falsifier, Hennepin,

* Right Reverend P. J. Baltes, Bishop of Alton, Ill.

assumes that honor for himself in his account of the expedition. Aco's wife was the daughter of the chief of the Kaskaskias, and Gravier's journal describes their marriage in 1693. She was a convert, and through her influence her parents embraced Christianity, and she rendered great service to the missionaries as a teacher of the children. The boy, Pierre Aco, lived to be a citizen of the second Kaskaskia, and the transcript of the old French title records now in the office of the recorder of Randolph County, Illinois, contains a deed from him of a lot in Kaskaskia, executed September 12th, 1725. The two other entries in the mission record in 1695 are of the baptisms of children of French fathers and Indian mothers; the second of Michael, son of Jean Colon La Violette and Catherine Ekipakinoua, whose godfather was Michael Aco. It is curious to notice the difficulty the good fathers seem to have found in writing the names of the Indian women who appeared at these baptisms, as mothers and god-mothers of the infants, as shown by their use of Greek characters for this purpose. We can imagine them standing at the font, listening to the many syllabled titles of parents and sponsors, smoothly uttered in the Illinois tongue, and vainly trying to reproduce them, until in despair they have resource to their classical learning for symbols of something akin to the new sounds.

In the year 1697, another son of La Violette and Catherine of the lengthy name, was baptized by Father Julian Bineteau, who had been a missionary in Maine in 1693, and the next year was stationed on the St. Lawrence. St. Cosme met him at Chicago, in 1699, when he had recently come in from the Illinois and was ill. He died, not long after, while following his Indians on their summer hunt over the parched prairies, when fatigue and exposure led to a severe sickness, of which he expired in the arms of his devoted colleague, Gabriel Marest.

In September, 1699, Father Marest baptized Theresa Panicoue; and the same year, in November, another son of La Violette was baptized by De Montigny of the same party with St. Cosme, and Tonti was the godfather. St. Cosme in the letter from which quotation has been made, speaking of their descent of the Illinois and landing at an Indian village, November 28, 1699, says: "We said mass in the cabin of a soldier named La Violette, married to a squaw, whose child Mr. De Montigny baptized." The entry in the mission record and the letter therefore confirm each other.

The first ceremony recorded after the removal of the mission to the present village, is a baptism performed April 17, 1701, by Gabriel Marest; and the first, and indeed the only one at which Gravier officiated, after this removal, occurred April 13, 1703, when he baptized the infant son of Pierre Bizaillon and Maria

Theresia. No further mention is made of Father Gravier in these records; but we know from other sources that he returned to the Peorias to labor among them, was dangerously wounded in a tumult excited by the medicine men, and descended the river in search of medical treatment, and that his injuries, aggravated by the long voyage, proved fatal to him at Mobile in 1706.

Under date of April 13, 1703, there appears in the midst of the entries of baptisms the single sentence "*Ad ripam Metchagamia dictam venimus.*" Whether this commemorates an expedition by some priest to the shore of Lake Michigan, which perhaps he gazed upon from the site of Chicago, or a visit to the little river flowing into the Mississippi, by which dwelt the Mitchagamias, who gave their name to both lake and river, we cannot tell. But it indicates an event which to some one seemed of importance enough to be recorded in the archives of the mission as carefully as were the ceremonies of the church. In 1707, first appears the name of the Father P. J. Mermet, who came from the great village of the Peorias, after the death of Pinet and Bineteau, to join Marest, with whom he was happily associated for many years. The latter, writing of their life at Kaskaskia, says: "Mermet remains at the village for the instruction of the Indians who stay there, the delicacy of his constitution placing it entirely out of his power to sustain the fatigues of the long journeys. Nevertheless, in spite of his feeble health, I can say that he is the soul of this mission. For myself, who am so constituted that I can run on the snow with the rapidity with which a paddle is worked in a canoe, and who have, thanks to God, the strength necessary to endure all these toils, I roam through the forests with the rest of our Indians, much the greater part of whom pass a portion of the winter in the chase."

April 26, 1707, Mermet performs the baptismal ceremony for the daughter of Tinice Outauticoue, (godmother Maria Oucanicoue), and George Thorel, commonly called *the Parisian*. It is strange to think that there should have been at that early day in the western wilderness, one so having so much of the airs and graces of the gay capital of France, as to be known distinctively as its citizen. The subsequent baptisms at the mission seem all to have been by Mermet and Marest, and the names of the women are usually Indian, including such remarkable ones as Martha Merounouetamoucoue and Domitilla Tehuigouanakigaboucoue. Occasionally, however, both parents are French. Thus, March 3d, 1715, was baptized Joannes son of Jean Baptiste Potier and Francoise Le Brise, who officiated as godmother at a ceremony in November of the same year. These are the earliest appearances of one of the matrons of the hamlet,

who seems from subsequent notices to have afterwards become a perennial godmother. She figures in that capacity on two occasions in 1717, having also presented a child of her own for baptism in that year, and on one of the only two chronicled in 1718, and we find her at the font again in 1719. With an entry made October 2d of the latter year, the baptismal register of the mission proper seems to end; although a very few entries in 1732-3 and 1735 are appended, but these seem to belong rather to the parish.

For the parish, by this time, had been established; and the next in order of these documents is a quarto of twenty-two pages, written in French, as all the rest of these records are, beginning with the "*Registre Des Baptêmes faits dans L'église de la Mission et dans la Paroisse de la Conception de Ne dame. Commencé le 18 Juin, 1719.*" It is evident from this that the mission chapel was still in use, but that a parish had been duly formed. And we learn from the first entry that another element had been added to the population, and that the soldiers of France were at the little village. This is of a baptism performed June 18, 1719, by Le Boullenger of the Society of Jesus, chaplain of the troops, and the godfather is Le Sieur Jacques Bouchart de Verasae, ensign of the troops. We may mention in passing that the infant is the daughter of the marriage of Jean B. Potier and Francoise Le Brise. The priest here named, Joseph Ignatius le Boullenger, is said to have been a man of great missionary tact and wonderful skill in languages. His Illinois catechism, and instructions in the same dialect concerning the mass and the sacraments, were considered to be masterpieces by other missionaries, for whose benefit he prepared a literal French translation. The names of French officers, Charles Legardeur de L'Isle and Claude Charles du Tisé, appear as godfathers in two succeeding entries, and our good friend Francoise Le Brise officiates on both occasions as godmother. We regret to notice that the godmothers as a rule, and she is no exception, declare that they are unable to write, and therefore make their marks. One baptism is of the daughter of a slave woman bearing an Indian name. January 20, 1720, was baptized the son of Charles Danis, a name well known at Kaskaskia as that of one of the first settlers, to whom was made the earliest recorded land-grant in that locality. It was dated May 10, 1722, and executed by Pierre Duque Boisbriant, Knight of the military order of St. Louis, and first king's lieutenant of the province of Louisiana, commanding at the Illinois, and Marc Antoine de la loire des Ursins, principal secretary for the Royal India Company. The godfather for Danis' child was this same Pierre Duque Boisbriant, who was the first military commander

who seems from subsequent entries to have afterwards become a personal godfather. She gives in that capacity no less than four in 1717, having also presented a child of her own for baptism in that year, and on one of the only two christenings in 1718, and we find her at the altar again in 1719. What an entry made October 25 of the latter year the baptismal register of the parish proper seems to end, although a very few entries in 1722-3 and 1725 are appended, but these seem to belong rather to the parish.

For the parish by this time had been established, and the next in order of these documents is a quarto of twenty-two pages written in French, as all the rest of these records are, beginning with the "Agreement de l'Église de St. Louis de la Nouvelle-France, 1712." It is evident from this that the mission church was still in use, but that a parish had been duly formed, and we learn from the first entry that another church had been added to the population, and that the soldiers or French were at this time village. This is of a baptism performed June 28, 1720, for the daughter of the Society of Jesus, captain of the troops, and the godfather is Le Sieur Jacques, brother of the priest, captain of the troops. We may suppose in passing that the priest is the daughter of the marriage of Jean-Baptiste and Catherine Le Sueur. The priest here named Joseph Ignace Le Sueur, died in 1725, and was a man of great missionary zeal and wonderful skill in languages. His Illinois catechism and instructions in the same dialect concerning the mass and the sacraments were considered to be masterpieces by other missionaries, by whom later on he prepared a manual French translation. The names of French officers, Charles Legardeur de La Pile and Claude Le Sueur, are found again as godfathers in two succeeding entries, and our good friend François Le Sueur officiates as both witnesses and godfather. We regret to notice that the godfather as a rule, and she is no exception, declines that duty, and we regret to write, and therefore make their names. The baptism is in the church, and a slave woman bearing an Indian name, January 20, 1721, was baptized the son of Charles Le Sueur, a name well known at Kaskaskia as that of one of the first settlers, a French settler, the earliest recorded baptism in that parish. It was dated May 10, 1721, and executed by Jean Jacques Le Sueur, Captain of the infantry under St. Louis, and his wife's baptism at the priory of La Louis, commenced at the Illinois and St. Louis, France de la Louis, was also recorded, whether for the same or not. The godfather for Marie-Anne was the same, Louis Dugas, godfather, who was the first military commander

in that region, and in one sense may be called the first governor of Illinois. And about this time we meet with the name of Jean Charles Guymonneau of the Company of Jesus, who was the principal officer of the church at the Illinois, and had special charge of an Indian village six miles inland from the Mississippi.

And now another change takes place, and Kaskaskia is no longer in the pastoral care of a missionary or military chaplain, but has its regular parish priest. Father Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois, who describes himself as "*curé de cette Paroisse,*" signals his accession by opening a new "*Registre des Baptêmes faits dans l'église Paroissiale de la Conception de Ne Dame des Cascaskias,*" which he commences July 9, 1720. And this, perhaps, indicates the time of the substitution of a parish church for the earlier mission chapel. The entries preceding this date, made by Boulenger and Guymonneau are, as the manuscript plainly shows, copies, and not the original record, and how this happened we speedily learn. For the precise Beaubois inserts in his register the following statement: "All that which preceeds is an extract which I, Nicholas Ig. de Beaubois, S. J., Curé of the parish of the Conception of our lady of the Cascaskias, certified to be correct and conformed to the original, which I have suppressed because it was not in order, and because it was kept on scattered leaves, and the present extract is signed by two witnesses, who have compared the present copy with the original; the 25th of July, 1720: De Beaubois, S. J." We could wish that this choleric priest had been a little more patent, or his predecessor a little more careful, for the scattered leaves of that suppressed original contained probably the only autograph of Commandant Boishriant ever written in the parish register, and would have been a little earlier original record than any we know of now in Illinois. But it was not so to be, and we must content ourselves with the fact that this register which Beaubois began is an undoubted original, containing perhaps the earliest existing manuscript penned in what is now the State of Illinois. And its opening entry of July 9th, 1720, has a special interest of its own, for the godfather at that baptism was "Le Sieur Pierre D'Artaguiette," captain of a company, and his signature is appended. He was a gallant young officer of good family in France, who some years later distinguished himself greatly in the wars with the Natchez Indians, and won promotion thereby, and the position of Commandant at the Illinois. From his station there, in 1736, he marched against the Chickasaws, under the orders of the royal governor of Louisiana, and bravely met a tragic death in the campaign. Next we have an entry of a child baptized by a soldier, because it was in danger of death before it could be

brought to a priest, but Beaubois, nevertheless, performs the ceremony over again. In the year 1720, le Sieur Girardot, ensign of the troops, appears as godfather, and from this time on regularly officiates in that capacity, vieing with Francoise Le Brise in frequency of attendance at the baptismal rite in the character of sponsor. His name was long known in Kaskaskia and its neighborhood, where he spent many years, and it is probably borne to-day by the town of Cape Girardeau in Missouri. In 1721, Le Sieur Nicholas Michel Chassin, Commissary of the Company of the West in the country of the Illinois, signs the register. He was one of the representatives of John Law's famous Mississippi Company, or Company of the West, afterwards merged in the Company of the Indies. In the same year, a child was re-baptized, over whom the ceremony had been once performed, on account of the risk and danger of the voyage up the Mississippi, by le Sieur Noyent, Major de la Place, at New Orleans, September 10, 1720, which seems to show that the date of 1723, usually given for the founding of New Orleans, is incorrect. So too a child, born at the Natchez in December, 1720, and baptized there by a *voyageur*, Pierre La Violette, probably a son of the soldier named in the mission records, was again baptized at Kaskaskia in May, 1721. And in the following June, that worthy woman, Francoise Le Brise, comes once more to the front in her favorite rôle of godmother, and unhesitatingly asserts that she is not able to sign her name, and is permitted to make her mark, which she does with a vigor and emphasis, which indicates that she was a woman of weight and influence in the community. By this time she has a competitor in one Catharine Juillet, who almost divides the honors with her, and who about this period officiates at the baptism of the son of a Pawnee slave, in company with le Sieur Philippe de la Renaudière, *directeur des mines pour la Compagnie d'Occident*, who signs his name to the register. And the succeeding entry is that of the baptism of the son born of the marriage of this Renaudière, who was a great man in the new colony, and the lady Perrine Pivet. This affair was one of state, and to the record of it are affixed the signatures, not only of the parents and the godfather, Le Gardeur de L'Isle, but of D'Artaguiette, Chassin, St. Jean Tonty—perhaps a relative of the great Tonti—Jean Baptiste Girardot and others. The last entry of a baptism in this book is on July 28th, 1721, and no baptismal register between that date and the year 1759 can now be found.

But next in order of time comes the *Registre des Decedes dans la Paroisse de la Conception de Notre Dame des Cascaskias, Commencé le 4e de Janvier 1721*, which begins with "the death in the parish on that day, at two hours after midnight, of Adrien

brought to a priest, but the priest, nevertheless, performed the ceremony next year. In the year 1732, is when the first marriage of the people appears as Godfather, and from this time on many lady officials in that capacity, namely with the name of La Roche in frequency of attendance at the baptismal rite in the church, in of sponsor. His name was long known in Kaskaskia and its neighborhood, where he spent many years, and it is probably borne to-day by the town of Cape Girardeau in Missouri. In 1731, Le Sieur Nicholas Michel Chastan, Comptroller of the Company of the West in the country of the Illinois, upon the register. He was one of the representatives of John Law's former Mississippi Company or Company of the West, who were married in the Company of the Indies. In the same year a child was baptised, over whom the ceremony had been performed, on account of the risk and danger of the voyage up the Illinois, ship by Le Sieur Noyon Major de la Truie, at New Orleans, September 10, 1732, which seems to show that the date of 1732 usually given for the founding of New Orleans is incorrect. He had a child born at the Natchez in December, 1730, and baptised there by a religious Pierre La Vinasse, probably a son of the soldier named in the mission records who seems baptised in Kaskaskia in May 1734. And in the following year, the same woman, Françoise La Roche, comes once more to the front in her favorite role of godmother and undoubtedly means that she is not able to sign her name and is permitted to write her name which she does with a vigor and confidence which indicates that she was a woman of weight and influence in the community. At this time she has a companion in one Catherine Joliet, who almost divides the honors with her, and who about this period officiates at the baptism of the son of a Captain (who is company) with Le Sieur Joliet, the Le Sieur Joliet, who was then with the Company of the Indies, who gives the name to the register. And the succeeding entry is that of the baptism of the son born of the marriage of the Kaskaskian, who was a great man in the new colony and the lady Pierre Joliet. This entry was one of many and to the record of it are added the signatures and only of the parents and the godfather, Le Sieur de la Roche, but on 17 April, 1732, Chastan St Jean Joliet—perhaps a relative of the great Joliet—Jean Baptiste Joliet and others. The last entry of a baptism in this book is on July 28th, 1737, and no baptism register between that date and the year 1740 now is found. But next in order of time comes the entry of the baptism of a French child, Company of the West, which was the child of a French child, which begins with the date of the baptism on that day at two hours, the register of which

Robillard, aged about forty-one years, an inhabitant of the parish, married the preceding night to Domitilla Sacatchioucoua. He had made confession and received the viaticum and the sacrament of extreme unction. His body was buried with the accustomed ceremonies in the cemetery of the parish, upon the high ground near the church, the same day of the month and year aforesaid. In witness whereof I have signed. N. Ig. de Beaubois, S. J." In 1721, appears the death of the wife of Francois Freiul, called the Good-Hearted One, of the King's Brigade of Miners; and also a solemn service for the repose of the soul of the deceased Sieur Louis Tessier, church-warden of the said parish, who died at Natchez the third of the month of June. In 1722, an entry is made, which strikingly illustrates the perils which beset the people of that little village on the great river, which was their only means of communication with the nearest settlements, hundreds of miles away. It reads as follows: "The news has come here this day of the death of Alexis Blaye and Laurent Bransart, who were slain upon the Mississippi by the Chickasaws. The day of their death is not known." Then, in a different ink, as if written at another time, is added below: "It was the 5th or 6th of March, 1722." And this state of things is sadly emphasized by the entry immediately following. "The same year, on the 22d of June, was celebrated in the parish church of the Kaskaskias a solemn service for the repose of the soul of the lady Michelle Chauvin, wife of Jacques Nepven, merchant of Montreal, aged about 45 years, and of Jean Michelle Nepven, aged twenty years, and Elizabeth Nepven, aged 13 years, and Susanne Nepven, 8 years, her children. They were slain by the savages from 5 to 7 leagues from the Wabash. It is believed that Jaques Nepven was taken prisoner, and carried away with one young boy, aged about nine years, named Prever, and one young slave girl, not baptized." This family, doubtless, was removing from Canada to Kaskaskia, as a number did about this time, and had traveled the long and weary way by the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie, the Miami River, the portage to the Wabash, and the Ohio. From fifteen to twenty miles above the mouth of the latter river, then called the Wabash by the French, or within eighty miles or so of their destination, when they were counting the hours to their glad arrival there, they were waylaid by the merciless savages, the mother, son, and two daughters killed, and the father and two servants taken captives. One daughter appears, from other minutes in these records, to have escaped this catastrophe, and she became the wife of the young ensign, Jean B. Girardot, whose signature becomes so familiar to us as we turn these ancient pages. There

Kopland, aged about forty-one years, an inhabitant of the
 married the preceding night to Thomas Beaudouin and
 had made confession and received the viaticum and the
 ment of extreme unction. His body was found with
 accustomed cartridges in the vicinity of the parish, up
 high ground near the church, the same day of the same
 year aforesaid. In witness whereof I have signed, at
 Beaudouin S. J. In 1751, appears the death of the
 Francois Friel, called the Good Hearted One of the
 Brigade of Illinois; and also a soldier serving for the
 the soul of the deceased Simon Louis, French, church was
 the said parish, who died at Kaskaskia the third of the
 June. In 1752, an entry is made which strikingly illustrates
 perils which beset the people of that little village on the
 river, which was their only means of communication with
 nearest settlements, hundreds of miles away. It reads as follows:
 "The news has come here this day of the death of Jean
 and Laurent Hureau, who were slain upon the Mississippi
 the Chickasaw. The day of their death is not known."
 in a different way, as it written at another time is added:
 "It was the 25th or 26th of March, 1752." And this
 things is easily explained by the entry immediately following:
 "The same year, on the 22d of June, was celebrated in the
 church of the Kaskaskias a solemn service for the repose
 soul of the lady Michelle Charvillat, wife of Jacques de
 merchant of Montreal, aged about 15 years, and of Jean Mi-
 Nepeven, aged twenty years, and Elizabeth Nepeven, aged
 years, and Suzanne Nepeven, 8 years, her children. They
 slain by the savages from 2 to 7 leagues from the Water
 is believed that Jacques Nepeven was taken prisoner, and
 away with one young boy, aged about nine years, named
 and one young slave girl, not baptized. The family, doubt-
 was removing from Canada to Kaskaskia, as a number did
 this time and had traveled the long and weary way by
 Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie, the Miami River
 portage to the Wabash, and the Ohio. From Green to
 miles above the mouth of the latter river, then called the W
 by the French, or within eighty miles or so of their death
 when they were counting the hours to their glad arrival
 they were waylaid by the merciless savages, the mother and
 two daughters killed, and the father and two servants
 captives. One daughter, spared, from other women in
 records to have escaped the catastrophe, and she became
 wife of the young savage, Jean H. Chirac, whose story
 becomes so familiar to us as we turn these ancient pages.

follows another solemn service for Jean B. Robillard, who died and was buried at Point Coupée, upon the Mississippi, the 14th of July of the year 1722, and then the death of Pierre Barel, a married man having wife and children in Canada.

The register is kept entirely by Father Beaubois during these years, except one entry by Boullenger, who states that he made it for Beaubois in his absence, which words are heavily underlined. As he inserts this in the wrong place, by order of dates, and styles it an omission, it is a wonder that Beaubois permitted it to remain. And we can but be thankful that he did not lose his temper on his return, and suppress all that had gone before on this account.

In 1724, the simple relation of what happened in a single day gives us a graphic picture of the sad scenes the infant settlement had sometimes to witness. In that year, "the 12th of April, were slain at break of day by the Fox Indians four men, to-wit: Pierre Du Vaud, a married man about twenty-five years of age, Pierre Bascau dit Beau Soleil, also a married man about 28 or 30 years of age, and two others, of whom one was known by the name of the Bohemian, and the other by the name of L'Etreneusieu, the three last dwelling and employed at Fort de Chartres. Their bodies, having been brought to Cascaskia the same day by the French, were buried at sunset in the cemetery of this parish." From break of day to set of sun! These four, who perhaps had just begun their daily labor in the forest or the fields, were set upon in the early morning by the wily savages, who had come from the far away Fox villages in quest of scalps, and made good their retreat with their trophies, before the sad news was known at the stronghold where the victims dwelt, or at the little village which gave them sepulchre before the evening shades had fallen. It is interesting to notice also that one of these men was called *the Bohemian*, probably the first of that race who came to Illinois, and the earliest use of the name in the annals of the West. September 15, 1725, is mentioned the death of Martha, daughter of M. Girardot, "*officier des troupes*," and of Theresa Nepven, his wife. In 1726, inserted in this burial register are the baptisms of a negress and negro belonging to residents of the village, and in 1727, that of a slave of the Padoucah tribe of Indians. These, with others following, seem to refer to baptisms performed during fatal illness, and hence included in the list of deaths. The attention is attracted by the larger handwriting, and the crosses and heavy lines in the margin of the last entry in this burial register, which reads: "On the 18th of December, 1727, died Zebedeé Le Jeune Donné, of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, having received the sacraments, and was buried in the parish

follows another solemn service for Jean B. Robillard who died and was buried at Point Carbon upon the Mississippi, the 15th of July of the year 1757, and then the death of Louis Bouché a married man having wife and children in Canada.

The register is kept entirely by Father Deschamps during these years, except one entry by Deschamps, who states that he taught it for Deschamps in his absence, which words are heavily underlined. As he inserts this in the wrong place, the order of dates and styles it an omission, it is a wonder that Deschamps perceived it to remain. And we can but be thankful that he did not lose his temper on his return, and suppress all that had gone before on this account.

In 1754, the simple relation of what happened in a single day gives us a graphic picture of the sad scene the infant settlement had sometimes to witness. In that year, "the 15th of April, were slain at break of day by the Fox Indians four men, a man named Du Val, a married man about twenty-five years of age, Pierre Du Val, also a married man about 25 or 30 years of age, and two others, of whose names I know nothing, the three last dwelling and employed at Fort de Chartres. Their bodies having been brought to Kaskaskia the same day by the French, were buried at sunset in the cemetery of this parish. From break of day to set of sun. Three men, who perhaps had just begun their daily labor in the forest or the fields, were seen upon in the early morning by the way savages, who had come from the far away Fox villages in quest of scalps, and made good their return with their trophies before the red men were known at the stronghold where the soldiers dwelt, or at the village which gave them respectful notice the evening before had fallen. It is interesting to notice also that one of these men was called Mr. Deschamps, probably the first of that race who came to Illinois, and the earliest use of the name in the records of the West. September 12, 1757, is mentioned the death of Marie, daughter of M. Charbon, "widow de la Roche," and of Thomas Dupont, his wife. In 1750, located in the burial register are the burials of a negro and negro belonging to residents at the village, and in 1757, that of a slave of the Frenchman wife of Dupont. These with others following seem to refer to Indian burials. The attention is attracted by the large handwriting, and the crosses and heavy lines in the margin of the last entry in this burial register, which reads: "On the 15th of December, 1757, died Nicholas Le Jeune, Baron of the Government of Louisiana, having received the sacraments and was buried in the parish

church, under the second bench from the middle. The same day were transferred from the old chapel to the said church the bodies of the Reverend Fathers Gabriel Marest and Jean Mermet, religious priests of the Company of Jesus, Missionaries to the Illinois, who died at the said mission." Thus we learn that Marest, one of the founders of Kaskaskia, and Mermet, who likewise was most intimately associated with the early history of the place, both labored there until the end, and found there a grave. The good shepherds, who had followed their wandering flock from the banks of the Illinois to a home by the Mississippi, and had seen the roving mission change to a permanent settlement, where they had toiled long and zealously, were buried first in the mission chapel. But when this structure had fallen into decay, and a new edifice had taken its place, loving hands reverently brought thither the precious dust, that the faithful pastors might still sleep in the midst of their own people.

The record of the deaths occurring in the parish, between the termination of this register in 1727 and the commencement of the burial register opened in 1764, has disappeared. After the first burial register, and in the same book, is a portion of the first marriage register of the parish, which begins abruptly in 1724, with the nuptials of Antoine and Marie, slaves of the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits. Among the witnesses who sign, are Girardot, who seems as ready to officiate at a wedding as at a christening, Zebedée Le Jeune, the priest whose death in 1727 is noted in the burial register, and one Francoise, the last name not given, who makes a mark we think we recognize, and who does not seem to be at all deterred from offering her services as a witness by her inability to write her name. The same year was the marriage of the widow of a sergeant of the king's miners, which Girardot witnesses, and that of a Frenchman, a widower, to an Indian woman, the widow of Charles Danis. This seems to have been a notable wedding, and D'Artaguiette and Legardeur de L'Isle sign among the witnesses, and the inevitable Francoise le Brise makes her mark. Then follows the marriage of a native of Brittany with Anne, a female savage of the Nachitoches tribe, which both Girardot and Francoise le Brise grace with their presence; and the next year, that of a Frenchman with a German woman, which seems to have attracted the attention of the Aborigines, as two chiefs, one the head of the Tamaroa tribe, make their marks as witnesses. In 1726, Jacques Hyacinthe, of the Pawnee nation, was married to Therese, a freed savage woman of the Padoucah tribe, and the whole party signed with their marks.

Turn we now to another entry of which the handwriting, clear as copper-plate, and the ink almost as dark as if used but yester-

church under the second bench from the middle. The day were transferred from the old chapel to the new chapel of the Reverend Father Joseph James and Jean M. religious priest of the Company of Jesus Missionaries. I think, who died at the said mission. Then we have almost one of the founders of Wakkanai and Shimane. Likewise was most intimately associated with the early life of the place, both before and after the war and peace. The good shepherd who had followed their way back from the banks of the Iliana in a boat to the mission and had seen the young mission change to a permanent mission, where they had toiled long and faithfully, was laid in the mission chapel. But when the structure had fallen decay, and a new edifice had taken its place, having been brought hither the previous day, that the church might still sleep in the midst of their own people. The record of the deaths occurring in the parish, however, termination of this register in 1727 and the commencement of the burial register opened in 1764 has been observed. After the burial register, and in the same book, is a portion of the marriage register of the parish, which begins annually in with the names of Antoine and Marie, sister of the Father the parish. Among the witnesses who sign the register who seems as ready to officiate at a wedding as at a burial. Indeed, he found the first whose death in 1727 is not the burial register and now I remember the last name and who makes a mark we think we recognize and who does seem to be an all-dressed form suffering from sickness as a woman by her inability to write her name. The same year was marriage of the widow of a sergeant of the king's company, Gaudet witness, and that of a Frenchman, a witness, Indian woman, the widow of Charles Lacroix. Then comes to been a notable wedding, and I think, and the witnesses. I think sign among the witnesses and the witnesses. I think make her mark. Then follow the marriage of a of Henry with Anne, a French lady of the Netherlands, which both Gaudet and Lacroix in their own with presence, and the next year, that of a Frenchman with a woman, which seems to have attracted the attention of the signed, as two chiefs, one the head of the Yamana, and their marks as witnesses. In 1728 Joseph Lacroix, a Frenchman, was married to Marie, a French woman, the Frenchman wife and the whole party signed with their own. Then we have to another copy of which the handwriting, as copperplate, and the ink almost as dark as it used to be.

day, make it well-nigh impossible to realize that more than one hundred and fifty years have passed since the characters were formed, and the event described took place. It tells us that in the year 1727, the twentieth day of the month of October, the nuptial benediction was pronounced over two inhabitants of the parish, Joseph Lorrin and Marie Philippe, and shows that this was a great social event in the early day. Chassin of the Royal India Company, Girardot, Pierre de Franchomme, and others of the gentry of Kaskaskia sign the register as witnesses, and then appear two signatures, distinct and bold as though freshly written, which we have not met with hitherto. These are the names of Vinsenne and St. Ange fils; the Chevalier Vinsenne, commandant of the post by the Wabash, on the site of which the city of Vincennes, in Indiana, bearing a name derived from his, has grown up, and the young St. Ange, one of his officers, a relative doubtless of the sterling soldier, who was to be the last French Commandant of the Illinois. They had come from their distant station, the nearest neighbor of Kaskaskia, a hundred leagues, in bark canoes, or had traversed the prairie and threaded the forest for days together, to greet old friends and new, and to dance gaily at the wedding, all unmindful of the sad fate to which they were doomed; for, ere ten years passed by, these two, with the knightly D'Artaguiette and the heroic Jesuit Senat, were to perish at the stake among the savage Chickasaws, who wondered to see the white men die so bravely.

The last entry in this marriage record is under date of June 7th, 1729, and for a space of nearly twelve years, or until January 3d, 1741, there is no register of marriages in this parish extant, and the book containing the intervening entries has probably been destroyed. On the day last mentioned it begins again, with R. Tartarin as Curé, and from that time on it is kept in a folio volume of 220 pages, apparently containing a complete record of the marriages at Kaskaskia, from 1741 to 1835. In November, 1741, is noted the marriage of the widow of Pierre Grosion de Ste. Ange, lieutenant of a company detached from the marine, perhaps the young officer who died with D'Artaguiette five years before. September 19th, 1746, Father P. J. Watrin becomes Curé, and about this period the names of natives of Quebec and of Detroit, residing at Kaskaskia, frequently occur in the register. Brother Charles Magendie, of the Company of Jesus, acts as assistant to Father Watrin, and we hear also of Monseigneur Mercier, Vicaire General, who occasionally exercises his authority. Slaves, red and black, and freed men and freed women of both colors, give light and shade to the good father's pages, and are dismissed with brief mention. But when, on Jan.

day, make it well-nigh impossible to realize that more than one hundred and fifty years have passed since the plantation was formed, and the story described took place. It tells of the year 1727, the twentieth day of the month of October, the nuptial benediction was pronounced over two inhabitants of the parish, Joseph Lamin and Marie Philipe, and shows that this was a great social event in the early days. One of the Royal India Company's *Chambas*, *Monsieur de Kaskaskia*, and others of the group of *Kaskaskia* sign the register as witnesses, and there appear two significant details and hold as though freshly written, which we have not met with elsewhere. These are the names of *Vincent* and *St. Ange*, the *Chambas* *Vincent*, commanding of the post of the *Wabash*, on the site of which the city of *Vincennes* is situated, bearing a name derived from his own name, and the young *St. Ange*, one of his officers, a relative of the *Chambas*. They had come from their domain, the nearest neighbor of *Kaskaskia*, a hundred leagues, had crossed or had traversed the prairie and reached the town for days together, to great old friends and new, and to those daily at the wedding, all unnumbered of the sort, to which they were deemed; for, ten years passed by, there was, with the knightly *D'Araguette* and the heroic *Joseph* were to pass at the stake among the savage *Chickasaw*, who would be the whole man the so heavily.

The last entry in this marriage record is under date of June 17th, 1727, and for a space of nearly twenty years or until January 26, 1747, there is no register of marriages in this parish extent; and the book containing the intervening entries has probably been destroyed. On the day last mentioned it began again, with *R. Tanguin* as *Groom*, and from that time on it is kept in a complete volume of 120 pages apparently containing a complete record of the marriages at *Kaskaskia*, from 1747 to 1837. In November 1747 is noted the marriage of the widow of *Marie Lamin* de *St. Ange* testament of a company detached from the name, perhaps the young officer who died with *D'Araguette* five years before. September 17th, 1747, Father *N. J. Watin* becomes *Groom*, and shows this period the names of names of *Quicher* and of *Baron*, residing at *Kaskaskia*, frequently occur in the register. Another *Charles* *Stange* of the Company of *Leans*, acts as assistant to Father *Watin*, and we hear also of *Monsieur* *Martin*, *Vincent* *General*, who occasionally exercises his authority. Slaves, red and black, and freed men and freed women of both colors, give light and shade to the good father's pages, and are dismissed with brief mention. The story, on Jan-

7th, 1748, the wedding of Monsieur Joseph Buchet, exercising the functions of Principal Secretary of the Marine, Sub-delegate of Monsieur the Commissary Ordonnateur and Judge at the Illinois, once a widower, and Marie Louise Michel, twice a widow, is celebrated, and the Reverend Father Guyenne, Superior of the Missions of the Company of Jesus in Illinois, performs the ceremony, assisted, as we should say, by the priest of the parish, the entry is thrice as long as usual. And the Chevalier de Bertel, Major commanding for the King at Fort Chartres, and Benoist de St. Clair, Captain commanding at Kaskaskia, sign the record, and others of the first circles of Kaskaskia, and all are able to write their names. Then follows the wedding of the daughter of Sieur Leonard Billeront, Royal Notary at the Illinois, with the son of Charles Vallée, another name known long and well at Kaskaskia.

In this year, Father S. L. Meurin, who describes himself as a missionary priest of the Company of Jesus, exercising the functions of Curé, signs one marriage entry; and the next year Father M. T. Fourré officiates at the wedding of two slaves of Mr. de Montchevaux, Captain commanding at the Cascaskias. And January 13th. 1750, Father Watrin performed the ceremony at the union of Jean Baptiste Benoist de St. Claire, Captain of infantry, who had now become commandant at the Illinois, and Marie Bienvenue, daughter of Antoine Bienvenue, Major of militia, who had not long before removed from New Orleans to Kaskaskia, where his descendants still reside. And the same year De Giradot signs once more as a witness. In 1751, there appears the name of St. Gemme, which later was prominent in the history of the place. When the property of the Jesuits in Kaskaskia was sold by the French commandant for the crown, under the royal decree for the suppression of the order, St. Gemme was the purchaser, and he became the richest subject in the village, furnishing to the King's magazines as much as 86,000 weight of flour in a single season, which was only part of one year's harvest. The family came from Beauvais, in France, and its members were often called by the name of that town, but the true patronymic was St. Gemme, which some descendants of that stock to-day write St. James. In 1755, De Girardot's signature greets us again, and for the last time in these records. Aubert, Jesuit, relieves Watrin in 1759, and the succeeding year joins in wedlock Dussault de la Croix, *officier des troupes du Roy*, son of Messire Dessault de la Croix, Chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, and the widow of Antoine de Gruye, Lieutenant of the troops, written permission having been given by Monsieur de Macarty, Major Commandant at the Illinois. One of the wit-

nesses is Neyon de Villier, a bold officer in the old French war, who did much damage on the frontiers of the colonies. He was one of the seven brothers, who all held commissions under King Louis, and was Macarty's successor as Commandant of the Illinois country. April 11th, 1763, the bans of marriage were published for the third time between Messire Philippe Francois de Rastel, "*Chevalier de Rocheblave, officier des troupes de cette colonie, natif de Savournon Diocese de Gap en Dauphiné, fils de Messire Jean Joseph de Rastel, Chevalier Marquis de Rocheblave, Seigneur de Savournon le Bersac place du bourg et de vallée de vitrolles,*" and Michel Marie Dufresne, daughter of Jacques Michel Dufresne, officer of militia of this parish; written permission having been given by Monsieur De Neyon de Villiers, Major Commandant at the country of the Illinois, who signs the register. This Rocheblave, at the transfer of the country by the French to the English, took service under the banner of St. George, and was the last British Commandant of the Illinois, being captured at Fort Gage, on the bluff above Kaskaskia, July 4th, 1778, by the able leader, George Rogers Clark. In 1764, Father Meurin seems to take charge of the parish, which he describes as that of the Immaculate Conception of the holy virgin, Village of Kaskaskias, Country of the Illinois, Province of Louisiana, Diocese of Quebec; and associated with him at times was Brother Luc Collet, Missionary Priest at the Illinois.

The sturdy priest, Pierre Gibault, assumes the functions of Curé des Kaskaskias et Vicaire General des Illinois et Tamarois, in 1768, and his bold signature, with its unique flourish, greets us through these records for fifteen years or more. We should know that the man with such a chirography would have been just the one to render the efficient assistance given to George Rogers Clark, and must have belonged to the church militant. He was very slow to recognize the change in the civil government of the country, when it was ceded by France to England, which was quite distasteful to him, and hardly notices it in these records. But in 1776, when the Vicar-General of the Illinois country, the former curé, S. L. Meurin, officiated, we find this transfer indicated in the mention of Mr. Hugh Lord, Captain commanding for his Britannic Majesty, and his signature and those of some of his officers are subscribed to one entry. In May, 1778, Father Gibault condescends to speak of Mr. De Rocheblave as Commandant-in-Chief in the country of the Illinois, but does not say under which king; and before he made the next entry, 4th August of same year, the hapless Rocheblave, to Gibault's great satisfaction, was on his way to Virginia, a prisoner of war, and Clark and his "Long Knives," as his men were called, held the fort.

Reluctantly we see the last of the handwriting of this friend of the new republic, which is followed in 1785, by that of De Saint Pierre as Curé, and De la Valinière as Vicar-General; and in their time, from 1792 onward, English names begin to appear, such as Archibald McNabb, of Aberdeen, and William St. Clair, son of James St. Clair, captain in the Irish Brigade in the service of France, and John Edgar, once an English officer, and afterward a prominent citizen of Kaskaskia and of Illinois, and Rachel Edgar, his American wife, who persuaded him to forswear the King of Great Britain and all his works; and William Morrison, who emigrated from Philadelphia, in 1790, to establish a mercantile business in the old French town. And with these are the new French names, representing the arrivals from Canada during that period, and noticeable among them that of Pierre Menard, afterwards the first Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, the son of a liberty-loving Canadian, who fought by the side of Montgomery, at Quebec. In 1793, Gabriel Richard takes up the record as parish priest. Later he was stationed at Detroit, and took a leading part in the early history of Michigan, representing that Territory in Congress, and was the only Catholic priest who was ever a member of that body.

The register runs on without a break well into the present century, and we note as we pass the marriage on May 22d, 1806, of Pierre Menard, widower, and Angelique Saucier, granddaughter of Jean B. Saucier, once a French officer at Fort Chartres, who resigned and settled in the Illinois country. Donatien Ollivier was the officiating priest. In 1817, at the wedding of a daughter of William Morrison, Ninian Edwards, then Governor of the Territory of Illinois, afterward third Governor of the State, and Shadrach Bond, first Governor of the State, sign as witnesses. July 11, 1819, at the marriage of a son of Pierre Chouteau to a daughter of Pierre Menard, it is recited that the husband was born at St. Louis in the Missouri Territory, and the wife at Kaskaskia in the State of Illinois, which is the first mention of the State of Illinois in these records. Many members of these two families, both prominent in the early history of the Illinois country, witness this entry. In April, 1820, William Morrison, Eliza, his wife, Governor Shadrach Bond, and William H. Brown, in after years a leading citizen of Chicago, appear as witnesses, and the last entry in this book, commenced in 1741, is made in 1820. A smaller volume in the same cover continues the list of marriages to 1835, and in a clerkly hand, Sidney Breese, late Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, affixes his signature to an entry made February 11th, 1822. John Reynolds, afterwards Governor of Illinois, is

Reluctantly we see the last of the handwriting of the brand the new register which is followed in 1787 by that of the late Pierre de Cury and the late Venerable de Venerable and their time from 1787 onward. English names begin to appear such as Archibald Macdonald, of Aberdeen, and William St. Clair, son of James St. Clair, captain in the Irish Brigade in the army of France, and John Logan, once an English soldier and at one time a prominent citizen of Kaskaskia and of Illinois, and Rachel Logan, his American wife, who purchased her to him, sweet the King of Great Britain and all his wonders, and William, who emigrated from Philadelphia in 1792 to establish a mercantile business in the old French town. And with this are the new French names, representing the mixture from Canada during that period, and noticeable among them that of Louis Blain, afterwards the first Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, son of a liberty-loving Canadian, who fought by the side of Montgomery at Quebec. In 1793 Gabriel Michoud takes up the record as parish priest. Last he was stationed at Hannibal, took a leading part in the early history of Illinois, representing that Territory in Congress, and was the only Catholic priest who was ever a member of that body.

The register runs on without a break well into the present century, and we note as we pass the marriage on May 22, 1800, of Pierre Menard, widower, and Angélique Dubois, widow, daughter of Jean B. Dubois, once a French officer in the Canadian army, who married and settled in the Illinois country. Donatien Olivier was the officiating priest. In 1801 at the wedding of a daughter of William Menard, Notary-Keeper then Governor of the Territory of Illinois, afterwards third in rank of the State, and Zachariah Bush, first Governor of the State, sign witnesses. July 11, 1801, at the marriage of a Pierre Chomont to a daughter of Pierre Menard, it is noted that the husband was born at St. Louis in the Illinois Territory and the wife at Kaskaskia in the State of Illinois, which is the first mention of the State of Illinois in these records. The members of these two families were prominent in the early history of the Illinois country, witness this entry. In 1802, William Johnston, Esq., his wife Catherine Johnston, and William H. Brown, in their first wedding ceremony, Chicago, appear as witnesses, and the last entry in this book, commenced in 1774, is made in 1822. A further volume in the same cover continues the list of marriages to 1847, and in clearly hand, Sidney Hines, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, affixes his signature to an entry made between 1811 and 1822. John Reynolds, afterwards Governor of Illinois,

a witness in 1824, and two years later, Felix St. Vrain, the Indian agent, murdered by the savages at the outbreak of the Black-Hawk war, signs the record, and with him Nathaniel Pope, delegate to Congress from the Territory of Illinois, and first United States Judge for the District of Illinois—all in the time of Francois Xavier Dahmen, priest of the Congregation.

In a folio volume, imported, as it would appear, from Bordeaux, the Register of Baptisms is resumed in 1759, and continued to 1801, and is carried on in a smaller volume to 1815. One of its many curious entries is of the baptism of "the son of an infidel savage woman of the Choctaw tribe, and a savage man of the Peorias;" and numerous baptisms among negro slaves take place.

In a smaller book, the Burial Register begins again with this statement, "The old register of persons deceased in the Parish of the Immaculate Conception of the Kaskaskias having been filled, I have continued to register in the old book of accounts, of which a large part was blank. The Register of Deaths commencing only at this leaf, the 8th day of September, 1764." Of the old register, thus referred to, which probably filled the gap from Dec. 18th, 1727, to September 8th, 1764, no trace can be discovered, and it is probably destroyed. One of the first entries in 1764, by Father Meurin, is of the death and burial of a poor voyageur, of whom he says: "I know neither the family, nor the parish, nor where or when he was born." Some years later, Father G.'s vault buries a little Illinois savage eight hours after baptism; and in 1779, a negro slave belonging to "Mr. Le Colonel Klark." And the same year, he performs the funeral service over Joseph Brayeau, aged seventy-eight years, slain the night before, by the savages on the Kaskaskia River. He also buries two little Illinois savages, one named Francois and the other Michael, and, shortly after, holds a solemn service for Charles Robbin, native of Canada, aged about thirty-eight years, killed by the savages, at the point of the River of the Kaskaskias; "his body was found and buried on an island of the Mississippi." He next chants a solemn service in memory of Joseph Bineau, a young man from Detroit, slain on the banks of the Beautiful River by the savages with four other Frenchmen in the same canoe. And the following year, one is sung for the repose of the soul of Jean De Noyon, slain by the savages on the Beautiful River, and buried on L'Isle aux Boeufs "by all those who belonged to the barge who have certified that they were present at his death, and at that of Joseph la Fleur, killed and buried with him." It appears that the Indians did not always confine themselves to white victims, for he records the death of one named Pierre, an Illinois indian, killed by his enemies along the River of the Kaskaskias. In 1792, died Archi-

a witness in 1824, and two years later John St. Vrain, the Indian agent, mounted by the savages at the outbreak of the Black Hawk war, signs the record, and with him William Tappan, delegate to Congress from the Territory of Illinois, and the United States Judge for the District of Illinois—all in the time of Francois Xavier Dabene, priest of the Congregation.

In a later volume, imposed, as it would appear, from London, the Register of Baptisms is resumed in 1755, and continued to 1801, and is carried on in a smaller volume to 1810. One of the many curious entries is of the baptism of "the son of an Indian savage woman of the Choctaw tribe, and a savage man of the Peorias"; and numerous baptisms among negro slaves take place.

In a smaller book, the Rural Register begins again with this statement: "The old register of persons deceased in the Parish of the Immaculate Conception of the Kaskaskia having been filled, I have continued to register in the old book by inserting in which a large part was blank. The Register of Deaths commencing only at this last the 8th day of September, 1757." On the old register, thus referred to, which probably filled the gap from 1757 to 1810, 1757, to September 8th, 1757, no trace can be discovered, and it is probably destroyed. One of the first entries in 1757, for Father Meunier is of the death and burial of a poor negro slave, whom he says: "I know neither the name nor the parish, nor where or when he was born." Some years later, Father St. Vrain writes a little Illinois savage eight years after baptism, and in 1770, a negro slave belonging to "Mr. Le Colonel Kaskia." And the same year, he performs the funeral service over Joseph Brizot, aged seventy-eight years, with the night before by the savages on the Kaskaskia River. He also buries two little boys, one named Francis, and the other Michael, and shortly after holds a solemn service for Charles Robbin, a native of Canada, aged about thirty-eight years, killed by the savages at the point of the River of the 1st of June. "His body was found and buried on an island in the Mississippi." The next entrance solemn service is in memory of Joseph Meunier, a young man from Detroit, slain on the banks of the beautiful River by the savages with four other Frenchmen in the same year. And the following year, one is sung for the repose of the soul of Jean Le Neveu, slain by the savages on the Mississippi River, and buried on 11th June 1770. "He all those who belonged to the tribe who have certified that they were present at his death, and at that of Joseph Le Fleury, killed and buried with him." It appears that the Indians did not always consider themselves to share sorrow for the death of one of their French or Illinois friends, killed by the enemies along the River of the Kaskaskia. In 1767, died Andre

bald McNabb, native of the Shire of Perth, in Scotland, and next is mentioned the killing of two men, from the village of Kaskaskia, who fell by the hand of the savages upon the River Cumberland or Shawanon. In 1827, the death of a slave of Mr. Cain is noted. Probably Elias K. Kane is referred to, one of the first senators from Illinois. And we learn, at this last date, that Kaskaskia has ceased to be a part of the diocese of Quebec, and now belongs to that of Baltimore.

We might continue thus to cull from these old records things grave and gay, quaint and interesting, but the limits of this paper compel us to forbear, and we must leave the greater part of them untouched. It is pleasant to pour over the brown pages, to decipher the cramped handwriting, and to imagine the long succession of worthy priests making their careful entries, little thinking that they would ever be read beyond the bounds of their own parish, or be of value to any but the dwellers therein, but they made them none the less faithfully. And so these parish records, intended simply to show the births, marriages, and deaths among the people of one little village, for the greater part of its existence an outpost of civilization in the heart of the western wilderness, unconsciously and so most accurately reveal much of the early history of the region which is now a great State.

They tell us of the black-robed missionaries, who made those long and weary journeys to plant the cross among the savages, and toiled to spread their faith with a zeal and devotion unsurpassed; of the bold pioneers, who, for the sake of gain and adventure, traversed the wilds with their lives in their hands and of their merciless foes; of the days of wild speculation, when the streets of Paris were full of eager purchasers of shares in the wonder-working company which was to found an empire on the banks of the Mississippi, and draw endless riches from the mines to be opened there; of the high-born officers, who sought distinction or promotion by service in this far-away colony, and of their soldiers, trained to war across the sea; and, as we read, plumes and banners wave, and sabres clank, and the red men look curiously at the musketeers, and those whose names are written in the pages of these time-worn books pass before us, and the old scenes come back again. They give us glimpses too of the struggle between two mighty nations for the valley of the Beautiful River, and for dominion in the New World, the prelude to the mightier struggle in which the victor in the earlier strife lost its conquests and its ancient possessions as well; and of the part which this early settlement played in those contests. We see the sceptre pass from one nation to another, and when the sound

of war is hushed we note the coming of peace, with commerce and agriculture in its train. And, as the tide of enterprise reaches the old French village, we see its temporary transformation into an American town, and can realize its astonishment at finding its limits extending, its population doubling, its streets thronged, and itself the seat of government of a vast territory and the first capital of a State. And we can appreciate its relief when the wave recedes and the new names disappear, and rejoice with it that this episode is over, and it is left to its ancient ways and its own familiar people, and to a rest which has since been almost undisturbed.

And hence, for one who approaches it to-day, there is little to disturb the impression that it is really the Kaskaskia of the olden time to which he draws near. The way still lies, as of yore, through a forest, in which stands the old residence of Pierre Menard, vacant, and fast going to decay, but with its furniture and books still in place, as if its occupants of long ago had left but yesterday. It is a type of the village itself, once astir with life, now full of stillness. As you cross the Kaskaskia River by the old-fashioned ferry, and are greeted by the ancient ferryman, the illusion is not dispelled. And the wide streets, unmarked by wheel-tracks; the antique French houses, with their high dormer-windows; the old brick buildings, the first erected of that material in Illinois, each with a history—this one the earliest courthouse in the State, and that one the old United States land-office—built of three-inch bricks, brought from Pittsburg in flatboats, in 1792; the priest's house, constructed of materials from the ruins of the nunnery once located there; and the parish church, containing the bell cast at Rochelle, in France, in 1741, for this parish, the first that rang between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi—all give one a mingled impression of antiquity and departed greatness.

You may dine at the village tavern, in the same great room, fully thirty feet square, in which dinner was served to the Marquis de Lafayette, in 1825, when he tarried here on his way down the Mississippi, and note the quaint wood-carving of the high mantlepiece, and of the mouldings of the doors and windows, and see beneath the porch the heavy hewn timbers of which the house is built, justifying the tradition that it is a century and a-quarter old, and was already venerable when Edward Coles, the second Governor of Illinois, made it his residence. You may see part of the foundation of the William Morrison house, at which a reception was given to Lafayette, and the dilapidated framework of the Edgar mansion, where he was a guest. The site of the house of the French commandant, which was afterwards the first

of war is hushed we note the coming of peace, with commerce and agriculture in its train. And as the tide of emigration reaches the old French village, we see its temporary transformation into an American town, and can realize its transformation by finding its limits extending its population doubling its numbers, and itself the seat of government of a new territory, through, and the first capital of a State. And we can appreciate its relation when the waves recede and the new names disappear, and reflect with it that this episode is over, and it is left to its ancient ways and its own frontier people, and to a town which has never been almost unobscured.

And hence for one who approaches it to-day, there is little to disturb the impression that it is really the backbone of the whole time to which he thus here. The way will lead us of course through a forest, in which stands the old residence of Fort Meade, vacant and far going to decay, but with its furniture and books still in place, as if its occupants of long ago had but but yesterday. It is a type of the village itself, once again and its life, now full of stillness. As you cross the bridge, there the old-fashioned ferry and are greeted by the ancient stone, the illusion is not dispelled. And the whole scene, unaltered by which track, the antique French houses, with their high windows, the old brick buildings, the first erected of the settlement in Illinois, each with a history—this one the earliest built house in the State, and then one the old French stone had once—built of three-inch bricks, brought from France in 1681, in 1701, the present house, constructed of materials from the ruins of the monastery once located there; and the parish church, containing the bell cast at Rochelle in France in 1717, for the parish, the first that ever entered the Mississippi, and the Mississippi—all give one a mingled impression of antiquity and defunct grandeur.

You may dine at the village tavern in the same great dining-hall thirty-four years in which dinner was served in the late past the 13th June, 1817, when he arrived here on his way down the Mississippi, and note the quaint wood-carving of the high mantelpiece, and of the mantelpiece of the doors and windows, and see beneath the porch the heavy beam of which the house is built, justifying the tradition that it is a century and a quarter old, and was already venerable when Edward Cook the second Governor of Illinois made it his residence. You may see part of the foundation of the William Johnston house, in which a reception was given to Lafayette and the distinguished Frenchman of the 18th century, when he was a guest. The site of the house of the French commandant, which was afterwards the first

State House of Illinois, will be pointed out to you, and the place where stood the nunnery, and such landmarks as the corner-stone of the property of the Jesuits confiscated by the French Crown, and the post of Cahokia Gate, once giving passage through the fence that bounded the Common Fields, which are still divided and held by the old French measurement and title. And you will learn that the little village, now containing less than three hundred souls, is the owner of some eleven thousand acres of the most fertile land in the Valley of the Mississippi, under the grant to it of Kaskaskia Commons, by his Most Christian Majesty Louis the XV., in 1725, and derives therefrom abundant revenue. The older residents will talk to you of the flood of 1784, of which they have heard their fathers tell; and of Lafayette's visit, which they remember as boys, when, perched on the fence, they saw the stately form, in foreign garb, pass into the Edgar mansion, or peered at him through the windows as he sat at dinner in the large room of the tavern; and of the great flood of 1844, when the water was five feet deep above the floors of their houses, and large steamboats came up the Kaskaskia River and through the streets of the village, and, gathering the terror-stricken inhabitants from trees and roofs, went straight away across the Common Fields to the Mississippi. Of more modern events they have little to say, nor do the later years furnish them topics to take the place of these.

The little community, content to believe itself the first permanent European settlement in the Valley of the Mississippi, sleeps on, dreaming of its early days and of its former importance. It pays little heed to the warnings which the mighty river has already given it, and is seemingly unmindful that the third and last is at hand. The distance from the village centre to the the river bank, once three miles, has been reduced one-half, and the rich farm lands, which once bordered the stream, have gone in its current to the Gulf of Mexico. And now the Mississippi, unsatisfied even with this rapid destruction, in the very wantonness of its strength has cut its way above the town towards the Kaskaskia River, despite the efforts of the Government engineers to check it, until but a space of three hundred yards separates the two. The grave of Illinois' first Governor has been disturbed, and but recently his remains were removed to a safer resting-place. And when the junction is made, the united rivers at the next flood-time will spare nothing of the ancient village, which meanwhile listens idly to the murmur of the approaching waters, and smiles in the shadow of its impending doom, which, before another spring has passed, may be so complete that there will remain no memento of Kaskaskia save its old Parish Records.

State House of Illinois will be pointed out to you and a place where stood the nursery, and such landmarks as a cornerstone of the property or the house connected by a French house and the point of Catholic (later, once living) as seen through the fence that bounded the Common Fields will be still divided and held by the old French descendants as till. And you will learn that the little village was composed less than three hundred souls in the power of some six thousand acres of the most fertile land in the Valley of Mississippi under the grant to a Catholic (Common) by the first Christian Mission (about the XV. or 1725) and that the present abundant revenues. The village residents will tell you of the flood of 1744, of which they have heard their fathers tell, and of Lafayette's visit which they remember to have seen perched on the fence, they saw the marshy land in 1790, and pass into the Edgar mansion, or perched at him through a window as he sat at dinner in the large room or the two and of the great flood of 1844, when the water was five feet above the tops of their houses and large steamboats came to the Kaskaskia River and through the streets of the village and gathering the cotton-wool bales from their houses and two went straight away across the Common Fields to the Mississippi. Of more modern events they have little to say, nor do the years furnish them topics to take the place of these.

The little community, content to delight in the first part of the European settlement in the Valley of the Mississippi, on a distance of its early days and of its former importance, pays little heed to the warnings which the night view of already given it, and is seemingly unimpaired that the third part is at hand. The distance from the village center to the river bank, once three miles, has been reduced one-half at the new farm lands, which once bordered the river, have now in its current to the Gulf of Mexico. And now the Mississippi, unimpaired even with this rapid destruction in the very center of its strength has on its way toward the lower towards the Kaskaskia River, despite the efforts of the Government engineers to check it with but a space of three hundred yards separates the two. The grave of Illinois, now Government has been disturbed, and but recently her remains were removed to a new resting-place. And when the junction is made, the united river at the next flood-time will spare nothing of the ancient village which meanwhile lies in the margin of the operation, water and under the shadow of its impending doom, which before another spring has passed may be so complete that the will remain no remnants of a Kaskaskia save its old French records.

OLD FORT CHARTRES.

A Paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, June 16, 1880.

THE marvellous growth of the Great West obscures all relating to it, save what is of recent date. It has a past and a history, but these are hidden by the throng of modern events. Few realize that the territory of Illinois, which seems but yesterday to have passed from the control of the red man to that of our Republic, was once claimed by Spain, occupied by France, and conquered by England. And fewer still, may know that within its boundaries yet remain the ruins of a fortress, in its time the most formidable in America, which filled a large place in the operations of these great powers in the valley of the Mississippi. Above the walls of old Fort Chartres, desolate now, and almost forgotten, have floated, in turn, the flags of two mighty nations, and its story is an epitome of their strife for sovereignty over the New World.

The union of Canada, by a line of forts, with the region of the West and South, was a favorite scheme of the French crown at an early day. It originated in the active brain of the great explorer, LaSalle, whose communications to the ministers of Louis XIV. contain the first suggestions of such a policy. These military stations were intended to be centres of colonization for the vast inland territory, and its protection against rival nations. Spain laid claim to nearly the whole of North America, under the name of Florida, by the right of first discovery, and by virtue of a grant from the Pope, who disposed of a continent—which he did not own—with reckless liberality. France relied on the possession taken by LaSalle for her title to the Mississippi Valley; and a long altercation ensued. The ordinary state of feeling between their officers may be inferred from a correspondence which has come down to us from the early part of the eighteenth century. Bernard de la Harpe established a French post on the Red River, and this aroused the ire of Don Martin de la Come, the nearest Spanish commandant. Writes the Spaniard: "I am compelled to say that your arrival surprises me very much.

OLD FORT CHARTRES.

A Paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, Jan. 26, 1888.

The marvellous growth of the Great West occupies all eyes in to-day's state of recent date. It has a past and a history, but these are hidden by the throng of modern events. Few realize that the territory of Illinois, which seems but yesterday to have passed from the control of the red man to that of our Republic, was once claimed by Spain, occupied by France, and conquered by England. And never will any man look within its boundaries yet remain the ruler of a fortress in the time the most formidable in America, which held a large place in the operations of these great powers in the valley of the Mississippi. Above the walls of old Fort Chartres, however, now and almost forgotten, have floated in turn the flags of two mighty nations, and its story is an epitome of their strife for sovereignty over the New World.

The Union of Canada by a line of forts, with the region of the West and South, was a favorite scheme of the French crown as early as 1600. It originated in the active brain of the great explorer, LaSalle, whose communications to the minister of Louis XIV. contain the first suggestions of such a policy. These military stations were intended to be centres of colonization for the vast inland territory and its protection against rival nations. Spain laid claim to nearly the whole of North America, under the name of Florida, by the right of first discovery and by virtue of a grant from the Pope, who deemed of a continent—such as he did not own—with no other history. Transferred to the possession taken by LaSalle for her role in the Mississippi Valley, and a long attention ensued. The military state of feeling between their officers may be inferred from a correspondence which has come down to us from the early part of the eighteenth century. Beyond the LaSalle established a French post on the Red River, and this crossed the river of that State in 1700, the nearest Spanish commandant. Writes the Spanish: "I am compelled to say that your attack surprises me very much."

Your governor could not be ignorant that the post you occupy belongs to my government. I counsel you to give advice of this to him, or you will force me to oblige you to abandon lands that the French have no right to occupy. I have the honor to be, Sir, &c., De la Come." To him replies the courteous Frenchman: "Permit me to inform you that M. de Bienville is perfectly informed of the limits of his government, and is very certain that this post depends not upon the dominions of his catholic majesty. If you will do me the favor to come into this quarter, I will convince you I hold a post I know how to defend. I have the honor to be, Sir, &c., De la Harpe."

Here and elsewhere, the French held their own, and continued to occupy the disputed territory. In the Illinois country, the mission villages of Cahokia and Kaskaskia sprang up and thrived. From the latter place, as early as 1715, the good father Mermet reported to the Governor of Canada that the encroaching English were building forts near the Ohio and the Mississippi. So the shadow of the coming power of her old enemy was cast athwart the path of France in the Western wilderness, while Spain watched her progress there with a jealous eye. And the need of guarding the Illinois settlements became more manifest when the discovery of valuable mines in that locality was announced. Such rumors often repeated, and the actual smelting of lead on the west bank of the Mississippi, had their effect in the Mother Country. And when the grant of the province of Louisiana to the merchant Crozat, was surrendered, in 1717, John Law's famous Company of the West, afterward absorbed in that of the Indies, was ready to become his successor, and to dazzle the multitude with the glittering lure of the gold and silver of Illinois. The representatives of this great corporation, in unison with those of the French crown, recognizing the many reasons for a military post in that far-away region, made haste to found it; and thus Fort Chartres arose. It was established as a link in the great chain of strongholds, which was to stretch from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, realizing the dream of LaSalle; a bulwark against Spain and a barrier to England; a protector of the infant colony, and of the church which planted it; a centre for trade, and for the operation of the far-famed mines; and as the chief seat in the New World of the Royal Company of the Indies, which wove a spell so potent that its victims saw, in the near future, crowded cities all along the course of the Mississippi, and stately argosies afloat upon its waters, one hundred and fifty years ago.

On the 9th of February, 1718, there arrived at Mobile, by

Your governor could not be ignorant that the post was necessary to him, or you will force me to oblige you in absolute lands that the French have no right to occupy. I have the honor to be, Sir, &c., *Le la Comte*. To him replied the commandant Frenchman: "Permit me to inform you that M. de Blandin is perfectly informed of the limits of his government, and is very certain that this post depends not upon the dominion of his catholic subjects. If you will do me the honor to come into this post, I will convince you I hold a post I know how to defend. I have the honor to be, Sir, &c., *Le la Comte*."

Here and elsewhere, the French held their own and continued to occupy the disputed territory. In the Illinois country, the mission villages of Cahokia and Kaskaskia sprang up and thrived. From the latter place, as early as 1715, the good Father Mallet reported to the Governor of Canada that the neighboring English were building forts near the Ohio and the Mississippi. So the shadow of the coming power of the old enemy was cast across the path of France in the Western wilderness, while Spain watched her progress there with a jealous eye. And the need of guarding the Illinois settlements became more marked when the discovery of valuable mines in that locality was announced. Such rumors often repeated, and the actual sighting of lead on the west bank of the Mississippi had their effect in the United States. And when the grant of the province of Louisiana to the nearest Great was surrendered in 1717, John Law's famous Company of the West, afterward absorbed in that of the Indies, was ready to become his successor and to divide the multitude with the glittering lure of the gold and silver of Illinois. The representatives of this great corporation, in common with those of the French-crown, recognizing the many reasons for a military post in that far-away region, made haste to build it; and thus Fort Charles arose. It was established as a link in the great chain of strongholds, which was to extend from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, retaining the chain of Lakes; a bulwark against Spain and a barrier to England; a protection to the infant colony, and of the church which planted it; a centre for trade and for the expansion of the fur-trading mines; and as the chief seat in the New World of the Royal Company of the Indies, which were a spell so potent that its victims were, on the next future, crowded cities all along the coast of the Mississippi, and steady negroes along upon its waters, one hundred and fifty years ago.

On the 6th of February, 1718, there arrived at Mobile, by

ship, from France, Pierre Duqué Boisbriant, a Canadian gentleman, with the commission of Commandant at the Illinois. He was a cousin of Bienville, then Governor of Louisiana, and had already served under him in that province. In October, of the same year, accompanied by several officers and a detachment of troops, he departed for the Illinois country, where he was ordered to construct a fort. The little flotilla, stemming the swift current of the Mississippi, moved slowly on its way, encountering no enemies more troublesome than "the mosquitoes, which," says the worthy priest Poisson, who took the same journey shortly after, "have caused more swearing since the French have been here, than had previously taken place in all the rest of the world." Late in the year, Boisbriant reached Kaskaskia, and selected a site for his post sixteen miles above that village, on the left bank of the Mississippi. Merrily rang the axes of the soldiers in the forest by the mighty river, as they hewed out the ponderous timbers for palisade and bastion. And by degrees the walls arose, and the barracks and commandant's house, and the store-house and great hall of the India Company were built, and the cannon, bearing the insignia of Louis XIV., were placed in position. In the spring of 1720, all was finished, the banner of France was given to the breeze, and the work was named Fort Chartres. An early governor of the State of Illinois, who wrote its pioneer history, has gravely stated that this Fort was so called, because it had a charter from the crown of France for its erection. But it is feared that the same wag who persuaded an Illinois legislature to name the second capital of the State, Vandalia, by reason of the alleged traces of a tribe of Indians named the Vandals in the neighborhood of the site, also victimized a governor. We can hardly accept his derivation, when it seems so much more probable that the name was taken, by way of compliment to the then Regent, from the title of his son, the Duc de Chartres, for whom, about this time, streets were named in New Orleans and Kaskaskia, which are still thus designated.

The first important arrival at the new post was that of Philip Francis Renault, formerly a banker in Paris, the director-general of the mines of the India Company, who reached Fort Chartres before its completion, and made his headquarters there. He brought with him 250 miners and soldiers, and also a large number of slaves from St. Domingo. This was the beginning of negro slavery in Illinois. The practice of enslaving Indian captives was already in vogue, but from this time on, the records of the French settlements there, speak of both black slaves, and red slaves. The Fort was finished not at all too soon. The

ship from France Pierre Duquesne, a Canadian gentleman, with the commission of Commandant at the Island. He was a cousin of Juchville, then Governor of Louisiana, and had already served under him in that province. In October of the same year, accompanied by several officers and a detachment of troops, he departed for the Illinois country, where he was ordered to construct a fort. The little band, steering the safe current of the Mississippi, moved slowly on its way, encountering no enemies more troublesome than "the mosquitoes," which, says the worthy Peter Lawson, who took the same journey shortly after, "have caused more sweating since the French have been here, than had previously taken place in all the rest of the world." Late in the year, Duquesne reached Kaskaskia, and selected a site for his post between water above that village, on the left bank of the Mississippi. Shortly after the news of the soldiers in the fort by the night fire, as they heard on the pondstone timber for palisades and bastion. And by degrees the walls arose, and the batteries and commandant's house, and the store-house and great hall of the India Company were built. and the cannon, bearing the insignia of Louis XIV., were placed in position. In the spring of 1750, it was finished, the banner of France was given to the breeze, and the work was named Fort Charles. An early governor of the State of Illinois who wrote its pioneer history, has gravely stated that this fort was so called, because it had a charter from the crown of France for its creation. But it is feared that the same was also purchased as an Illinois legislature to name the second capital of the State, Vandalia, by reason of the alleged traces of a tribe of Indians named the Vandals in the neighborhood of the site who claimed a governor. We can hardly accept his derivation, when it seems so much more probable that the name was taken by way of compliment to the then Regent, from the title of his son, the Duc de Chartres, for whom about this time streets were named in New Orleans and Kaskaskia, which are still thus designated.

The first important arrival at the new fort was that of Francis Renault, formerly a banker in Paris, the distinguished agent of the firm of the India Company, who reached Fort Charles before its completion, and made his headquarters there. He brought with him two miners and soldiers, and also a large number of slaves from St. Domingo. This was the beginning of negro slavery in Illinois. The practice of enslaving Indian captives was already in vogue, but from this time on the number of the French settlements there, agents of both black slaves and red slaves. The fort was finished not at all too soon. The

tardy Spaniards had at last decided to strike a blow at their neighbor on the Mississippi, and Boisbriant hardly had everything in readiness, when news reached him of the march of a force from Mexico against his stronghold. But this invasion was repelled by the natives on the route, and all concerned in it slain, except the chaplain of the expedition, who was taken prisoner by the Pawnees. He finally escaped in a dexterous manner. While delighting the Indians with feats of horsemanship, he gradually withdrew to a distance, and described a final elaborate figure which had no return curve. Two Indian chiefs, who displayed, as trophies, a Catalonian pistol and a pair of Spanish shoes, gave this account to Father Charlevoix, at Green Bay.

This pleasant old traveler was then making the journey through North America, of which he has left such a charming account. On the 9th of October, 1721, he passed Fort Chartres, which stood a musket-shot from the river, as he tells us, and he further says, "M. Duqué de Boisbriant commands here for the Company to whom the place belongs. The French are now beginning to settle the country between this Fort and Kaskaskia." The leader of Charlevoix' escort was a young Canadian officer, Jean St. Ange de Belle Rive, destined in later years to have a closer acquaintance with Fort Chartres than this passing glimpse of its newly-built walls and structures afforded him. He hardly anticipated then that to him would come the honor of commanding it, and that on him, almost half a century later, would fall the sad duty of finally lowering there his country's flag, which waved so proudly above it on that autumn morning.

No sooner was the Fort erected, than a village began to grow up at its gates, in which the watchful Jesuits forthwith established the parish of Sainte Anne de Fort Chartres. All that remains of the records of this parish, is in the writer's possession. They begin with an ancient document, tattered and worn, written in Quebec, in the year 1716. It is a copy of a curious decree of Louis XV., promulgated in the same year, which seems to be something in the nature of a manual of church etiquette. Reciting that his majesty has considered all the ordinances on the subject of honors in the churches of New France, and wishes to put an end to all the contests on the subject, it proceeds to regulate the whole matter. Twelve articles provide that the governor-general and the intendant shall each have a *prie Dieu* in the cathedrals of Quebec and Montreal, the governor-general on the right, the intendant on the left; the commander of the troops shall have a seat behind the governor-general; in church-

lately Spaniards had at last decided to strike a blow at the neighbor on the Mississippi and Holston lands had every in readiness when news reached him of the march of a force from Mexico against his stronghold. But this intention was repelled by the natives on the route and all concerned again except the captain of the expedition who was a prisoner by the Pawnee. He finally escaped in a desperate manner. While deluging the Indians with shots of lead and shot he gradually withdrew to a distance and described a elaborate story which had no return course. Two Indians who displayed, as trophies, a Canadian pistol and a bag of powder, gave the account to Father Charvovoy in the day.

This pleasant old traveler was then making the journey to North America of which he has left such a charming record. On the 9th of October 1757 he passed Fort Charles and stood a moment upon the river as he left it and he has says, "M. Duquesne the French commandant here for the time to whom the place belongs. The French are now beginning to settle the country between this Fort and Haskett." The son of Charvovoy, captain was a young Canadian officer, Jean Ange de Belle Riviere, destined in later years to have a acquaintance with Fort Charles than the passing glimpse of newly-built walls and structures afforded him. He hardly expected that to him would come the honor of command and that on him almost half a century later would fall and duty of finally lowering the country's flag, which was so proudly above it on that autumn morning.

No sooner was the Fort erected than a village began to grow up at its gates in which the western Indians forthwith established the parish of Sainte Anne de Fort Charles. All that remains of the records of this parish is in the writer's possession. It begins with an ancient document tattered and worn written Quebec in the year 1756. It is a copy of a curious document Louis XV, promulgated in the same year which seems to be something in the nature of a manual of church discipline. It is that his majesty has considered all the ordinances on subject of honors in the chapter of New France, and wishes put an end to all the contests on the subject it prescribes to regulate the whole matter. Twice articles provide that the government and the intendant shall each have a seat in the cathedral of Quebec and Montreal, the government on the right the intendant on the left; the commander of troops shall have a seat behind the government; in the

processions, the governor-general shall march at the head of the council, his guards in front, the intendant to the left and behind the council, and the chief notary, first usher, and captain of the guard, with the governor-general, yet behind him, but not on the same line with the council; and similar minute directions cover all contingencies. In all other churches of New France, the same rules of precedence are to be observed according to the rank of those in attendance. Doubtless, copies of this important decree were kept in readiness, that one might be furnished to each new church at its establishment. And probably the one from which we quote was sent from Quebec to Ste. Anne of Fort Chartres some time in 1721, the year in which the first entries seem to have been made in the parish registers. We may presume that Boisbriant followed its instructions strictly, and took care to be on the right hand in the church, and also that the intendant or civil officer should be on the left. That position was filled by Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins, principal director for the Company of the Indies. These two, together with Michel Chassin, commissary for the Company, formed the Provincial Council of the Illinois, and speedily made Fort Chartres the centre of the civil government of the colony. To this council applications for land were made, and its members executed the grants upon which many titles rest to this day. Boisbriant, doubtless believing that he that provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel, had a large tract conveyed to himself, beginning at the little hill behind the Fort. He and his associates dispensed justice, regulated titles, and administered estates, and, in fact, established the court, which, for more than forty years, decided the causes which arose in the Illinois country, according to the civil law. Their largest land grant was made in 1723, to M. Renault, and comprised a tract west of the Mississippi, another, fifteen leagues square, near the site of Peoria, and another above Fort Chartres, one league along the river and two leagues deep, the latter to raise provisions for his settlements among the mines. Of this last tract, a large part was never sold by Renault, and to this day the unconveyed portion is marked upon the maps of Monroe County, Ill., as the property of the Philip Renault heirs.

About this time word came to the Fort that the faithful allies of the French, the Illinois Indians, who dwelt about Peoria Lake, and the Rock of St. Louis, now called Starved Rock, were hard pressed by their ancient enemies, the Foxes. Boisbriant sent a force to their relief which arrived at the close of a contest, in which the Foxes were defeated, but so greatly had the Illinois

processions, the governor-general shall march at the head of the council, his guards in front, the intendant to the left and behind the council, and the chief notary, first notary and captain of the guard, with the governor-general, yet behind him, but not on the same line with the council, and smaller minute directions cover all contingencies. In all other churches of New France, the same rules of precedence are to be observed according to the rank of those in attendance. Doubtless copies of this important decree were kept in readiness, that one might be furnished to each new church at its establishment. And probably the one from which we quote was sent from Quebec to the town of Fort Charles some time in 1751, the year in which the first census seem to have been made in the parish registers. It's not very strange that Boisham followed its instructions exactly, and took care to be on the right hand in the church, and also that the intendant or civil officer should be on the left. That position was filled by M^r. Antoine de La Roche des Ursins, principal director for the Company of the Indies. These two, together with Michel Chénier, commissary for the Company, formed the Provincial Council of the Illinois and specially made Fort Charles the centre of the civil government of the colony. To this council applications for land were made, and its members executed the grants upon which many titles rest to this day. Boisham, doubtless believing that he that governeth not in his own household is worse than an idiot, had a large nest conveyed to himself, beginning at the little hill behind the Fort. He and his associates dispersed just a regulated inlet, and administered justice and in fact established the court, which for more than forty years decided the cases which arose in the Illinois country, according to the civil law. Their largest land grant was made in 1752 to St. Remond, and comprised a tract west of the Mississippi, including, between leagues above, east the side of Peoria, and another above Fort Chartres, one league above the river and two leagues below the latter to two leagues on his settlements among the mounds. Of this last tract a large part was never sold by Remond, and to this day the unoccupied portion is marked upon the maps of Monroe County, Ill., as the property of the Philip Remond heirs.

About this time word came to the Fort that the Illinois allies of the French, the Illinois Indians who dwell about Peoria Lake and the Rock of St. Louis now called Sauveur Blank, were harassed by their ancient enemies, the Foxes. Boisham sent a force to their relief which arrived at the close of a contest in which the Foxes were defeated, but so greatly had the Illinois

suffered that they returned with the French to the shelter of the Fort, leaving the route to the settlements from the north unprotected. In the year 1725, Bienville, the Governor of Louisiana, was summoned to France, and Commandant Boisbriant became acting Governor in his stead, with headquarters at New Orleans. His old position was filled by M. De Siette, a captain in the royal army. In the parish register in his administration, appears the baptism of a female savage of the Padoucah nation, by the chaplain at the Fort, who records with great satisfaction that he performed the ceremony, and gave her the name of Therese, but does not say whether she consented, or what she thought about it. She apparently paid a casual visit to the Fort, and he baptized her at a venture, and made haste to write down another convert. The Fox Indians were a thorn in the side of De Siette. The way by the Illinois River was now open to them, and their war parties swooped upon the settlers, murdering them in their fields, even within a few miles of the Fort. In great wrath, De Siette opened a correspondence on the subject with De Lignerie, the French commandant at Green Bay, and proposed that the Fox tribe should be exterminated at once. The calmer De Lignerie, replies in substance that this would be the best possible expedient, provided the Foxes do not exterminate them in the attempt. And he suggests a postponement of hostilities until De Siette and himself could meet "*at Chickagau or the Rock,*" and better concert their plans. But soon the French authorities adopted the views of the commandant at the Illinois, and the Marquis de Beauharnois, grandfather of the first husband of the Empress Josephine, then commanding in Canada, notified him to join the Canadian forces at Green Bay, in 1728, to make war upon the Foxes. A battle ensued, in which the Illinois Indians, headed by the French, were victorious. But hostilities continued until De Siette's successor, by a masterly piece of strategy, way-laid and destroyed so many of the persistent foemen, that peace reigned for a time.

This officer, M. de St. Ange de Belle Rive, who, as we have seen, first visited the Illinois country with Father Charlevoix, had since been stationed there, and made it his home, for the ancient title records of this region show that in 1729 he purchased a house in the prairie bounding on one side the road leading to Fort Chartres. And in an old package of stained and mouldering papers, but lately disinterred from the dust of at least one century, is the original petition addressed by St. Ange to the proper authorities for the confirmation of his title to certain land, not far from the Fort, acquired "*from a savage named Chicago,*

who is contented and satisfied with the payment made to him." During his term of office, in 1732, the Royal India Company surrendered its charter to the crown, which thenceforward had the exclusive government of the country. A few years before, the French warfare with the Natchez Indians, that strange tribe of sun-worshippers, probably of the Aztec race, had resulted in the dispersion of the natives, some of whom joined the Chickasaws, who, under English influence, kept up the strife. A young officer, Pierre D'Artaguiette, distinguished himself so greatly in the Natchez war, that he was appointed to the Illinois district, in 1734, taking the place of St. Ange, who was transferred to another post. The new commander was a younger brother of Diron D'Artaguiette, a man very prominent in the early history of Louisiana, and his family connections, his services and virtues, his brilliant career and untimely death, have surrounded his name with a halo of romance. With pride and pleasure, he received his promotion to the rank of major, and his orders to take command at Fort Chartres. For two years he ruled his province well, and then the summons to the field came to him again. Bienville had resumed the Governorship and resolved to crush the Chickasaws. In preparation for the campaign he strengthened all the posts, that they might better spare a part of their garrisons for active work. De Coulanges, an officer sent to Fort Chartres with a supply of ammunition, disobeyed orders, transporting merchandise instead, leaving the powder at the Arkansas. A party of D'Artaguiette's men going after it, was routed by the Chickasaws. "For this," Bienville says, "I have ordered D'Artaguiette to imprison De Coulanges for six months in Fort Chartres. I hope this example will moderate the avidity for gain of some of our officers." When everything was in readiness, D'Artaguiette set forth from Fort Chartres with all his force, on a morning in February, making a brave show as the fleet of bateaux and canoes floated down the Mississippi. This first invasion of Southern soil by soldiers from Illinois, comprised nearly all of the garrison of the Fort, a company of volunteers from the French villages, almost the whole of the Kaskaskia tribe, and a throng of Indian warriors who had flocked to the standard even from the far away Detroit. Chicago led the Illinois and the Miamis, and-at the mouth of the Ohio, the Chevalier Vinsenne joined the expedition, with the garrison from the post on the Wabash, and a number of Indians, including a party of Iroquois braves. Landing, and marching inland, they reached the Chickasaw villages at the appointed time, but the troops from New Orleans, who were to meet them there, failed to

who is contented and satisfied with the payment made to him." During his term of office, in 1752, the Royal India Company surrendered its charter to the crown which thenceforward had the exclusive government of the country. A few years before the French war with the Natchez Indians that strange tribe of sun-worshippers, probably of the Aztec race, had resulted in the dispersion of the natives some of whom joined the Chickasaws who under English influence kept up the strife. A young officer Pierre D'Arignac distinguished himself so greatly in the Natchez war that he was appointed to the Illinois frontier, in 1754, taking the place of St. Ange, who was transferred to another post. The new commander was a younger brother of Dion D'Arignac a man very prominent in the early history of Louisiana and his family connections, his services and virtues, his brilliant career and untimely death have surrounded his name with a halo of romance. With pride and pleasure he received his promotion to the rank of major, and his orders to take command at Fort Charles. For two years he ruled his province well, and then the summons to the field came to him again. Meanwhile had resumed the Governorship and resolved to crush the Chickasaws. In preparation for the campaign he strengthened all the posts that they might better spare a part of their garrisons for active work. The Comanches, an officer sent to Fort Charles with a supply of ammunition, displayed orders, transporting merchandise instead, leaving the powder at the Arkansas. A party of D'Arignac's men going after it was routed by the Chickasaws. "For this," Menville says, "I have ordered D'Arignac to suppress the Comanches for six months in Fort Charles. I hope this example will moderate the avidity for gain of our enemies." When everything was in readiness D'Arignac set forth from Fort Charles with all his force on a morning in February, making a drive down the left of batons and canoes dotted down the Mississippi. The first invasion of Southern soil by soldiers from Illinois comprised nearly all of the garrison of the Fort a company of volunteers from the French villages almost the whole of the Kaskaskia tribe and a band of Indian warriors who had flocked to the standard even from the far west. Before the Illinois and the Illinois and at the mouth of the river the Chevalier Vincennes joined the expedition, with the garrison from the post on the Wabash and a number of Indians including a party of Illinois braves. Landing and marching inland they reached the Chickasaw villages at the appointed time, but the troops from New Orleans, who were to meet them there, failed to

appear. Compelled to fight or retreat, D'Artaguiette chose the former, and was at first successful, but the tide turned, when he fell, covered with wounds. De Coulanges, released from durance that he might redeem his fame, and many other officers, were slain, most of the Indians fled, and D'Artaguiette, Vinsenne, the Jesuit Senat, and young St. Ange, son of the Illinois commandant, were taken prisoners by the unconquered Chickasaws, who burned them at the stake, and triumphantly marched to the Georgia coast to tell their English allies there of the French defeat. The broken remnants of the little army, under the leadership of a boy of sixteen, pursued by the savages for five and twenty leagues, regained the river, and slowly and sadly returned to the Fort. On the sorrow caused there by the mournful news, the masses that were said in the little church for the repose of the souls of the slain, and the deep grief felt throughout the country of the Illinois, in cabin and wigwam alike, we will not dwell. The impression made by the life and death of D'Artaguiette was so abiding, that his name remained a household word among the French for years; and well into the present century, the favorite song among the negroes along the Mississippi was one, of which the oft-repeated chorus ran,

"In the days of D'Artaguiette, Ho! Ho!
In the days of D'Artaguiette, O ho!"

Three years later, La Buissonnière, who succeeded him, led an expedition from Fort Chartres, composed of Frenchmen and natives, to take part in another campaign against the dauntless Chickasaws. Soldiers from Quebec and Montreal, with recruits from all the tribes along their route, overtook him on the way, and the Northern forces joined the troops under Bienville, newly reinforced from Paris, near the site of the city of Memphis. The dominions of the King of France, in the Old World and the New, were laid under contribution to concentrate this army at the rendezvous, but not a blow was struck. White and red men lay in camp for months, apparently unwilling to risk an encounter, and at length a dubious peace was arranged, and all marched home again, without loss or glory. Hardly had the Fort-Chartres detachment returned, when a boat, going from New Orleans to the Illinois, was attacked by the Chickasaws, above the mouth of the Ohio, and all on board were killed, save one young girl. She had recently arrived from France, and was on her way to join her sister, the wife of an officer at the Fort. Escaping by a miracle to the shore, she wandered through the woods for days, living on herbs, until sore spent and ready to die, she chanced to

appeared. Compelled to fight or retreat, D'Arignac chose the former, and was at last successful, but the tide turned when he fell covered with wounds. The Comanches, released from their that he might reclaim his land, and many other objects, were slain, most of the Indian dead, and D'Arignac's horses, the young son and young St. Ange, son of the Illinois commandant, were taken prisoner by the unexpected Chokchas, who burned them at the stake, and immediately marched to the Georgia coast to tell their English allies that of the French defeat. The broken remnants of the little army, under the leadership of a boy of sixteen, pursued by the savages for five and twenty leagues, regained the river and slowly and with return to the Fort. On the narrow causeway there by the mountain view, the masses that were said in the first chapter to be the repose of the souls of the slain, and the deep gulf to be throughout the country of the Illinois in cabin and wigwag, and we will not dwell. The impression made by the tale and that of D'Arignac was so abiding, that his name remained household word among the French for years; and still into the present century, the favorite song among the negroes along the Mississippi was one of which the oft-repeated chorus ran,

"In the days of D'Arignac, Hot Hot!
In the days of D'Arignac, O hot!"

Three years later, La Barre, who succeeded him, led an expedition from Fort Chartres, composed of Frenchmen and natives to take part in another campaign against the Chokchas. Soldiers from Quebec and Montreal, and from all the tribes along their route, took part in the expedition, and the Northern forces joined the troops under La Barre, nearly reinforced from France near the site of the city of Montreal. The dominions of the King of France in the Old World and New, were laid under contribution to contribute to this war, and the endeavor was not a slow one. While the war was in progress, lay in camp for months, apparently engaged in an enormous and at length a dubious victory was attained, and all matters home again without loss or glory. Finally, the Fort-Chateau detachment returned when a boat going from New Orleans, the Illinois, was attacked by the Chokchas, where the warriors the Ohio, and all on board were killed, save one young girl, who had recently arrived from France and was on her way to her father, the wife of an officer at the Fort. According to the narrative to the shore, she wandered through the woods for the living on battle, until some spent and ready to die, she reached

reach an elevation from which she caught a glimpse of the flag floating over Fort Chartres, and, with new hope and strength, struggled onward, and came safely to the friends who had mourned for her as dead.

Among the few original documents relating to this period which are still preserved, is a deed executed at Fort Chartres by Alphonse de la Buissonnière, commandant at the Illinois, and Madame Theresa Trudeau, his wife. During his governorship were the halcyon days of the French settlers at the Illinois. The Indians were kept in check, the fertile soil yielded bounteous harvests, two convoys laden with grain and provisions, went each year to New Orleans, and Lower Louisiana became almost entirely dependent upon them for supplies. Other villages had grown up near the Fort. Prairie du Rocher, five miles away, was situated upon a grant made by the India Company to Boisbriant, and by him transferred to his nephew, Langlois, who conveyed it by parcels to the settlers, reserving to himself certain seigneurial rights according to the customs of Paris. And Renault, on a portion of his grant above the Fort, established the village of St. Philip, which became a thriving place. These were laid out after the French manner, with Commons and Common Fields, still marked upon the local maps, and in some cases held and used to this day under the provisions of these early grants. In each of the villages was a chapel, under the jurisdiction of the parent church of Ste. Anne of Fort Chartres. To the colony came scions of noble families of France, seeking fame and adventure in that distant land, and their names and titles appear at length in the old records and parish registers. Among them was Benoist St. Claire, captain of a company detached from the marine service, who followed La Buissonnière in the chief command, and held it for a year or more. He found little to do in those piping times of peace, made an occasional grant of land, and sought other service early in 1742.

The Chevalier de Bertel, who describes himself as Major Commanding for the King, took charge in his stead. The parish register of Ste. Anne, in his time, is extant, and the title-page of the volume, then newly opened, bears the following inscription: "Numbered and initialed by us, Principal Secretary of the Marine and Civil Judge at the Illinois, the present book, containing seventy-four leaves, to serve as a Register of the Parish of St. Anne, of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths. Done at Fort Chartres the first of August, 1743.

"CHEVALIER DE BERTEL,
Major Commandant.

DE LA LOIRE,
FLANCOUR."

reach an elevation from which she caught a glimpse of the flag floating over Fort Charles and with new hope and strength struggled onward and came safely to the friends who had mounted for her to land.

Among the few original documents relating to this period which are still preserved is a deed executed at Fort Charles by Alphonse de la Boissière, commandant at the Illinois and Madame Therese Trudeau, his wife. During his governorship were the halcyon days of the French settlers at the Illinois. The Indians were kept in check, the fertile soil yielded bounteous harvests, two canoes laden with grain and provisions went each year to New Orleans, and lower Louisiana became almost entirely dependent upon them for supplies. Other villages had grown up near the Fort. Pierre de Rocher, five miles away, was situated upon a grant made by the India Company to Boissière, and by him transferred to his nephew, Langlois, who conveyed it by parcels to the settlers, reserving to himself certain sentimental rights according to the customs of Paris. And Kaskaskia, on a portion of his grant above the Fort, established the village of St. Philip, which became a thriving place. There were just out after the French manner, with Commons and Common Fields, still marked upon the local maps and in some cases held and used to this day under the provisions of these early grants. In each of the villages was a chapel, under the jurisdiction of the parent church of St. Anne of Fort Charles. To the colony came scores of noble families of France, seeking fortune and adventure in that distant land, and their names and titles appear at length in the old records and parish registers. Among them was Benoit St. Clair, captain of a company detached from the marine service, who followed La Boissière in the chief command, and held it for a year or more. He found little to do in those piping times of peace, made an occasional grant of land, and sought other service early in 1745.

The Chevalier de Berte, who described himself as Major Commandant for the King, took charge in his stead. The parish register of St. Anne in his time is extant, and the first page of the volume then newly opened, bears the following inscription: "Reopened and installed by us, Principal Secretary of the Illinois, and Civil Judge at the Illinois, the present book, containing every-four pages, is given as a Register of the Parish of St. Anne of St. Charles the first of August 1745."

DE LA FORCE,
PARIS.

"Chevalier de Berte,
Major Commandant."

The pages which remain, by their careful numbering and joint initials, show how important it was deemed to preserve and identify this register. It was soon to contain the record of the sudden death of Flancour himself, the Civil Judge at the Illinois. One of his last acts was to grant to the village of Prairie du Rocher, a tract of land for Commons, from which it now derives a revenue. And with Bertel he executed a deed to a young man at St. Philip, for the reason that he was the first one born in Illinois to marry and settle himself. And to another, who asked the gift of a farm, because he had seven children, they granted a tract of land for each child. Renault made his last conveyance of a lot at St. Philip by deed, executed in his rooms at Fort Chartres, September 2d, 1740, and, three years later, returned to Paris, after a residence in the Illinois country of nearly a quarter of a century. In the same season, Governor Bienville went to France, finally resigning his trust to the Marquis de Vandreuil. And here a word may be spoken of the first royal governor of the province, of which Illinois was a part, and in whose administration Fort Chartres was constructed. Le Moyne de Bienville, a Canadian born, was one of an illustrious family. His father was killed in battle in the service of his country, seven of his brothers died naval officers, and of the three others, then surviving, one was Governor of Montreal, one captain of a ship of the line, and one a naval ensign. He distinguished himself at the capture of Port Nelson from the English, and in a brilliant naval engagement in Hudson's Bay; was one of the founders of Louisiana; and chose the site of the city of New Orleans. He served as Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of the Province for nearly forty years, and won the reputation of being the bravest and best man in the colony. His portrait, which adorns the mansion, at Longueuil, in Canada, of Baron Grant, the representative of the family, shows a martial figure, and a noble face, in keeping with his record; and his intimate connection with its early history would make it fitting to preserve a copy of this original in the State of Illinois.

The Chevalier de Bertel had a difficult part to play. France and England were at war, because Frederick the Great and Marie Theresa could not agree, and this disturbed the settlements at the Illinois. Some Englishmen, found on the Mississippi, were arrested as spies, and confined in the dungeon at Fort Chartres, and whispers of an English attack were in the air. The Fort was out of repair, and poorly supplied, and a number of its soldiers, tiring of the confinement of the garrison, deserted, to try the free life of the woods and prairies. The old-time Indian allies were

The pages which remain by their careful numbering and the initials show how important it was deemed to preserve a record of this register. It was soon to contain the record of the death of Lincoln himself, the Civil War, and the Illinois. One of his last acts was to grant to the village of Prairie Rocher a tract of land for Camp Douglas, from which it now derives a revenue. And with that he executed a deed to a young man at St. Philip for the reason that he was the first one born in Illinois to marry and settle himself. And to another, who was the gift of a son, because he had seven children, then granted a tract of land for each child. Remond made his last conveyance of a lot at St. Philip by deed executed in his name at St. Charles, September 2d, 1748, and three years later, returned Paris, after a residence in the Illinois country of nearly a quarter of a century. In the same season Governor Bernier was France, finally resigning his trust to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. And here a word may be spoken of the first trial government of the province of which Illinois was a part, and in which the location Fort Charles was constructed. Le Marquis de Bernier, a Canadian born, was one of its ablest chiefs. His son was killed in battle in the service of his country, and his brothers held naval offices, and of the three others then surviving, one was Governor of Montreal, one captain of a ship of line, and one a naval ensign. He distinguished himself in the capture of Fort Nelson from the English, and in a brilliant engagement in Hudson's Bay, was one of the founders of Louisiana, and chose the site of the city of New Orleans. He served as Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of the Province nearly forty years, and won the reputation of being the best and best man in the colony. His portrait, which adorns the mansion at Longueuil in Canada, is taken from the representative of the family, shows a martial figure, and a noble in keeping with his record; and his intimate connection with early history would make it fitting to preserve a copy of the original in the State of Illinois.

The Chevalier de Bernier had a double part to play. France and England were at war, because I noticed the East and West Indies could not agree, and this divided the continent. The Illinois. Some Englishmen found on the Mississippi were arrested as spies and confined in the dungeons at Fort Chartres and whippers of an English attack were in the air. The Fort was out of repair, and poorly supplied, and a number of its soldiers of the command of the garrison deserted, to try the life of the woods and prairie. The old-time Indian allies were

won over by the British, and agreed to destroy the French post during the moon of the fall of the leaf, but they were thwarted by the skill and address of De Bertel. Many anxious thoughts he had as he paced the enclosure of Fort Chartres, and many an earnest epistle he addressed to his superior officers, assuring them that it was only by great good fortune that he could hold his post, which must be reënförced and strengthened. The abandonment of the Fort was at one time contemplated. This plan, however, was given up when the Marquis de Galissonière, Gov.-General of Canada, presented a memorial on the subject to the home government. He says, "The little colony of Illinois ought not to be left to perish. The King must sacrifice for its support. The principal advantage of the country is its extreme productiveness, and its connection with Canada and Louisiana must be maintained." The peace of Aix la Chapelle came in time to give both parties a breathing space, in which to prepare for the sterner contest, soon to follow. Chevalier de Bertel, knowing that his wise counsels had borne fruit, transferred the command again to Benoist St. Clair, who signalized his return by wedding the daughter of a citizen of Kaskaskia, in January, 1750. The same year, De Galissonière once more urged upon the King the importance of preserving and strengthening the post at the Illinois, describing the country as open and ready for the plough, and traversed by an innumerable multitude of buffaloes. "And these animals," he says, "are covered with a species of wool, sufficiently fine to be employed in various manufactories!" And he further suggests, and, doubtless, correctly, that "the buffalo, if caught, and attached to the plow, would move it at a speed superior to that of the domestic ox!"

In the succeeding autumn, the Chevalier de Makarty,* a major of engineers, with a few companies of troops, arrived from France, under orders to rebuild the citadel of the Illinois country. Other detachments followed, until nearly a full regiment of French grenadiers answered to the roll-call at Fort Chartres. They toiled busily to transform it from a fortress of wood to one of stone, under the skilful guidance of the trained officer, whose Irish blood, as well as his French commission, made hostile preparations against Britain, a labor of love to him. You may see, to this day, the place in the bluffs to the eastward of the Fort, where they quarried the huge blocks, which they carried in boats

* This is the same officer whose name is spelled Macarty in the Parish Records of Kaskaskia. The discovery of the records of the church of St. Anne of Fort Chartres, containing his name, written by himself, shows the proper spelling to be Makarty.

won over by the British and agreed to destroy the French fort during the moon of the fall of the last day they were threatened by the shell and address of De Borel. Many anxious thoughts he had as he paced the enclosure of Fort Charles and many an earnest epistle he addressed to his superior officers, warning them that it was only by great good fortune that he could hold his post, which must be reinforced and strengthened. The plan, however, was given up when the Marquis de Chabert, Governor-General of Canada, presented a memorial on the subject to the home government. He says, "The little colony of Illinois might not be left to perish. The King must sacrifice his various pretensions. The principal advantage of the country is its various productions, and its connection with Canada and Louisiana must be maintained." The port of Aix la Chapelle France is said to give both parties a breathing space in which to prepare for the summer contest, soon to follow. A letter of De Borel, knowing that his wise counsels had borne fruit, translated the comments again to General St. Clair, who signified his intent by sending the daughter of a citizen of Kentucky, in January, 1780. The same year, the Colonists once more urged upon the King the importance of preserving and strengthening the post at the Illinois, describing the country as open and ready for the plough, and traversed by an innumerable multitude of paths. "And these animals," he says, "are covered with a species of wool sufficiently fine to be employed in various manufactures." And he further suggests and doubts, contently, that "the buffalo is caught and attached to the plow, would move it at a speed superior to that of the domestic ox."

In the succeeding summer, the Chevalier de Mazarin, a major of engineers, with a few companies of troops, arrived from France under orders to rebuild the citadel of the Illinois country. Other detachments followed and nearly a full regiment of French grenadiers answered to the roll-call at Fort Charles. They toiled busily to construct a new fortress of wood to one of stone, under the skilled guidance of the engineer officers, whose Irish blood, as well as his French complexion, made him a partisan against Britain, a lover of her to him. The very day, in this day, the place in the hills to the eastward of the fort, where they planted the huge blocks, which they carried in boats

* This is the exact spot where there is a small station in the French line of a station. The history of the events of the month of October of Fort Charles, containing his name, written by himself, shows the proper spelling to be Mazarin.

across the little lake lying between. The finer stone, with which the gateways and buildings were faced, were brought from beyond the Mississippi. A million of crowns seemed to the King of France but a reasonable expense for this work of reconstruction, which was to secure his empire in the West. And hardly was it completed when the contest began, and the garrison of Fort Chartres had a hand in the opening struggle. In May, 1754, the young George Washington, with his Virginia riflemen, surprised the party of Jumonville at the Great Meadows, and slew the French leader. His brother, Neyon de Villiers, one of the captains at Fort Chartres, obtained leave from Makarty to avenge him, and with his company, went by the Mississippi and the Ohio, to Fort du Quesne, where he joined the head of the family, Coulon de Villiers, who was marching on the same errand. Together, with "a force as numerous," said the Indians, "as the pigeons in the woods," they brought to bay "Monsieur de Wachenston," as the French despatches call him, at Fort Necessity, which he surrendered on the 4th of July. The capture of this place by the French, is one of the causes assigned by George the Second, for the declaration of hostilities by Britain; and thus the Old French War began. The little detachment, with its bold leader, returned, flushed with victory, to celebrate, at Fort Chartres, the triumph of Illinois over Virginia. Soon the demands upon this post for supplies and men grew constant, and the veteran Makarty labored steadily to keep pace with them. The commandant at Fort du Quesne, whose communications with Canada were interrupted by the British, writes him: "We are in sad want of provisions. I send to you for flour and pork." The Governor-General of Canada, in an epistle to the Minister of Marine, observes: "I knew the route from the Illinois was as fine as could be desired. Chevalier de Villiers, who commands the escort of provisions from there, came up with a bateaux of 18,000 weight. This makes known a sure communication with the Illinois whence I can derive succor in provisions and men." Nor did our garrison confine itself to commissary work. The tireless De Villiers, hardly resting from his escort duty, crossed the Alleghanies with his men, and captured Fort Granville, on the Juniata. The Marquis de Montcalm, writing to the Minister of War, thus pleasantly alludes to this little attention paid by Illinois to Pennsylvania: "The news from the Beautiful River is excellent. We continue to devastate Pennsylvania. Chevalier de Villiers, brother of Jumonville, who was assassinated by the British, has just burned Fort Granville, sixty miles from Philadelphia." The next year, Aubry, another of the Fort Chartres

across the little lake lying between. The first road, with which the pathways and buildings were faced, were brought from beyond the Mississippi. A nation of crooks seemed to the little France but a reasonable payment for the work of reconstruction which was to secure his empire in the West. And hardly was completed when the contest began, and the capture of Charleston had a hand in the opening struggle. In May, 1862, the young George Washington with his Virginia regiment joined the party of Unionists at the Great Meadows, and the French leader. His brother, Baron de Villiers, one of the captains at Fort Charles, obtained leave from Major Maturin to join him, and with his company went for the Mississippi the Ohio, to Fort de la (sic) where he joined the head of the family, Canon de Villiers, who was marching on the same route. Together with "a force as numerous," said the Indians, "as pigeons in the woods," they brought to day "Major de la Maturin," as the French despatches call him, at Fort Jackson, which he surrendered on the 1st of July. The capture of place by the French, is one of the causes assigned by George Second for the declaration of hostilities by Britain and the Old French War began. The little detachment with its leader returned, flushed with victory, to celebrate at Charleston the triumph of Union over Virginia. Soon demands upon this post for supplies and aid grew constant, the veteran Maturin labored steadily to keep pace with them. The commandant at Fort de la (sic) wrote him: "With Canada were interrupted by the British, with him: 'I am in sad want of provisions. I send to you for food and clothing. The Governor-General of Canada, in an appeal to the Illinois, Alton, observes: 'I know the name from the Illinois, who have been as could be desired. Charles de Villiers, who command the escort of provisions from their camp up with a battery 18,000 weight. This makes known a war contribution the Illinois whence I can derive success in provisions and in Nor did our garrison suffer from his want of food, for the Illinois de Villiers hardly leaving from his camp, they the Altonians with his men, and captured Fort Cassin. The Junata. The Altonians de Villiers, on arrival in the of War, thus vicariously alludes to the little extension of Illinois in Pennsylvania: 'The news from the beautiful the excellent. We continue to devastate Pennsylvania. Charles de Villiers, brother of Junata, who was accompanied by British has just burned Fort Cassin, sixty miles from the delphia.' The next year, 1863, another of the Fort Charles

captains, was sent by Makarty, with 400 men, to reinforce Fort du Quesne, then threatened by the British. The morning after his arrival, he sallied out and routed Major Grant and his Highlanders, and, a few days later, surprised the British camp forty-five miles away, captured their horses, and brought his party back mounted. Soon, however, the approach of a superior force, with Washington and his riflemen in the van, compelled the abandonment of Fort du Quesne. By the light of its burning stockade, the Illinois troops sailed down the Beautiful River, and sadly returned to their homes.

The British star was now in the ascendant, yet still the French struggled gallantly. Once more the drum beat to-arms on the parade-ground at Fort Chartres, at the command to march to raise the siege of Fort Niagara. All the Illinois villages sent volunteers, and Aubry led the expedition by a devious route, joining the detachments from Detroit and Michilimackinac, on Lake Erie. As they entered the Niagara River, Indian scouts reported that they were "like a floating island, so black was the stream with their bateaux and canoes." The desperate charge upon the British lines failed, Aubry, covered with wounds, fell into the hands of the enemy, and the bulletin reads, "Of the French from the Illinois, many were killed and many taken prisoner." Despair and gloom settled upon the Fort and its neighborhood, when the sorrowful news came back. Makarty writes to the Governor-General: "The defeat at Niagara has cost me the flower of my men. My garrison is weaker than ever. The British are building bateaux at Pittsburg. I have made all arrangements, according to my strength, to receive the enemy." And the Governor-General replies, "I strongly recommend you to be on your guard." The surrender, at Montreal, of the Canadas, followed upon the victory on the plains of Abraham, but still the Illinois held out for the King. Neyon de Villiers received his well-earned promotion, and assumed command at Fort Chartres. And the fine old soldier, Makarty, doubtless, regretting that he had not had the opportunity to test the strength of the goodly stone walls he had builded, sheathed his sword, twirled his moustache, made his bow, and departed.

The village at the Fort gate, which, after the rebuilding, was called New Chartres, had become a well-established community. The title records quaintly illustrate its ways of transacting business, as when, for instance, the royal notary at the Illinois declares that he made a certain public sale in the forenoon of Sunday, after the great parochial mass of St. Anne of New

captain was sent by Milet, with two men to reconnoitre Fort du Quebec, then threatened by the British. The morning after his arrival he called out and routed Major Clark and his light-landers and a few days later captured the British camp, taking five miles away, captured their horses, and brought the party back unmolested. Soon, however, the approach of a superior force with Washington and his followers in the van, compelled the abandonment of Fort du Quebec. By the light of the burning stockade, the Illinois troops called down the Beautiful River and easily returned to their homes.

The British star was now on the ascendant, yet still the French struggled gallantly. Once more the drum beat to arms on the parade-ground at Fort Chartres at the command to march to raise the siege of Fort Niagara. All the Illinois villagers sent volunteers, and Aubrey led the expedition by a devious route, joining the Michichamis from Detroit and Nipigon, on Lake Erie. As they entered the Niagara River, Indian scouts reported that they were "on a floating island so black was the stream with their canoes and canoes." The desperate charge upon the British lines killed Aubrey, covered with wounds, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was killed and many taken prisoner. Beyond and beyond went upon the Fort and its neighborhood, when the general news came back. Milet's letter to the Governor-General: "The defeat at Niagara has cost me the flower of my race. My generation is weaker than ever. The British are building bridges at my Fortsburg. I have made all arrangements according to my strength to receive the enemy." And the Governor-General replied: "I strongly recommend you to be at your guard." The surrender at Montreal of the Canadian followed upon the victory on the plains of Abraham, but still the Illinois held out for the King. Beyond the Valley reached the well-earned promotion, and assumed command at Fort Chartres. And the new old soldier, Milet, doubtless regretting that he had not had the opportunity to test the strength of the British arms with his boldness, attacked his sword, twisted his musket, made his bow, and departed.

The village at the Fort gate while after the rebellion was called New Chartres, had become a well-established community. The title regards doubly obscure its name of Chartres, for near, as when, for instance, the royal history at the Illinois declares that he made a certain public sale in the town of Sunday, after the great historical mass of St. Anne of New

Chartres, at the main door of the church, offering the property in a high and audible voice, while the people were going out in great numbers from said church. And the parish register, which, briefly and drily, notes the marriages of the common people, spares neither space nor words in the record of the weddings in the families of the officers at the Fort. When Jean la Freilé de Vidrinne, officer of a company, is married to Elizabeth de Moncharveaux, daughter of Jean Francois Liveron de Moncharveaux, captain of a company, and when the Monsieur André Chevalier, royal solicitor and treasurer for the King at the country of the Illinois, weds Madeleine Loisel, names, and titles, and ancestry, are set forth at length, and Makarty, the commandant, Buchet, the principal writer, Du Barry, a lieutenant, all the dignitaries of fort and village, and all the relatives, subscribe the register as witnesses. The ladies sign with a careful deliberation, indicating that penmanship was not one of their recreations; the gentlemen with flourishes so elaborate, that they seem to have been hardly able to bring them to a close. These entries appear in a separate volume, the last in date of the parish books, entitled "Register of the Marriages made in the Parish of St. Anne, containing seventeen sheets, or sixty-eight pages, numbered and initialed by Mr. Buchet, principal writer and judge." (Signed) Buchet. And in the Baptismal register of the chapel of St. Joseph, at Prairie du Rocher, appears an entry which has a strangely familiar sound. For it recites that several persons, adults and children, were baptized together, in the "presence of their parents, brothers, uncles, mutual friends, their sisters, their cousins, and their aunts." This, palpably, is the germ of "Pinafore," which Illinois may therefore take the credit of originating, long before our era!

New Chartres, and the other villages in the neighborhood, and the Fort, rested secure in the belief that, although Canada had surrendered, Louisiana, with the Illinois country, would still be preserved by the King, who might thence reconquer his lost possessions. Hence, like a thunder-clap, came the news that on the 10th of Feb., 1763, Louis XV. had ratified the treaty transferring them to the British Government. The aged Bienville, then living in Paris, with tears in his eyes, begged that the colony, to which he had given the best years of his life, might be spared to France, but in vain. With a stroke of his pen, the weak King ceded to Great Britain the Canadas, the Illinois, and all the valley of the Mississippi east of the river. While at Fort Chartres they were in daily expectation of news of the coming of British troops to take possession, an expedition arrived from New Orleans to settle at the Illinois. It was headed by Pierre Laclède, the repre-

Charter, at the main door of the church, offering the property in
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 briefly and briefly notes the marriages of the common people,
 assigns neither space nor words to the record of the wedding,
 the families of the officers at the Fort. When Jean La Poudre
 Vidiane, officer of a company, is married to Elizabeth de St.
 Charles, daughter of Jean Francois Livron de St. Charles,
 captain of a company, and when the Monsieur de St. Charles
 royal soldier and lieutenant for the King is the cousin of the
 Illinois, with Madame La Poudre, the commanding officer,
 are set forth at length and clearly, the commanding officer
 the principal witness. The latter sign with a careful signature, but
 of fort and village and all the relatives, witnesses the register
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 This baptism is the name of "Poudre," which Illinois
 therefore take the credit of organizing, long before our era.
 New Charter, and the other villages in the neighborhood, and
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 surrendered, Louisiana, with the Illinois country, would all be
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 at the Illinois. It was headed by Pierre La Poudre, the rep-

sentative of a company of merchants engaged in the fur trade. Learning here of the treaty of cession, he at once decided to establish a new post in the territory, west of the Mississippi, supposed to be still French ground. Neyon de Villiers permitted him to store his goods and quarter his company at the Fort, and Laclede, after an exploring tour, selected a fine bluff, sixty miles to the northward, for the site of his colony. He foresaw something of its future importance, and, returning to Fort Chartres for the winter, discoursed with enthusiasm upon its prospects, and took possession in the spring. This was the beginning of the city of St. Louis. Many of the French from the Illinois followed him, even transporting their houses to the other shore, so great was their desire to live under their own flag. And terrible was their disappointment, when the secret treaty with Spain was made known, by which their faithless King ceded all his dominions beyond the Mississippi to the nation which had so long disputed with France her foothold there. Their last estate seemed worse than their first, for much as they detested the defiant banner of Britain, with a deeper hatred they regarded the gloomy ensign of Spain. Many more of the unhappy colonists descended the Mississippi, with Neyon de Villiers, in the belief that lower Louisiana was to remain under French control, and that their condition would be bettered there, only to be bitterly disappointed. Those who remained felt their hopes revive, as time passed on and the red-coats came not.

The veteran St. Ange, who had returned from Vincennes to play the last sad act of the drama, with a little garrison of forty men, still held the Fort, although it was the only place in North America at which the white flag of the Bourbons was flying. All else had been ceded and surrendered, but the way to the west was not yet open, for Pontiac was a lion in the path. The British victory was not complete until that flag was lowered, and repeated efforts to accomplish this were made. Again and again were they thwarted by the Forest Chieftain. Major Loftus, ascending the Mississippi with a force to take possession of Fort Chartres, was greeted with a volley at the bluffs, still called Loftus Heights, and retreated to Pensacola. Captain Pitman, seeking to find his way from Mobile in the guise of a trader, gave up the attempt as too hazardous. Captain Morris, sent from Detroit to arrange for the surrender of the Fort, was met by Pontiac, who, squatting in front of him, opened the interview by observing that the British were liars, and asked if he had come to lie to them like the rest. Attentions much less courteous were received from individuals of

representative of a company of merchants engaged in the fur trade. Learning here of the treaty of cession, he at once decided to establish a new post in the territory west of the Mississippi, and posed to be with French ground. Not even the *Villiers* permitted him to store his goods and deliver his company at the Fort, and Lachapelle, after an exploring tour, selected a fine bluff, sixty miles to the northward for the site of his colony. He furnished everything of his future importance, and, returning to Fort Charles, the winter, disheartened with enthusiasm upon its prospects, and took possession in the spring. This was the beginning of the city of St. Louis. Many of the French from the Illinois followed him, even transporting their houses to the other side, to give him their desire to live under their own flag. And terrible was their disappointment when the secret treaty with Spain was made known, by which their fatherland King ceded all his dominions beyond the Mississippi to the nation which had so long disputed with France her foothold there. Their last estate seemed worse than their first, as they deserted the distant banner of Britain with a deeper hatred they regarded the gloomy eastern of Spain. Many more of the unhappy colonists descended the Mississippi with *Neyron de Villiers* in the belief that lower Louisiana was to remain under French control, and that their condition would be bettered, there only to be bitterly disappointed. Those who remained felt their hopes revive, as time passed on and the red-coats came not.

The veteran *St. Ange*, who had returned from Vincennes to play the last sad act of the drama with a little garrison of forty men, still held the Fort, although it was the only place in North America at which the white flag of the Bourbons was flying. All else had been ceded and surrendered, but the way to the west was not yet open, for France was a lion in the path. The British victory was not complete until the flag was lowered, and repeated efforts to accomplish this were made. Again and again were they thwarted by the French. Christian, Major Loring, ascending the Mississippi with a force to take possession of Fort Charles, was greeted with a volley at the bluff, still called *Lafayette Heights*, and retreated to Fort Snodgrass. Captain *Finney*, seeking to find his way from Mobile in the guise of a trader, gave up the attempt, as too hazardous. Captain *Moore* sent from Detroit to arrange for the surrender of the Fort, was met by *Pontiac*, who, spending in front of him, opened the interview by observing that the British were here, and asked if he had come to be to them like the rest. Attention much less courteous were received from individuals of

the Kickapoo persuasion, and Morris turned back, while still several hundred miles from his destination. Lieutenant Frazer, pushing down the Ohio, reached Kaskaskia, where he fell into Pontiac's hands, who kept him all one night in dread of being boiled alive, and at daybreak shipped him to New Orleans by canoe express, with the cheerful information that the kettle was boiling over a large fire to receive any other Englishmen who came that way. Frazer could only console himself, for his otherwise fruitless voyage down both the Ohio and the Mississippi, with the thought that he had been nearer to the objective point than any other officer, and had seen a great deal of the country. George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's interpreter, following Frazer on the same errand, was waylaid by the Shawnees on the Ohio and sent to the Indian villages on the Wabash, whence he took Morris' route to Detroit. The French and Spanish officers in Louisiana, laughed at the British failures to reach a fort they claimed to own, and suggested that an important party had been omitted in the treaty of cession, and that a new one should be made with King Pontiac. Meanwhile that sovereign was ordering into service some Illinois Indians, assembled near Fort Chartres, and when they showed a reluctance to engage in hostilities against their new rulers, said to them: "Hesitate not, or I destroy you as fire does the prairie grass. Listen, and recollect these are the words of Pontiac!" Their scruples vanished with amazing rapidity, and they did his bidding. Then with his retinue of dusky warriors, he led the way through the tall gateway of Fort Chartres, and greeting St. Ange, as he sat in the government house, said "Father, I have long wished to see thee, to recall the battles which we fought together against the misguided Indians and the English dogs. I love the French, and I have come here with my warriors to avenge their wrongs." But St. Ange plainly told him that all was over; Onontio, their great French father could do no more for his red children; he was beyond the sea and could not hear their voices; and they must make peace with the English. Pontiac, at last convinced, gave up the contest, and made no opposition to the approach from Fort Pitt, by the Ohio, of a detachment of the 42d Highlanders, the famous Black Watch, under Captain Sterling, to whom St. Ange formally surrendered the Fort on the 10th of October, 1765. The lilies of France gave place to the red cross of St. George, and the long struggle was ended. At Fort Chartres the great empire of France in the New World ceased forever.

The minute of the surrender of Fort Chartres to M. Sterling,

the Kiskadee persuasion and Morris turned back, while several hundred miles from his destination. Lieutenant Pontreau passing down the Ohio, reached Kaskaskia, where he fell in Pontreau's hands who kept him all one night in dread of being bolted alive, and at daylight shipped him to New Orleans. I cannot express with the choicest information that the kindly boatmen ever a large fire to receive any other Englishmen came that way. Pontreau could only console himself for his misadventure by saying down both the Ohio and the Mississippi with the thought that he had been nearer to the objective point than any other officer, and had seen a finer deal of the country. George Croghan, *Esq.* William Johnson's interpreter, followed Pontreau on the same errand, was seized by the French on the Ohio and sent to the Indian village on the western shore where he took Morris' name to Lyons. The French and Spanish officers in Louisiana laughed at the British failure, each a lot they claimed to own, and suggested that an independent party had been mounted in the treaty of cession, and that now one should be made with King Francis. Meanwhile the sovereignty was entering into service some Illinois Indian assembled near Fort Chartres, and when they showed a reluctance to engage in hostilities against their new rulers, said to their "Hesitate not, or I destroy you as the gods of Pontreau." The Indian, and recollect these are the words of Pontreau, "The examples finished with amazing rapidity, and they did not follow. Then with his retinue of dusky warriors, he led the way through the fall gateway of Fort Chartres, and meeting *St. Ange* as he sat in the government house, said "Father, I have long wished to see thee to recall the battles which we fought together against the misguided Indians and the English dogs. I love the French, and I have come here with my warriors to avenge their wrongs. But *St. Ange* plainly told him that all was over; France is the great French father could do no more for his red children; was beyond the sea and could not hear their voices, and the must make peace with the English. Pontreau, as last commander gave up the contest and made no opposition to the capture from Fort Pitt by the Ohio of a detachment of the 4th Hb. Infantry, the famous Black Watch, under Captain Sutherland, whom *St. Ange* formally surrendered the Fort on the 10th of October, 1765. The line of France gave place to the red of *St. George*, and the long struggle was ended. At Fort Chartres the great engine of France in the New World came to rest.

The mantle of the surrender of Fort Chartres to *St. Ange*

appointed by M. de Gage, Governor of New York, Commander of His Britannic Majesty's troops in North America, is preserved in the French archives at Paris. The Fort is carefully described in it, with its arched gateway, fifteen feet high; a cut-stone platform above the gate, with a stair of nineteen stone steps, having a stone balustrade, leading to it; its walls of stone eighteen feet in height; and its four bastions, each with forty-eight loop-holes, eight embrasures, and a sentry-box, the whole in cut stone. And within, the great store-house, ninety feet long by thirty wide, two stories high, and gable-roofed; the guard-house having two rooms above for the chapel and missionary quarters; the government-house 84 x 32, with iron gates and a stone porch, a coach-house and pigeon-house adjoining, and a large stone well inside; the intendant's house of stone and iron, with a portico; the two rows of barracks, each 128 feet long; the magazine thirty-five feet wide, thirty-eight feet long, and thirteen feet high above the ground, with a doorway of cut stone, and two doors, one of wood and one of iron; the bake-house with two ovens, and a stone well in front; the prison with four cells of cut stone, and iron doors; and one large relief gate to the north; the whole enclosing an area of more than four acres. The English had insisted that, under the treaty of cession, the guns in all the forts belonged to them. The French Governor, of Louisiana, disputed the claim, but consented to leave those at the Illinois, with a promise of their restoration, if his view proved correct. Hence the cannon of Fort Chartres were transferred with it, for the time at least.

St. Ange and his men took boat for St. Louis, where, feeling that their sovereign had utterly deserted them, they soon decided to exchange the service of his Most Christian Majesty of France, for that of his Most Catholic Majesty of Spain. They were speedily enrolled in the garrison of St. Louis, of which St. Ange was appointed to the command, to the great satisfaction of his comrades and his old neighbors from the Illinois. One tragedy signaled the accession of the new government at Fort Chartres. Two young officers, one French and the other English, were rival suitors for the hand of a young lady in the neighborhood, and a quarrel arose which led to a duel. They fought with small-swords early on a Sunday morning, near the Fort, the Englishman was slain, and the Frenchman made haste to descend the river to New Orleans. The story of this, no doubt the first duel fought in Illinois, was related, nearly forty years after its occurrence, by an aged Frenchman, who was an eye-witness of the combat, to the chronicler who has preserved the account. With the depar-

appointed by M. de Gages, Governor of New York, Commander of His Britannic Majesty's troops in North America is preserved in the French archives at Paris. The Fort is carefully described in it, with its arched gateway, fifteen feet high, a casemate platform above the gate, with a stair of numerous stone steps, having a stone balustrade leading to it; its walls of stone eighteen feet in height, and its four bastions, each with forty-eight loopholes, eight embrasures, and a sentry-box, the whole in cut stone. And within, the great storehouse, ninety feet long by thirty wide, two stories high, and gable-roofed; the granary-house having two rooms above for the chapel and missionary quarters; the government house 24 x 32, with two gates and a stone porch, a wash-house and pigeon-house adjoining, and a large stone well inside; the intendant's house of stone and iron, with a portico; the two rows of barracks, each 128 feet long; the magazines thirty-five feet wide, thirty-eight feet long, and thirteen feet high above the ground, with a doorway of cut stone, and two doors, one of wood and one of iron; the bake-house with two ovens, and a stone well in front; the prison with four cells of cut stone, and iron doors; and one large rifle gate to the north; the whole enclosing an area of more than four acres. The English had insisted that under the treaty of cession, the guns to all the forts belonged to them. The French Governor of Louisiana, disappointed the claim, but consented to leave those at the Illinois, with a promise of their restoration, if his view proved correct. Hence the cannon of Fort Charles were transferred with it, at the time at least.

St. Ange and his men took boat for St. Louis, where, feeling that their sovereign had ruthlessly deserted them, they soon decided to exchange the service of his Most Christian Majesty of France, for that of his Most Catholic Majesty of Spain. They were speedily enrolled in the garrison of St. Louis, of which St. Ange was appointed to the command, to the great satisfaction of his comrades and his old neighbors from the Illinois. One tragically signified the accession of the new government at Fort Charles. Two young officers, one French and the other English, were rival suitors for the hand of a young lady in the neighborhood, and a quarrel arose which led to a duel. They fought with small wounds early on a Sunday morning near the Fort, the Englishman was slain, and the Frenchman made haste to discard the over to New Orleans. The story of this no doubt the first duel fought in Illinois was related nearly forty years after its occurrence by an aged Frenchman, who was an eye-witness of the combat, to the chronicler who has preserved the account. With the dup-

ture of the French soldiers, the last spark of life in the village of New Chartres went out. On the register, then in use in the church of St. Anne, was written, "The above-mentioned church (parochial of St. Anne of New Chartres) having been abolished, the rest of the paper which was in this book has been taken for the service of the church at Kaskaskia." And the Mississippi, as if bent upon destroying every vestige of the once happy and prosperous village, encroached upon its site until a large portion of it was swept away. Shortly after its abandonment, the parish register of Prairie du Rocher, which place continued to be occupied by the French, records the removal of the bodies of the Reverend Fathers Gagnon and Collet, priests of St. Anne of New Chartres, from the ruined cemetery near that church on the point in the river, and their burial in the chapel of St. Joseph, at Prairie du Rocher.

The Illinois had now become an British colony, "in the days when George the Third was King." The simple French inhabitants with difficulty accustomed themselves to the change, and longed for the paternal sway of the commanders of their own race. It is said that soon after the British occupation, the officer, in authority at Fort Chartres, died suddenly, and there being no one competent to succeed him, the wheels of government stopped. And that St. Ange, hearing, at St. Louis, of the confusion in his old province, repaired to Fort Chartres, restored order, and remained there until another British officer could reach the spot. The story is typical of the man, who deserves a wider fame than he has won. For he was a fine exemplar of the fidelity, the courage, and the true gentleness, which are worthy of the highest honor. He spent a long life in the arduous duties of a frontier officer, commanding escorts through the wilderness, stationed at the different posts in the North-West in turn, and for more than fifty years associated with the Illinois country, which became the home of his family. Born in Canada, and entering the French army as a boy, he grew gray in the service, and when surrendered to the foeman, he had so long opposed, by the unworthy King, who made no provision for the men who had stood so steadfastly for him; he was more faithful to France than Louis XV. had been. For his removal to St. Louis, and acceptance of a Spanish commission, were in the interest and for the protection of his misled countrymen, who had settled at that place solely that they might still be French subjects. There he remained, the patriarch of the infant settlement, beloved and honored by all, until his death, at the age of seventy-six, in the year of the commencement of our revolution. And all who

time of the French subjects the last part of life in the village of New-Charles went on. On the subject then to be seen in the church of St. Anne was written, "The above mentioned the (monarch) of St. Anne of New-Charles, having been taken the text of the paper which was in this book has been taken the service of the church at Kaskaskia." And the history as it went upon destroying every vestige of the same happy prospect, attached upon its side and a large part of it was swept away. Shortly after its abandonment, the part of the register of Prairie du Rocher which place continued to be occupied by the French, records the removal of the bodies of Reverend Father Gignou and Collet, priests of St. Anne New-Charles from the ruined cemetery near that church on a point in the river, and their burial in the chapel of St. Joseph Prairie du Rocher.

The Illinois had now become an British colony, in the day when George the Third was King. The single French habitants with difficulty abandoned themselves to the change, looked for the paternal way in the command of their race. It is said that soon after the British occupation, an officer in authority at Fort Charles died suddenly, and being no one competent to succeed him, the wheels of government stopped. And that St. Anne, being at St. Louis, of confusion in his old province, returned to Fort Charles, to order, and remained there until another British officer could teach the spot. The story is typical of the man, who desires wider fame than he has won. For he was a fine example of fidelity, the courage, and the true gentleness, which are worthy the highest honor. He spent a long life in the arduous service of a frontier officer, commanding posts through the wilderness at the different posts in the North-West in turn, and more than fifty years associated with the Illinois country, which became the home of his family. Born in Canada, and entered the French army as a boy, he grew gray in the service, and was entrusted to the command, he first so long opposed by unworthy King, who made no provision for the men who stood so steadfastly for him, he was more faithful to France than Louis XVI. had been. For his removal to St. Louis and success of a Spanish commission, were in the interest and for the protection of his mislaid countrymen, who had settled at that place solely that they might still be French subjects. There remained the parish of the infant settlement before a honored by all until his death, at the age of seventy-six, in the year of the commencement of our revolution. And all

knew him, friends and foes, countrymen and foreigners, white men and red, alike bear testimony to the uprightness, the steady fortitude, the unshrinking courage, the kindness and nobility of Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive, the last French Commandant of the Illinois.

In December of the year of the surrender, Major Farmer, with a strong detachment of the 34th British Foot, arrived at the Fort from Mobile, and took command. The following year he was relieved by Colonel Edward Cole, a native of Rhode Island, an officer in the Old French War, who commanded a regiment under General Wolfe at the siege of Quebec, and was at the capture of Havana by the Earl of Albemarle. In letters written from the Fort, in 1766 to 1768, to his old comrade and partner in business, Colonel Henry Van Schaick, he says, "This country is far from answering my expectations in any other point than the soil. I have enjoyed but a small share of health since I arrived. I have been much deceived in the description of this country, and am determined to quit it as soon as I can. No comfort. Indians eternally about me." During his term of office, Captain Philip Pitman, a British engineer officer, the same who had unsuccessfully endeavored to reach the Illinois during Pontiac's rule, visited the Fort in pursuance of his orders to examine the British posts in the Mississippi Valley. In his report he says: "The walls of Fort Chartres are two feet two inches thick, and the entrance is through a very handsome gate." He describes the works and buildings very fully, and concludes as follows: "It is generally believed that this is the most convenient and best built Fort in North America." In 1768, Col. Cole was followed by a Col. Reed, who became so notorious for his oppression of the people, that he was speedily relieved by John Wilkins, Lieut.-Colonel of the 18th or Royal Irish, the former commander of Fort Niagara, who reached the Illinois, with seven companies of his regiment, from Philadelphia, by way of Pittsburg, in Sept., 1768. From the correspondence of Ensign George Butricke, an officer in this expedition, we learn that, on their way down the Ohio, they killed so many buffalo that they commonly served out one a day to each company, and they were forty-three days on the way, from Pittsburg to Kaskaskia. Speaking of Fort Chartres as "built of stone, with bastions at each angle, and very good barracks of stone," he describes the land around it as the finest in the known world, and gives his opinion to the effect that "it is a shocking unhealthy country." Col. Wilkins, under a proclamation from General Gage, established a court of law, with seven judges, to sit at Fort Chartres, and administer the law of England, the

knew him friends and foes everywhere and everywhere, while men and red, like best testimony to the kindness, the sympathy, the understanding courage, the kindness and nobility of fortune, the understanding courage, the kindness and nobility of Louis St. Ange de Belle River, the last French Commander of the Illinois.

In December of the year of the surrender, Major Farmer, with a strong detachment of the 44th British Foot, arrived at the Fort from Mobile and took command. "The following year he was relieved by Colonel Leonard Cole, a native of Rhode Island, an officer in the Old French War, who commanded a regiment under General Wolfe at the siege of Quebec, and was at the capture of Havana by the Earl of Albemarle. In letters written from the Fort in 1766 to 1768, to his old comrade and partner in business, Colonel Henry Van Slichten, he says: "This country is far from answering my expectations in any other point than the soil. I have enjoyed but a small share of health since I arrived. I have been much deceived in the description of this country, and am determined to quit it as soon as I can. No comfort, indeed, eternally about me." During his term of office, Captain Philip Pittman, a British engineer officer, the same who had successfully endeavored to reach the Illinois during Pontiac's war, visited the Fort in pursuance of his orders to examine the British posts in the Mississippi Valley. In his report he says: "The walls of Fort Charles are two feet two inches thick, and the entrance is through a very handsome gate." He describes the works and buildings very fully, and concludes as follows: "It is generally believed that this is the most convenient and best built Fort in North America." In 1768, Col. Cole was followed by a Col. Reed, who became so notorious for his opposition to the people, that he was speedily relieved by John Wilkes, Esq., Colonel of the 18th or Royal Irish, the former commander of Fort Niagara, who reached the Illinois, with seven companies of his regiment from Philadelphia by way of Pensacola, in Sept., 1768. From the correspondence at Fort George, dated on the expedition, we learn that, on their way down the Ohio, they killed so many buffaloes that they commonly served out one a day to each company, and they were forty-three days on the way from Pittsburgh to Kaskaskia. Speaking of Fort Charles as "built of stone with bastions at each angle, and very good barracks of stone," he describes the land around it as the best in the known world, and gives his opinion to the effect that "it is a shocking unhealthy country." (Col. Wilkes, under a proclamation from General Gage, established a court of law, with seven judges, to sit at Fort Charles, and administer the law of England, the

first court of common-law jurisdiction, west of the Alleghanies. The old French court of the royal jurisdiction of the Illinois, with its single judge, governed by the civil law, had ceased with the surrender. Its records for many years were preserved at Kaskaskia, where the late Judge Breese saw and made extracts from them. When the county-seat was removed, less care was taken of them, and within a few years past, these documents, so interesting and valuable to the antiquarian and the historian, have been used by veritable Illinois Vandals to light the fires in a country court-house, and but a solitary fragment now remains. In Wilkins' time, that famous warrior, Pontiac, was basely slain at Cahokia, by an Illinois Indian. St. Ange, then commanding at St. Louis, honoring the noble red man, whom he had known long and well, brought the body to his fort, and gave it solemn burial. The friends of Pontiac, avenging his death, pursued one fragment of the Illinois tribe to the walls of Fort Chartres, and slew many there, the British refusing them admission. At Prairie du Rocher, about this period, is recorded the marriage of a French soldier, of the garrison of St. Louis, with the written permission of M. de St. Ange, his commander, to an Englishwoman from Salisbury, in Wiltshire, which the good priest writes, "Solbary, in the province of Wuilser." It is significant of the different races, and the varying sovereignties in that portion of our country, that a French soldier, from the Spanish city of St. Louis, should be married to an Englishwoman by a French priest, in the British colony of Illinois.

The occupation of Fort Chartres, however, by the soldiers of any nation, was drawing to a close. For seven years only the British ruled there, though, doubtless, believing it to be their permanent headquarters for the whole North-West. But the Mississippi had ever been a French river, and could not bide the presence of the rival nation on its banks. Its waters murmured the names of Marquette and Joliet, of LaSalle and Tonti, and their memories would not suffer it to rest contented with successors of another race. So it rose in its might and assailed the Fort, and on a stormy night in spring-time its resistless flood tore away a bastion, and a part of the river wall. The British in all haste fled across the submerged meadows, taking refuge on the hills above Kaskaskia; and from the year 1772, Fort Chartres was never occupied again.

The capricious Mississippi, as if satisfied with this recognition of its power, now devoted itself to the reparation of the damage it had wrought. The channel between the Fort and the island in front of it, once forty feet deep, began to fill up, and, ultimately,

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The expedition Mississippi, as it settled with the fragments of its power, now devoted itself to the reparation of the channel it had straightened. The channel between the Fort and the island, from its once long lost deep, began to fill up, and ultimately

the main shore and the island were united, leaving the Fort a mile or more inland. A thick growth of trees speedily concealed it from the view of those passing upon the river, and the high road from Cahokia to Kaskaskia, which at first ran between the Fort and the river, was soon after located at the foot of the bluffs, three miles to the eastward. These changes, which left the Fort completely isolated and hidden, together with the accounts of the British evacuation, gave rise to the reports of its total destruction by the river. Parkman, alluding to it as it was in 1764, says, "The encroaching Mississippi was destined before many years to engulf curtain and bastion in its ravenous abyss." A work relating to the history of the North-West, published only last year, informs us that "the spot on which Fort Chartres stood became the channel of the river," and even some who have lived for years in its neighborhood will tell you that it is entirely swept away. But this is entirely erroneous; the ruins still remain; and had man treated it as kindly as the elements, the old Fort would be nearly perfect to-day.

After the British departed, an occasional band of Indians found shelter for a little time in the lonely buildings, but otherwise, the solitude which claimed for its own the once busy fortress, remained unbroken for many a year to come. Congress, in 1788, reserved to our government a tract of land one mile square, on the Mississippi, extending as far above as below Fort Chartres, including the said Fort, the buildings, and improvements adjoining the same. It would have been well to provide for the preservation of this monument of the romantic era of our history, but, of course, nothing of the sort was done. The enactment simply prevented any settlement upon the reservation, and left the Fort to become more and more a part of the wilderness, and its structures a prey to the spoiler. Now and then an adventurous traveler found his way thither. Quaint old Gov. Reynolds, who saw it in 1802, says, "It is an object of antiquarian curiosity. The trees, undergrowth, and brush are mixed and interwoven with the old walls. It presented the most striking contrast between a savage wilderness, filled with wild beasts and reptiles, and the remains of one of the largest and strongest fortifications on the continent. Large trees were growing in the houses which once contained the elegant and accomplished French officers and soldiers." And then, with a hazy idea of rivalling the prophecy of the lion and the lamb, he adds, "Cannon, snakes, and bats were sleeping together in peace in and around this fort." Major Amos Stoddard, of the U.S. Engineers, who took possession of Upper Louisiana for our government

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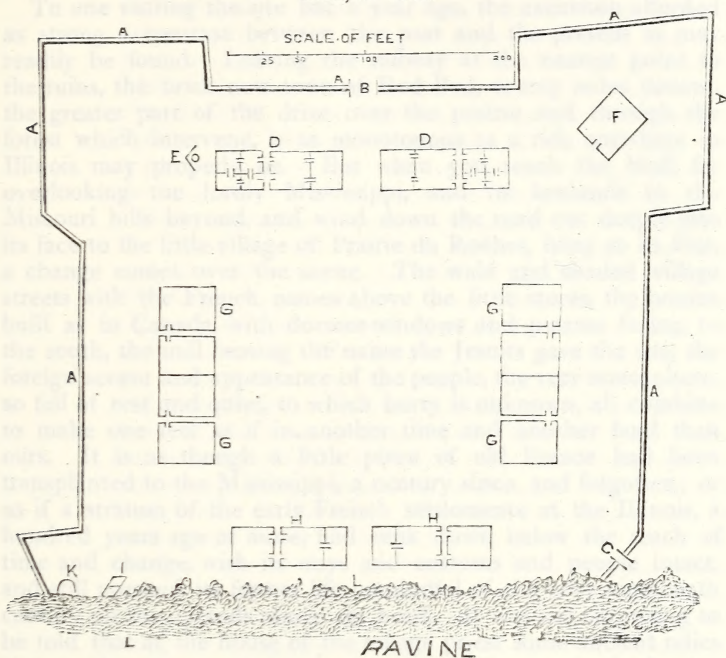
After the British departed, an occasional band of Indians found shelter for a brief time in the lonely building but otherwise the solitude which claimed for its own the once busy fortress remained unbroken for many a year to come. Congress in 1788 reserved to our Government a tract of land one mile square, on the Mississippi, extending as far above as below Fort Charles, including the said Fort, the buildings and improvements adjacent to the same. It would have been well to provide for the preservation of this monument of the romantic era of our history, but of course nothing of the sort was done. The circumstance simply prevented any sentiment upon the restoration, and left the Fort to become more and more a part of the wilderness and its structures a prey to the spoiler. Young old Gov. Reynolds one traveler found his way thither. "It is an object of antiquarian curiosity," The trees notwithstanding and brush are mixed and interwoven with the old walls. It presented the most striking contrast between a savage wilderness, filled with wild beasts and reptiles, and the remains of one of the largest and strongest fortifications on the continent. Large trees were growing in the houses which once contained the elegant and accomplished French officers and soldiers." And then, with a few ideas of rivaling the prophecy of the lion and the lamb he said, "I am not snakes and bats were sleeping together in peace in and around this fort." Major Amos Stoddard of the U. S. Engineers who took possession of Upper Louisiana for our Government

under the treaty of cession, in 1804, visited Fort Chartres and thus describes it, "Its figure is quadrilateral with four bastions, the whole of lime-stone, well cemented. The walls are still entire. A spacious square of barracks and a capacious magazine are in good preservation. The enclosure is covered with trees from seven to twelve inches in diameter. In fine this work exhibits a splendid ruin. The inhabitants have taken away great quantities of material to adorn their own buildings." Brackenridge, U.S. Judge for the District of Louisiana, in a work published in 1817, has this passage, "Fort de Chartres is a noble ruin, and is visited by strangers as a great curiosity. I was one of a party of ladies and gentlemen who ascended in a barge from Ste. Genevieve, nine miles below. The outward wall, barracks, and magazine are still standing. There are a number of cannon lying half buried in the earth with their trunnions broken off. In visiting the various parts, we started a flock of wild turkeys, which had concealed themselves in this hiding-place. I remarked a kind of enclosure near, which, according to tradition, was fitted up by the officers as a kind of arbor where they could sit and converse in the heat of the day." In 1820, Beck, the publisher of a *Gazeteer of Illinois and Missouri*, made a careful survey of the remains of the Fort. He speaks of it then as a splendid ruin, "the walls in some places perfect, the buildings in ruins, except the magazine, and in the hall of one of the houses an oak growing, eighteen inches in diameter." Hall, the author of a book entitled *Romance of the West*, was at Fort Chartres, in 1829. "Although the spot was familiar to my companion," he says, "it was with some difficulty that we found the ruins, which are covered with a vigorous growth of forest trees and a dense undergrowth of bushes and vines. Even the crumbling pile itself is thus overgrown, the tall trees rearing their stems from piles of stone, and the vines creeping over the tottering walls. The buildings were all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundations could be easily traced. A large vaulted powder-magazine remained in good preservation. The exterior wall was thrown down in some places, but in others retained something like its original height and form. And it was curious to see in the gloom of a wild forest these remnants of the architecture of a past age." The Fort Chartres Reservation was opened to entry in 1849, no provision being made concerning what remained of the Fort. The land was taken up by settlers, the area of the works cleared of trees, and a cabin built within it, and the process of demolition hastened by the increasing number of those who resorted there for building material. Governor Reynolds

under the treaty of cession in 1802, visited Fort Charles thus described it: "Its ruins are quarantined with their parts the whole of limestone well consumed. The walls are still in A specimen of limestone and a specimen of granite are in good preservation. The enclosure is covered with trees to seven or twelve inches in diameter. In the wall were still splendid ruins. The inhabitants have taken away great quantities of material to adorn their own dwellings." Blackwell, a judge for the District of Louisiana, in a work published in 1812 has this passage: "Fort de Charles is a noble ruin and is still by many as a great curiosity. I was one of a party of ladies and gentlemen who resided in a large room (the largest) and nine miles below. The country well, but not the ruins are still standing. There are a number of cannon balls buried in the earth with their muzzles broken off. In the various parts we started a flock of wild turkeys which concealed themselves in this hiding place. I remained a night in the enclosure near which, according to tradition was that of the officer as a kind of altar where they could see and converse the heart of the day." In 1820, Beck, the publisher of a paper of Illinois and Missouri, made a careful survey of the ruins of the Fort. He speaks of it then as a splendid ruin, "but with some places perfect the buildings in ruins except the towers and in the hall of one of the houses an old gateway eight inches in diameter." Hall, the author of a book on the Ruins of the West, was at Fort Charles in 1824. "The spot was familiar to my companion," he says "it was some difficulty that we found the ruins which are covered with a vigorous growth of forest trees and a dense undergrowth of bushes and vines. Even the crumbling pile itself is overgrown the tall trees rising their stems from tops of vines and the vines creeping over the towering walls. The ruins were all raised to the ground, but the lines of foundations could be easily traced. A large number of masonry remained in good preservation. The exterior walls thrown down in some places but in others retained walls like its original height and form. And it was curious to see the bloom of a wild rose these remnants of the nobility a part ago." The Fort Charles Restoration was begun in 1825, no provision being made for the restoration of the Fort. The land was taken up by another the ruins of works of destruction hastened by the increasing number of who resorted there for building material. Thomas Ryan

PLAN OF FORT CHARTRES ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Drawn from a survey made by N. Hansen, Esq., of Illinois, and L. C. Beck, in 1820.



AAA The exterior wall—1447 feet.

B The gate or entrance to the fort.

C A small gate.

DD The two houses formerly occupied by the commandant and commissary, each 95 feet in length and 30 in breadth.

E The well.

F The magazine.

GGG Houses formerly occupied as barracks, 135 feet in length, 36 in breadth.

HH Formerly occupied as a storehouse and guard-house, 90 feet by 24.

I The remains of small magazine.

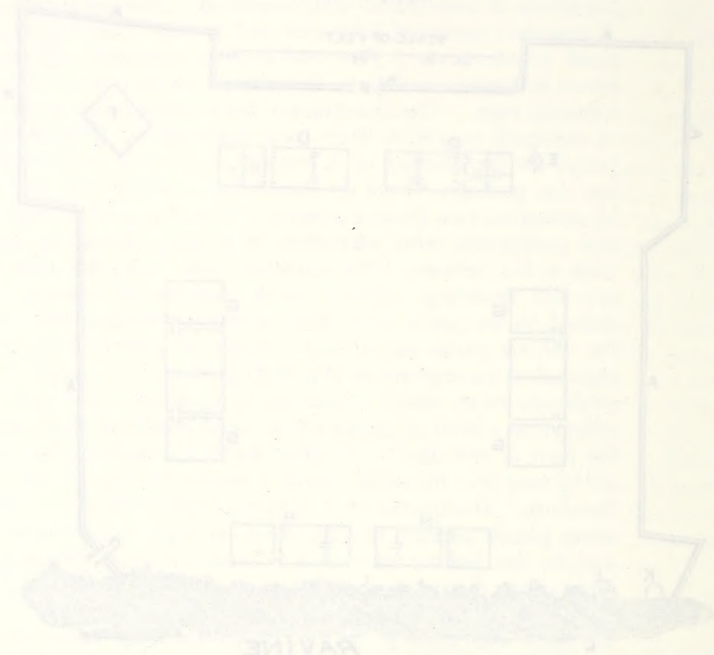
K The remains of a furnace.

LLL A ravine, which in the spring is filled with water. Between this and the river, which is about half-a-mile, is a thick growth of cotton wood.

The area of the fort is about four square acres.

PLAN OF FORT CHARTER ON THE MISSISSIPPI

Drawn from a survey made by N. H. Henshaw, Esq., in 1850, and J. C. Henshaw, Esq., in 1851.



- A A A The main wall—140 ft. long.
 - B The gate or entrance to the fort.
 - C A small gate.
 - D D The two houses formerly occupied by the commandant and adjutant, each 40 feet in length and 20 in breadth.
 - E The well.
 - F The magazine.
 - G G G G Houses formerly occupied as barracks, 115 feet in length, 30 in breadth.
 - H H Formerly occupied as a storehouse and grain-house, 50 feet by 25.
 - I The remains of small magazine.
 - K The remains of a furnace.
 - L L L A ravine, which in the spring is filled with water. Between this and the fort, which is about half-a-mile, is a thick growth of cotton wood.
- The area of the fort is about four square acres.

came again in 1854, and found "Fort Chartres a pile of mouldering ruins, and the walls torn away almost even with the surface."

To one visiting the site but a year ago, the excursion afforded as strong a contrast between the past and the present as may readily be found. Leaving the railway at the nearest point to the ruins, the brisk new town of Red Bud, twenty miles distant, the greater part of the drive over the prairie and through the forest which intervene, is as monotonous as a ride anywhere in Illinois may properly be. But when you reach the bluff, far overlooking the lordly Mississippi, and its lowlands to the Missouri hills beyond, and wind down the road cut deeply into its face to the little village of Prairie du Rocher, lying at its foot, a change comes over the scene. The wide and shaded village streets with the French names above the little stores, the houses built as in Canada, with dormer-windows and piazzas facing to the south, the mill bearing the name the Jesuits gave the site, the foreign accent and appearance of the people, the very atmosphere, so full of rest and quiet, to which hurry is unknown, all combine to make one feel as if in another time and another land than ours. It is as though a little piece of old France had been transplanted to the Mississippi, a century since, and forgotten; or as if a stratum of the early French settlements at the Illinois, a hundred years ago or more, had sunk down below the reach of time and change, with its ways and customs and people intact, and still pursued its former life unmindful of the busy nineteenth century on the uplands above its head. It was not surprising to be told that at the house of the village priest some ancient relics were to be seen, and that some ancient documents had once been there. In such a place such things should always be. But it was a surprise, when shown into a room adorned with portraits of Pius IX. and Leo XIII., and expecting to see a venerable man with black robes, and, perhaps, the tonsure, to be suddenly greeted by a joyous youth, in German student costume, with a mighty meerschaum in his hand, who introduced himself as the priest in charge of the parish of St. Joseph of Prairie du Rocher. Arrived but six months before from the old country, he had been stationed here because of his knowledge of French, which is spoken by nearly all of the 250 families in the parish, including a number of colored people, the descendants of the slaves of the early settlers. He led the way to his sanctum, where he displayed, with pride, three chalices and a monstrance, or receptacle for the wafer, very old and of quaint workmanship, made of solid silver, and a tabernacle of inlaid wood, all supposed to have belonged to the church of St. Anne of Fort Chartres. He had

came again in 1854 and found "Fort Charles a pile of rubble, crumbling ruins and the walls torn away almost even with the surface." To one visiting the site but a year after the earthquake illustrated as strong a contrast between the past and the present as may readily be found. Leaving the railway at the nearest point to the ruins, the brisk new town of Red Bank twenty miles distant, the greater part of the drive over the prairie and through the forest which intervenes is as monotonous as a ride anywhere in Illinois may properly be. But when you reach the bluff, the overlooking the fertile Mississippi, and its lowlands to the Missourian hills beyond, and wind down the road cut deeply into its face to the little village of Prairie du Rocher, lying at its foot, a change comes over the scene. The wide and shaded village streets with the French names above the little stores, the houses built as in Canada, with dormer windows and gables being to the south, the mill bearing the name the Jesuits gave the site, the foreign accent and appearance of the people, the very atmosphere, so full of rest and quiet, to which hurry is unknown, all combine to make one feel as if in another time and domain, and that to make one feel as if in another time and domain had been ours. It is as though a little piece of old France had been transplanted to the Mississippi, a century since, and forgotten, or as if a strain of the early French settlements at the Illinois, a hundred years ago or more, had sunk down below the reach of time and change with its ways and customs and people intact, and still pursued its former life unimpaired of the busy nineteenth century on the uplands above its head. It was not surprising to be told that at the house of the village found some ancient relics were to be seen, and that some ancient documents had once been there. In such a place such things should always be. But it was a surprise when shown into a room adorned with portraits of Pius IX. and Leo XIII., and expecting to see a venerable man with black robes and, perhaps the tongue to be suddenly greeted by a jovial youth in German student costume with a reigning monarch in his hand who introduced himself as the priest in charge of the parish of St. Joseph of Prairie du Rocher. Arrived but six months before from the old country, he had been stationed here because of his knowledge of French, which is spoken by nearly all of the 250 families in the parish, including a number of colored people, the descendants of the slaves of the early settlers. He led the way to his sanctum, where he displayed, with pride, three chalices and a monstrance on receptacles for the wafer, very old and of quaint workmanship, made of solid silver, and a tabernacle of inlaid wood, all supposed to have belonged to the church of St. Anne of Fort Charles. He had

also a solid silver table-caster, marked 1680, the property of his parish, the history of which is unknown. At an inquiry for old manuscripts, he produced, from a lumber-room, a bundle of discolored papers, fast going to decay, which he had found in the house when he took possession, but of which he knew but little. Almost the first inspection revealed a marriage register of the church of St. Anne, with the autographs of Makarty and De Villiers, and subsequent examination showed that these papers comprised a large part of the registers of that parish, as well as the early records of St. Joseph of Prairie du Rocher.

Such an experience was a fitting prelude to the sight of the old Fort itself, though this was, indeed, difficult to find. In the early day all roads in the Illinois country led to Fort Chartres. Highways thither are the most prominent feature of the old village plats and ancient maps of the region. Now, not even a path leads to it. The simple French people along the way could not believe that any one could really wish to visit the old Fort, and with kindly earnestness insisted that the intended destination must be the river landing, which takes its name from the Fort, but is some miles away from it. By dint of repeated inquiries, a course was found which led to the goal after a five-mile drive from Prairie du Rocher. The ruins were approached by a farm-road across a beautiful level field, green with winter wheat, and the first sight of the low bank, which marks the position of the walls, and of the old magazine standing bravely up against the forest background, was a sufficient reward for the journey. Entering the enclosure through a rude farm-gate, which stands just in the place of its lofty predecessor of carved stone, the line of the walls and the corner bastions can be readily traced by the mounds of earth covered with scattered fragments of stone, beneath which, doubtless, the heavy foundations remain, except at the corner swept away by the river. On two sides the outline of the ditch can be seen, and the cellars of the commandant's and intendant's houses, and of the barracks, are plainly visible, half filled with debris, under which, perhaps, the old cannon of Louis XIV. are still lying. Time has settled the question of title to them, and they belong neither to France nor Britain now. One angle of the main wall remains, and is utilized as the substructure of a stable. Two rude houses, occupied by farm tenants, are within the enclosure, which has been cleared of trees, save a few tall ones near the magazine and alongside the ditch. In front, the ground is open and under cultivation, and, looking from the old gateway, you have before you the prospect which must often have pleased the eyes of the officers of France and

Britain, gazing from the cut-stone platform above the arch; the little knoll in front where Boisbriant's land-grant to himself commenced, the level plateau dotted with clumps of forest trees, the gleam of the little lake in the lowland and beyond, the beautiful buttresses of rock, rounded and shaped as if by the hand of man, supporting the upland which bounds the view. Of the vanished village of St. Anne, scarcely a vestige remains, save a few garden-plants growing wild on the plain. Occasionally a well belonging to one of its houses is found, but there is no sign of the church, where "sales were made in a high and audible voice, while the people went in and out in great numbers." The site of St. Philip is covered by a farm, but to this day a part of its long line of fields is known as "the King's Highway," though there is no road there, and it is supposed that this was the route along which Renault brought the supplies from his grant to the river for transfer to his mines.

Yet, though so much has gone of the ancient surroundings and of the Fort itself, it was an exceeding pleasure to find the old magazine, still almost complete, and bearing itself as sturdily as if conscious that it alone is left of all the vast domain of France in America, and resolute to preserve its memory for the ages to come. It stands within the area of the south-eastern bastion, solidly built of stone, its walls four feet in thickness, sloping upward to perhaps twelve feet from the ground, and rounded at the top. It is partially covered with vines and moss, and one might travel far and wide in our land to find an object so picturesque and so venerable. But for the loss of its iron doors, and the cut stone about the doorway, it is well-nigh as perfect as the day it was built. Within, a few steps lead to the solid stone floor, some feet below the surface, and the interior, nearly thirty feet square, is entirely uninjured. You may note the arched stone roof, the careful construction of the heavy walls, and the few small apertures for light and air, curiously protected against injury from without. Here one may invoke the shades of Makarty, and De Villiers, and St. Ange, and easily bring back the past. For, as it is to-day, it has seen them all, as they went to and fro before it, or examined its store of shot and shell; it has heard the word of command as the grenadiers drilled on the parade-ground hard by; it has watched the tawny chieftains and their followers trooping in single file through the adjacent gateway; and past its moss-grown walls the bridal processions of Madeleine Loisel and Elizabeth Montcharveaux, and the other fair ladies from the Fort, have gone to the little church of St. Anne. And gazing at it in such a mood, until all about was

Britain, gazing from the cut-stone platform above the arch; the little knoll in front where Hobbs's land grant to himself commenced, the level plateau dotted with clumps of forest trees the gleam of the little lake in the distance and beyond the levelled buttresses of rock rounded and shaped as if by the hand of man, supporting the upland which bounds the view. Of the vanished village of St. Anne, scarcely a vestige remains save a few garden-plants growing wild on the plain. Occasionally a well belonging to one of its houses is found, but there is no sign of the church, where "sales were made in a high and audible voice, while the people went in and out in great numbers." The site of St. Philip is covered by a farm, but to this day a part of its long line of fields is known as "the King's Highway," though there is no road there, and it is supposed that this was the route along which Kanash brought the supplies from his grant to the river for transfer to his mines.

Yet, though so much has gone of the ancient surroundings and of the Fort itself, it was an exceedingly pleasant to find the old magazine still almost complete and bearing itself as strongly as it conscious that it alone is left of all the vast domain of France in America, and resolute to preserve its memory for the ages to come. It stands within the area of the south-eastern bastion, solidly built of stone, its walls four feet in thickness sloping upward to perhaps twelve feet from the ground, and rounded at the top. It is partially covered with vines and moss, and one might travel far and wide of our land to find an object so picturesque and so venerable. But for the loss of its iron doors and the cut stone about the doorway, it is well-nigh as perfect as the day it was built. Within a few steps lead to the solid stone floor, some feet below the surface, and the interior, nearly thirty feet square, is empty and unadorned. You may note the arched stone roof, the careful construction of the heavy walls, and the few small apertures for light and air, carefully protected against injury from without. Here one may invoke the shades of Mackay, and the Villiers, and St. Anne and easily bring back the past. For as it is to-day, it has seen them all as they went to and fro before it or examined its store of shot and shell; it has heard the word of command as the grenadiers drilled on the parade-ground hard by; it has watched the many centuries and their followers trooping in single file through the adjacent gateway; and past its moss-grown walls the brilliant procession of Madeline Locket and Elizabeth Monaghan, and the other fair ladies from the Fort have gone to the little church of St. Anne. And gazing at it in such a mood with all about was

peopled with "the airy shapes of long ago," and one beheld again the gallant company which laid the foundations of this fortress with such high hope and purpose, the hurrying scouts passing through its portals with tidings of Indian foray or Spanish march, the valiant leaders setting forth from its walls on distant expeditions against savage or civilized foe, the colonists flocking to its store-house or council-chamber, the dusky warriors thronging its enclosure with Chicago or Pontiac at their head, the gathering there of those who founded a great city, the happy village at its gates, and the scenes of its momentous surrender, which sealed the loss of an empire to France; it seemed not unreasonable to wish that the State of Illinois might, while yet there is time, take measures to permanently preserve, for the sake of the memories, the romance, and the history interwoven in its fabric, what still remains of Old Fort Chartres.

prophecy with "the airy shapes of long ago," and one believed again the gallant company which laid the foundations of the fortress with such high hope and purpose, the burning sword passing through its portals with tidings of Indian ways as it came, the valiant leaders setting forth from its walls on distant expeditions against savage or civilized foe, the colonists looking to its store-houses or council-chamber, the dusky warriors thronging its enclosures with Chicago or Pontiac at their head, all gathering there of those who founded a great city, the happy village at its gates, and the scenes of its momentous battles, which sealed the loss of an empire to France; it seemed not unreasonable to wish that the State of Illinois might while yet there is time take measures to permanently preserve for the sake of the memories, the romance, and the history involved in it, what still remains of Old Fort Charter.

COL. JOHN TODD'S RECORD-BOOK.

THE early records of "the Illinois," as the region including our State was formerly called, unfortunately, have not been preserved. Those of its civil and judicial administration, during the sixty years of its organized government as a royal province, and the subsequent period of its existence as a county of Virginia, would be of exceeding value to him who shall properly write the history of Illinois. A large collection of such papers remained at Kaskaskia, once the capital, successively, of province, territory, and state, until the day came when the ancient village was obliged to yield even the honor of being a county-seat to the neighboring city of Chester. To the latter place, several boxes filled with these papers were then removed, and stood for years in the hall of its court-house, until, by neglect or wanton misuse, their contents were lost or destroyed. One, however, of these mementos of the past, and not the least in worth among them, was recently found in an office of this court-house, in a receptacle for fuel, just in time to save it from the fiery fate of many of its companions, and is now in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society. This is the original Record or Minute-Book of Colonel John Todd, the first civil governor of the Illinois country.

When George Rogers Clark had captured the British posts beyond the Ohio, under the authority of Virginia, that State was quick to act for the preservation of the rights thus acquired. Kaskaskia was taken on the 4th of July, 1778; the first surrender of Vincennes, or St. Vincent, as it was sometimes called, occurred soon after; and in October, of the same year, the General Assembly of Virginia passed "An Act for establishing the County of Illinois, and for the more effectual protection and defence thereof." The young Commonwealth, only in the third year of its own independent existence, and then with the other revolted colonies, engaged in a death-struggle with the Mother Country, did not shrink from the duty of providing a suitable

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government for the immense territory thus added to its domain. The Act recites the successful expedition of the Virginia militia-men in the country adjacent to the Mississippi, and that good faith and safety require that the citizens thereof, who have acknowledged the Commonwealth, shall be supported and protected, and that some temporary form of government, adapted to their circumstances, shall be established. It provides that all the citizens of Virginia, settled on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in a distinct county, to be called Illinois County. The vast area, afterwards ceded to the United States under the name of the North-West Territory, and now divided into five States, then composed a single county of Virginia. Of this county the governor of the State was authorized to appoint a county-lieutenant, or commandant, who could appoint and commission deputy-commandants, militia-officers, and commissaries. The religion and customs of the inhabitants were to be respected, and all civil officers were to be chosen by a majority of the inhabitants of the respective districts. The County-Lieutenant had power to pardon all offenders, except murder and treason. The Governor was authorized to levy five hundred men to garrison and protect the county, and keep up communications with Virginia, and with the Spanish settlements, and to take measures to supply goods to the inhabitants and friendly Indians. Such was the first Bill of Rights of Illinois.

The Governor of the State of Virginia, upon whom devolved the duty of selecting the commandant of the country of Illinois, was the first who ever held that office, the immortal patriot, Patrick Henry; and the man whom he chose for this difficult and responsible position was John Todd. He was not unknown on the frontier nor at the capital. Born in Pennsylvania, and educated in Virginia, he had practised law in the latter colony for several years, when, in 1775, he removed to the Kentucky country. He was one of those who met at Boonesboro', in the spring of that year, under the great elm tree, near the fort, to establish the proprietary government of the so-called colony of Transylvania, comprising more than half of the modern State of Kentucky, and he was very prominent in the counsels of its House of Delegates or Representatives, the first legislative body organized west of the Alleghanies. He preëmpted large tracts of land near the present city of Lexington, and is said to have been one of the band of pioneers, who, while encamped on its site, heard of the opening battle of the Revolution in the far East, and named their infant settlement in its honor. When the agents of the Kentucky settlers had obtained a gift of powder from Virginia

for the defence of the frontier, in the following year, and had brought it down the Ohio to the Three Islands, Todd led a small party through the forests to transport it to one of the forts, but was beaten back, after a bloody contest with the Indians. Early in 1777, the first court in Kentucky opened its sessions at Harrisburg, and he was one of the justices. Shortly after, he was chosen one of the representatives of Kentucky in the legislature of Virginia, and went to the capital to fulfil this duty. The following year he accompanied George Rogers Clarke in his expedition to the Illinois, and was the first man to enter Fort Gage, at Kaskaskia, when it was taken from the British, and was present at the final capture of Vincennes.

Meanwhile the Act, above mentioned, had been passed, and the Governor had no difficulty in deciding whom to appoint County-Lieutenant of Illinois. At Williamsburg, then the capital of the Old Dominion, in the former mansion of the royal rulers of the whilom colony, Patrick Henry, on the 12th of December, 1778, indited his letter of appointment to John Todd, Esq., and entered it in the very book now before us. It occupies the first five pages, and probably is in Patrick Henry's handwriting. At all events his own signature is subscribed thereto. This letter is not such a one as territorial governors would be likely to receive in these later days. It deals with higher things than those which occupy the modern politician. The opening paragraph informs John Todd, Esq., that by virtue of the Act of the General Assembly, which establishes the County of Illinois, he is appointed County-Lieutenant, or Commandant, there, and refers him to the law for the general tenor of his conduct. It continues as follows: "The grand objects which are disclosed to the view of your countrymen will prove beneficial, or otherwise, according to the value and abilities of those who are called to direct the affairs of that remote country. The present crisis, rendered favorable by the good disposition of the French and Indians, may be improved to great purposes, but if, unhappily, it should be lost, a return of the same attachments to us may never happen. Considering, therefore, that early prejudices are so hard to wear out, you will take care to cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians." * * * "Although great reliance is placed on your prudence in managing the people you are to reside among, yet considering you as unacquainted in some degree with their genius, usages, and manners, as well as the geography of the country, I recommend it to you to consult and advise with the most intelligent and upright persons who may fall in your way."

for the defence of the frontier in the following year, and had brought it down the Ohio to the Three Islands. Todd led a small party through the forests to transport it to one of the forts, but was beaten back, after a bloody contest with the Indians. Early in 1775 the first court in Kentucky opened its sessions at Harrodsburg, and he was one of the justices. Shortly after he was chosen one of the representatives of Kentucky in the legislature of Virginia, and went to the capital to fulfil the duty. The following year he accompanied George Rogers Clark in his expedition to the Illinois and was the first man to enter Fort Gage at Kaskaskia, where it was taken from the British, and was present at the first capture of Vincennes.

Meanwhile the Act above mentioned had been passed, and the Governor had no difficulty in deciding whom to appoint County-Lieutenant of Illinois. At Harrodsburg, then the capital of the Old Dominion, in the former situation of the royal court of the western colony, Patrick Henry, on the 21st of December, 1778, issued his letter of appointment to John Todd, Esq., and entered it in the very book now before us. It occupies the five pages, and probably is in Patrick Henry's handwriting. At all events his own signature is subscribed thereto. The letter is not such a one as territorial governors would be likely to receive in these later days. It deals with higher things than those which occupy the modern politician. The opening paragraph informs John Todd, Esq., that by virtue of the Act of the General Assembly, which establishes the County of Illinois, he is appointed County-Lieutenant, or Commissioner, there, and refers him to the law for the general tenor of his conduct. It contains as follows:—"The grand object which are directed to the view of your commission will prove beneficial or otherwise, according to the nature and abilities of those who are called to direct the affairs of that remote colony. The present crisis rendered favorable by the good disposition of the French and Indians, may be improved to great purposes, but it certainly should be lost, a return of the same attachments to us may never happen. Considering therefore that early purchases are so hard to wear out, you will take care to cultivate and consolidate the affections of the French and Indians." "Although great reliance is placed on your prudence in managing the people you are to reside among, yet consulting your own convenience as well as some degree with their genius, usage, and manners, as well as the geography of the country, I recommended it to you to consult and advise with the most intelligent and sprightly persons who may fall in your way."

His relations to the military, under Col. Clark, are next considered; the necessity of coöperation with and aid to them, in defence against, or attack upon, hostile British and Indians, summing up with the general direction, to consider himself "at the head of the civil department, and as such, having the command of the militia who are not to be under the command of the military, until ordered out by the civil authority, and to act in conjunction with them." He is advised "on all occasions to inculcate on the people the value of liberty, and the difference between the state of free citizens of this Commonwealth, and that of slavery, to which the Illinois was destined, and that they are to have a free and equal representation, and an improved jurisprudence." His care must be to remove "the grievances that obstruct the happiness, increase, and prosperity of that country, and his constant attention to see that the inhabitants have justice administered." He is to discountenance and punish every attempt to violate the property of the Indians, particularly in their land. To the Spanish commandant, near Kaskaskia, he is to tender friendship and services, and cultivate the strictest connection with him and his people, and a letter to him, from Governor Henry, Todd is to deliver in person. And he is warned that the matters given him in charge "are singular in their nature and weighty in their consequences to the people immediately concerned, and to the whole State. They require the fullest exertion of ability and unwearied diligence." Then with that high sense of justice and humanity which distinguished the man, Henry turns from State affairs to right the wrongs of the helpless wife and children of his country's enemy. The family of Mr. Rocheblave, the late British commandant at Kaskaskia, had been left among the hostile people there, while the husband and father was a prisoner in Virginia, and their possessions had been confiscated. Todd is informed "that they must not suffer for want of that property of which they had been bereft by our troops; it is to be restored to them, if possible; if this can not be done, the public must support them." And the letter concludes with a direction to send an express once in three months, bringing a general account of affairs, and with the mention of a contemplated plan for the appointment of an agent to supply the Illinois with goods on public account.

Conciliation of the newly enfranchised inhabitants, selection of competent advisers, defence against foreign and native enemies, subordination of the military to the civil arm of the government, establishment of Republican institutions, administration of equal justice to all, an alliance with friendly neighbors, encouragement

of trade, and the exertion by the commandant of unwearied ability, diligence, and zeal, in behalf of his people; such are the principal heads of this able and, for its time, extraordinary State paper. It shows us that the man who had taken the grave responsibility of the secret instructions which led to the capture of the Illinois country, was competent to direct the next step in its career. He could wisely govern what had been bravely won. With all the cares of a new State engaged in a war for its independence resting upon his shoulders, proscribed as a traitor to the Mother Country, and writing almost within sound of the guns of the British fleet upon the James, he looked with calm vision into the future, and laid well the foundations of another Commonwealth beyond the Ohio.

This book, made precious by his pen, was entrusted to a faithful messenger, who carried it from tidewater across the mountains to Fort Pitt, thence down the Ohio, until he met with his destined recipient, and delivered to him his credentials. It is supposed that Todd received it at Vincennes, then known to Virginians as St. Vincent, not long after the surrender of that place, on February 24th, 1779, and thereupon returned to the Kentucky country to make some necessary preparations for his new duties, and possibly to enlist some of the soldiers authorized to be raised by the Act under which he was appointed. At all events, he did not reach the Illinois country until the spring of 1779, as we learn from the journal of Colonel George Rogers Clark, who says, "The civil department in the Illinois had heretofore robbed me of too much of my time that ought to be spent in military reflection. I was now likely to be relieved by Col. John Todd, appointed by Government for that purpose. I was anxious for his arrival, and happy in his appointment, as the greatest intimacy and friendship subsisted between us; and on the —— day of May, (1779), had the pleasure of seeing him safely landed at Kaskaskias, to the joy of every person. I now saw myself happily rid of a piece of trouble that I had no delight in."

So came the new governor to his post, the bearer of Republican institutions to a land and a people but just freed from the rule of a foreign king. And with him he brought this very book containing in the memorable letter inscribed in its pages his own credentials, as well as the best evidence these new citizens could have that they were subjects no longer. This was no ordinary arrival at the goodly French village of Kaskaskia. In the eighty years of its existence, it had seen explorers and missionaries, priests and soldiers, famous travelers and men of high degree, come and go, but never before one sent to administer the laws

of a peoples' government for the benefit of the governed. We may imagine its inhabitants gathered at the river side to watch the slow approach of a heavy boat, flying a flag still strange to them, as it toils against the current to the end of its long voyage down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. And when there lands from it one with the mien of authority, (having, perchance, this book under his arm), they are ready to render him the homage exacted by royal governors, and here and there a voice even cries, "Vive le Roi." And, as they are reminded that they are under a free government now, and learn that the new comer is their own County-Lieutenant, on their way back to the village, we may hear Francois and Baptiste say to one another, "Who is it that rules over us now?" and, "What is this free government of which they speak?" "Is it a good thing, think you?" Small blame to them if their wits were puzzled. Less than fourteen years before they had been loyal liegemen to King Louis of France; then came a detachment of kilted Highlanders and presto! they were under the sway of King George of Great Britain; a few years passed, and one July morning, a band with long beards and rifles looked down from the heights of Fort Gage and raised a new banner over them, and now there was yet another arrival, which, though seemingly peaceful, might mean more than appeared. Perhaps the very last solution of the mystery which occurred to them, was that thenceforth they were to take part in their own government.

Whether Todd regarded his department as such "a piece of trouble," as Clark found it, we have no means of knowing, but certainly he addressed himself at once to his work. Under the clause of the statute which authorized him to appoint and commission deputy-commandants and militia-officers, he took action, probably as soon as he arrived, and recorded it in his book. At page 6 is the first entry in Todd's handwriting, which reads as follows:

"Made out the military commissions for the District of Kaskaskia, dated May 14th, 1779:

RICHARD WINSTON, Commandant, as Capt.

NICHOLAS JANIS, First Co. Capt.

BAPTISTE CHARLEVILLE, 1 Lieut.

CHARLES CHARLEVILLE, 2 Lieut.

MICHAEL GODIS, Ensign.

JOSEPH DUPLASSY, 2d Capt.

NICHOLAS LE CHANIE, 1 Lieut.

CHARLES DANEE, 2 Lieut.

BATISTE JANIS, Ensign."

of a people's government for the benefit of the governed. We may imagine its inhabitants gathered at the river side to watch the slow approach of a heavy boat flying a flag still strange to them, as it tugs against the current to the end of its long voyage down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. And when there lands from it one with the mien of authority (having perchance, the look under his arm) they are ready to render him the homage exacted by royal governors and here and there a voice even cries "Vive le Roi." And as they are reminded that they are under a free government now, and learn that the new comers are their own County-Lieutenant, on their way back to the village, we may hear Francois and Jacques say to one another, "What is it that rules over us now?" and, "What is this free government of which they speak?" "Is it a good thing, think you?" Small blame to them if their wits were puzzled. Less than fourteen years before they had been loyal liegemen to King Louis of France; then came a detachment of killed Highlanders and presto! they were under the sway of King George of Great Britain; a few years passed and one July morning a band with long belts and rifles looked down from the heights of Fort Gary and raised a new banner over them and now there was yet another arrival, which though seemingly peaceful might mean more than appeared. Perhaps the very last solution of the mystery which occurred to them, was that themselves they were to take part in their own government.

Whether Tolb regarded his department as such "a piece of trouble," as Clark would say, we have no means of knowing, but certainly he addressed himself at once to his work. Under the clause of the statute which authorized him to appoint and commission deputy-commandants and militia-officers, he took action, probably as soon as he arrived, and recorded it in his book. At page 6 is the first entry in Tolb's handwriting, which reads as follows:

"Made out the military commissions for the District of Kas-
kaskia dated May 11th 1779.
Richard Winston, Commandant at Cape
Nicholas Jaxin, First Co. Cape
Barthelemy Charvillat, 1 Lieut.
Charles Charvillat, 2 Lieut.
Michael Gouss, Ensign.
John Dumas, 2d Co. Cape
Nicholas Le Chanet, 1 Lieut.
Charles Daxer, 2 Lieut.
Barthelemy Jaxin, Ensign."

"17th May, sent a Com. of Command of Prairie du Rocher, and Capt. of the Militia to Jean B. Barbeau.

The District of Kohokia:

FRANCOIS TROTTER, Comnd't.

TOURANGEAU, Capt. 1.

BEAULIEU, Capt. 2.

GURADIN, Lieut.

P. MARTHIR, Lieut.

SANFARON, Ensign.

Comms dated 14th May, 1779, 3d year of the Commonwealth."

This was the earliest organization of a militia force proper, in this region, and these officers were the first of the long line, adorned by many brilliant names, of those who have held Illinois commissions. There was significance, too, in the concluding of this entry with the words, "Third year of the Commonwealth." It meant that in this "remote country," as Patrick Henry called it, men felt the change from subjects to freemen then being wrought by the great Revolution, and that they were playing a part in it.

And this is emphasized in the succeeding minute.

Todd appears to have next put in force the statutory provision that all civil officers were to be chosen by a majority of the citizens in each district, and on pages 7 and 8 he records the "List of the Court of Kaskaskia, the Court of Kohokias, and the Court of St. Vincennes," and adds, "*as elected by the people.*" As elected by the people, and not as appointed by a king—as chosen by the citizens of each district, and not by the whim of some royal minister, thousands of miles away, across the sea. This was indeed a change. For more than half a century the settlements at the Illinois had known a court and a judge. But the laws, and the administrators thereof, had been imported from a distant kingdom, and with the framing of the one or the selection of the other, they had had nothing whatever to do. And, without doubt, the election here recorded was their first exercise of the rights of citizens of a republic, and the first exercise of such rights within the territory of Illinois. In these lists appear a number of names of more or less note in the old time, and some of those already recited in the militia appointments. Richard Winston, Deputy-Commandant at Kaskaskia, filled also the office of Sheriff of that district, and Jean B. Barbeau found no inconsistency between his duties as Deputy-Commandant at Prairie du Rocher, and those of one of the judges of the court of his district. Nicholas Janis and Charles Charleville were also liable to be called from the Kaskaskia bench to do military duty,

and at Cahokia, five of the seven judges held officers' commissions. This state of things may have been occasioned by the scarcity of men to take the new positions, so that "there were offices enough to go around" and to give some public-spirited citizens two apiece. If so, the modern office-seeker might well sigh for those good old times. An unusual circumstance appears in connection with the court of Vincennes. Against the name of one Cardinal, elected by the people as a judge, Todd has written "refused to serve." This is believed to be the only instance in our annals of a refusal to take an office. And it is feared that this unique individual left no descendants. No other of the name appears in any subsequent record of the territory, so far as known. It is possible that we ought to share the glory of this *rara avis* with the citizens of Indiana, since Vincennes is within the limits of that State. But, as he was at the time of this unexampled refusal a citizen of Illinois, we should strenuously claim him as one whose like will ne'er be seen again. After the list of the court of Vincennes, Todd notes his militia appointments at that place, the Chief-Justice P. Legras being also appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and the first Associate-Justice, Major. Opposite two of the names is written, "rank not settled," as if already that jealousy, which is the bane of the profession of arms, had sprung up. And a number of blanks are left, apparently to await the determination of that controversy, which seem never to have been filled.

Having organized the military and judicial departments of his government, the new commandant appears next to have given his attention to the encouragement of business. On page 11 of this book, appears a License for Trade, permitting "Richard M'Carthy, Gentleman, to traffick and merchandize, with all the liege subjects and Friends of the United States of America, of what nation soever they be, and to erect Factories and Stores at any convenient place or places he shall think proper within the Commonwealth." A careful proviso is made that "by virtue hereof no pretence shall be made to trespass upon the effects or property of individuals"; and the license is given under the hand and seal of John Todd, at Kaskaskia, the 5th June, 1779, in the 3rd year of the Commonwealth.

The financial question was the next to claim the attention of the busy County-Lieutenant, and he grappled with it sturdily. It was now the fourth year of the Revolutionary war, and the peculiar disadvantages of the continental currency, which had been severely felt at the East, began to be appreciated at the West as well. But John Todd did not hesitate to confront this

and at Chicago, five of the seven judges held offices, commencing in 1830. This state of things may have been occasioned by the scarcity of men to take the new positions so that "three good officers enough to go around" and to give some public-spirited citizens two apiece. If so, the modern officers might well sigh for these good old times. An unusual circumstance occurred in connection with the court of Vincennes. Against the name of one Cardinal, elected by the people as a judge, Todd has written "refused to serve." This is believed to be the only instance in our annals of a refusal to take an office. And it is feared that this unique individual left no descendants. No other of the name appears in any subsequent record of the territory, so far as known. It is possible that we ought to claim the glory of this rare case with the citizens of Indiana since Vincennes is within the limits of that State. But as he was at the time of the unsuccessful refusal a citizen of Illinois, we should strenuously claim him as one whose like will not be seen again. After the list of the court of Vincennes, Todd notes his name as appearing in the court of the Chief-Justice V. Logan being also named at that place, the Chief-Justice V. Logan being also appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and the first Associate-Judge, Major. Opposite two of the names is written "not yet settled," as if already that jealousy, which is the bane of the profession of arms, had sprung up. And a number of names are left apparently to await the determination of that controversy, which seem never to have been filled.

Having organized the military and judicial departments of his government, the new commandant appears next to have given his attention to the encouragement of business. On page 11 of his book, appears a license for Trade, pertaining "Richard M'Cune, the Gentleman, to tavern and merchandise, with all the necessary subjects and friends of the United States of America, of that nation soever they be, and to erect factories and stores in any convenient place or places he shall think proper within the Commonwealth. A careful proviso is made that "no person shall be bold to trespass upon the stock or property of individuals"; and the license is given under the hand and seal of John Todd, at Kaskaskia, the 5th June, 1779, in the 2d year of the Commonwealth.

The financial question was the next to claim the attention of the busy Congressional commandant and he grappled with it steadily. It was now the fourth year of the Revolutionary war, and the peculiar disadvantages of the continental currency, which had been severely felt at the East, began to be experienced at the West as well. But John Todd did not hesitate to confront the

evil, and, at any rate, devised a plan for its correction. Within a month of his arrival at Kaskaskia, on the 11th of June, 1779, he addressed a letter to the court of Kaskaskia, which appears on page 12 of his Record-Book. He informs it that "the only method America has to support the present just war is by her credit, which credit consists of her bills emitted from the different treasuries by which she engages to pay the bearer, at a certain time, gold and silver in exchange; that there is no friend to American Independence, who has any judgment, but soon expects to see it equal to gold and silver, but that merely from its uncommon quantity, and in proportion to it, arises the complaint of its want of credit. And one only remedy remains within his power, which is to receive, on behalf of government, such sums as the people shall be induced to lend upon a sure fund, and thereby decrease the quantity." He states that the mode of doing this is already planned, and requests the concurrence and assistance of the judges. His zeal for the cause led him slightly astray when he predicted that these bills would soon be equal to gold and silver, since, in the following year, continental money was worth just two cents on the dollar, and never became more valuable. But in other respects his scheme was not so erroneous. He did not indulge in the delusion that all troubles could be removed by an unlimited issue of paper money. On the contrary, he favored the retirement of a portion of that in circulation, and of a kind of redemption of the public promises to pay. On page 14 is set forth at length, "Plan for borrowing 33333 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars of Treasury notes, both belonging to this State and the United States." The preamble recites that owing to no other reason than the prodigious quantity of treasury notes, now in circulation, the value of almost every commodity has risen to most enormous prices, the preserving the credit of the said bills by reducing the quantity, requires some immediate remedy. And it is therefore declared that 21,000 acres of land, belonging to the Commonwealth, shall be laid off on the bank of the Mississippi in the district of Cahokia, 1000 acres to be reserved for a town, and the remainder to constitute a fund; and that the lender of money shall take a certificate for the sum, entitling him to demand, within two years, a title to his proportion of the land in said fund, or the sum originally advanced in gold and silver, with five per cent interest per annum. It is prudently provided that the State shall have the option of giving land or money, and to further protect a paternal government against any undue advantage being taken of it by its sons, notice is given that a deduction shall be made for all money

evil, and at any rate devised a plan for its correction. Within a month of his arrival at Kaskaskia, on the 11th of June, 1776, he addressed a letter to the court of Kaskaskia, which appears on page 17 of his Record-Book. The inference is that "the debt method America has to support the present just war is to let her credit, which credit consists of her bills emitted from the different treasuries by which she engages to pay the bearer at a certain time, gold and silver in exchange; that there is no other to American Independence, who has any judgment, but soon expects to see it equal to gold and silver, but that nearly from its uncommon quantity and its reputation to it, must the complaint of its want of credit. And one only remedy remains, within his power, which is to receive, on behalf of government, such sums as the people shall be induced to lend upon a sure fund, and thereby decrease the quantity." He states that the mode of doing this is already planned, and requests the concurrence and assistance of the judges. His plan for the time being, he hints slightly away when he declared that these bills would soon be equal to gold and silver, since, in the following year, continental money was worth just two cents on the dollar, and never became more valuable. But in other respects his scheme was not so erroneous. He did not indulge in the delusion that all troubles could be removed by an unlimited issue of paper money. On the contrary, he favored the retirement of a portion of that in circulation, and of a kind of redemption of the paper promises to pay. On page 14 is set forth at length, "What for borrowing \$15,000 of the United States." The purpose being to this State and the United States. The purpose being to owing to no other reason than the prodigious quantity of treasury notes, now in circulation, the value of almost every commodity has risen to most enormous prices, the preserving the credit of the said bills by reducing the quantity, requires some immediate remedy. And it is therefore declared that various sums of land belonging to the Commonwealth shall be laid off on the last of the Mississippi in the district of Columbia, two acres to be reserved for a town, and the remainder to constitute a fund, and that the lands of money shall take a certificate for the same, entitling him to demand, within two years, a title to his portion of the land in said fund, or the same originally reserved in gold and silver with five per cent interest per annum. It is prudently provided that the State shall have the option of buying land or money, and to further protect a general government against any undue advantage being taken of it by its own notice is given that a deduction shall be made for all money

hereafter discovered to be counterfeited. Then follow the commencement of a French translation of the plan, a copy of the instructions to the Commissioner for borrowing money upon this fund, which direct him to keep every man's money by itself, and the form of receipt to be issued. Henry H. Crutcher appears to have been appointed such Commissioner, and his bond, with George Slaughter and John Roberts as sureties to Mr. John Todd, Commander-in-Chief of the County of Illinois, in the penalty of \$33,333 $\frac{1}{3}$ for the safe keeping of the money, is next recorded under date of June 14th, 1779.

On the same date, this energetic "Commander-in-Chief" addresses himself to the subject of the land under his jurisdiction, and the title thereto. He issues a proclamation strictly enjoining all persons from making any new settlements on the flat lands within one league of the rivers Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash, except in the manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants; and every inhabitant is required to lay before the persons appointed in each district for that purpose a memorandum of his or her land with their vouchers for the same. Warning is given that the number of adventurers who will soon run over this country, renders the above method necessary, as well as to ascertain the vacant land as to guard against trespasses which will be committed on land not of record. The object of this step evidently was not to discourage actual settlers, but to prevent the taking up of large tracts of land by speculators; and it shows both wisdom and foresight on the part of the head of the Government.

The graver duties associated with that position were quickly to devolve upon John Todd, and on page 18 of his Record-Book is inscribed an entry, which reads very strangely at the present day. It is *verbatim* as follows:

"Illinois, to wit: To Richard Winston, Esq., Sheriff in chief of the District of Kaskaskia.

Negro Manuel, a Slave, in your custody, is condemned by the Court of Kaskaskia, after having made honorable Fine at the Door of the Church, to be chained to a post at the Water Side and there to be burnt alive and his ashes scattered, as appears to me by Record. This Sentence you are hereby required to put in execution on tuesday next at 9 o'clock in the morning, and this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia the 13th day of June in the third year of the Commonwealth."

This is a grim record, and reveals a dark chapter in the early history of Illinois. It is not surprising that some one has drawn

hereafter discovered, to be counterfeited. Then follow the receipt of a French translation of the plan, a copy of the instructions to the Commissioner for borrowing money upon the land, which direct him to keep every man's money by itself, and the form of receipt to be issued. Henry M. Cather appears to have been appointed such Commissioner, and his bond, with George Shugart and John Roberts as sureties to Mr. John Todd, Commissioner-in-Chief of the County of Illinois, in the penalty of \$25,000, for the safe keeping of the money, is next recorded under date of June 14th, 1779.

On the same date, this energetic "Commissioner-in-Chief" addresses himself to the subject of the land under his jurisdiction and the title thereto. He issues a proclamation strictly enforcing all persons from making any new settlements on the flat land within one league of the river Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash, except in the manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants; and every inhabitant is required to lay before the persons appointed in each district to that purpose a memorandum of lot or lot with their records for the same. Warning is given that the number of adverse takers who will soon run over this country, renders the above method necessary, as well as to ascertain the vacant land as to guard against trespasses which will be committed on land not yet recorded. The object of this step evidently was not to discourage actual settlers, but to prevent the taking up of large tracts of land by speculators; and it shows both wisdom and foresight on the part of the head of the Government.

The greater duties associated with that position were quickly devolved upon John Todd, and on page 13 of his Record-Book is inscribed an entry, which reads very strongly at the present day. It is noteworthy as follows:

"Illinois to wit: To Richard Winston, Esq., Sheriff of the District of Kaskaskia.

Negro Manuel, a slave in your custody, is condemned by the Court of Kaskaskia, after having made honorable time at the door of the Church, to be chained to a post at the Water side and there to be burnt alive and his ashes scattered as appears to me by Record. This sentence you are hereby required to put in execution on Tuesday next at 6 o'clock in the morning, and this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal: Kaskaskia the 15th day of June in the third year of the Commonwealth."

This is a grim record, and reveals a dark chapter in the early history of Illinois. It is not surprising that some one has drawn

heavy lines across it as if to efface it forever. It is startling to reflect that barely one hundred years ago, within the territory now composing our State, a court of law deliberately sentenced a human being to be burned alive! It is possible that the attempted cancellation of the entry may mean that the warrant was revoked. And so let us hope for the sake of humanity. No other evidence, so far as known, of this peculiar case exists. But it is palpable that this inhuman penalty was actually fixed by the court, and as the statute deprived the commandant of the power to pardon in such cases, it is more probable that the sentence was actually executed. The cruel form of death, the color of the unfortunate victim, and the scattering of the ashes, all seem to indicate that this was one of the instances of the imagined crime of Voudouism or Negro Witchcraft, for which it is known that some persons suffered in the Illinois country about this time. Reynolds, in his Pioneer History, says, "In Cahokia about the year 1790, this superstition got the upperhand of reason, and several poor African slaves were immolated at the shrine of ignorance for this imaginary offence. An African negro, called Moreau, was hung for this crime on a tree not far south-east of Cahokia. It is stated that he had said he poisoned his master, but his mistress was too strong for his necromancy." There is no doubt that this is a correct statement of the facts, although the date of their occurrence is erroneously given. For on the next page of this Record-Book appears Todd's order for the detail of a guard for this very negro Moreau to the place of execution, dated June 15th, 1779, which, of course goes to show the probability of the infliction of the penalty above mentioned in the case of the negro, Manuel. This order in regard to Moreau, is as follows:

"To Capt. Nicholas Janis.

You are hereby required to call upon a party of your militia to guard Moreau, a slave condemned to execution, up to the town of Kohos. Put them under an officer. They shall be entitled pay rations and refreshment during the Time they shall be upon Duty to be certified hereafter by you.

I am sir your hble servant,

JNO. TODD.

15th June 1779.

I recommend 4 or 5 from your
Compy and as many from Capt. Placey and
consult Mr. Lacroix about the time necessary.

J. T."

Nicholas Janis was, as we have seen, Captain of the first Com-

heavy lines across it as if to efface it forever. It is startling to reflect that barely one hundred years ago, within the memory now comparatively our state, a court of law deliberately sentenced a human being to be burned alive! It is possible that the untempered cancellation of the entry may mean that the warrant was revoked. And so let us hope for the sake of humanity. No other evidence, so far as known of this peculiar case exists. For it is probable that this inhuman penalty was actually fixed by the court, and as the sentence deprived the commandant of the power to pardon in such cases it is more probable that the sentence was actually executed. The exact form of death, the color of the unfortunate victim, and the manner of the sufferer all seem to indicate that this was one of the instances of the infamous crime of *Voodoodoo* or *Negro Witchcraft* for which it is known that some persons suffered in the Illinois country about this time. Reynolds, in his *Illinois History*, says "In Canada about the year 1750 the superstition for the upholding of reason, and several poor African slaves were immolated in the shrine of ignorance for this imaginary offence. An African negro called *Molon* was hung for the crime on a tree not far south-east of Cahokia." It is stated that he had said he poisoned his master, but his mistress was too strong for his seducement. There is no doubt that this is a correct statement of the facts, although the date of their occurrence is erroneously given. For on the next page of this Record-Book appears Todd's order for the death of a *black* for this very negro *Molon* to the place of execution dated June 15th, 1770, which of course goes to show the probability of the infliction of the penalty above mentioned in the case of the negro, *Molon*. The order in regard to *Molon* is as follows:

"To Capt. Nicholas Jankins,

You are hereby required to call upon a party of your militia to guard *Molon*, a slave condemned to execution up to the town of Kober. For them under an officer. They shall be clothed in pay rations and transported during the time they shall be upon duty to be certified hereafter by you.

I am sir your Obedt. Servant,

JNO. TODD.

15th June 1770.

I recommend 1 or 2 from your

Company and as near from Capt. Jankins and

consult Mr. Jankins about the time necessary.

J. T.

Nicholas Jankins was as we have seen, Captain of the first Com-

pany of Militia at Kaskaskia, and the Captain Placey mentioned is, undoubtedly, Joseph Duplessis, Captain of the second Company at the same place. Kohos. was the familiar abbreviation of Cahokia, and the Mr. Le Croix, who was to be consulted, must have been J. B. L. Croix, first sheriff of the Cahokia district, by whom, no doubt, the execution of Moreau was conducted. These two entries, therefore, confirm Reynold's account of this matter, the accuracy of which has sometimes been questioned, and give to old Cahokia the sad distinction of having been a Western Salem.

The different subjects thus far included in this interesting Record-Book, were all dealt with by Todd between May 14th and June 15th, 1779. He certainly was not idle, nor did he lack for important business during the first month of his administration. His duties appear then to have called him away from Kaskaskia, probably to Vincennes, to make the appointments there already noticed. And as he was about to leave, he addressed a letter to his deputy-commandant, Richard Winston, which is sufficiently interesting to be quoted entire.

"Sir: During my absence the command will devolve upon you as commander of Kaskaskia.—if Colo. Clark should want anything more for his expedition, consult the members of the court upon the best mode of proceeding, if the people will not spare willingly, if in their power, you must press it, valuing the property by Two men upon Oath.—let the military have no pretext for forcing property—When you order it and the people will not find it, then it will be Time for them to Interfere.—by all means Keep up a Good Understanding with Colo. Clark and the Officers.—if this is not the Case you will be unhappy. I am sir

Yr Hble Servt JOHN TODD

June 15, 1779."

The expedition of Colonel Clark, referred to in this letter, is supposed to have been that planned against the British at Detroit, which he and Governor Henry were very anxious to undertake. They were ultimately prevented by lack of means. Todd's determination to keep the military in subordination to the civil power is very plain, but at the same time his doubt of his success, and his appreciation of Clark's peculiarities, are curiously shown by the concluding paragraph of this letter. When he tells Richard Winston by all means to keep up a good understanding with Colo. Clark, and that, if this is not the case, he will be unhappy, he evidently is speaking of that of which he knows by personal experience.

Upon his return to Kaskaskia, July 27th, 1779, the resolutions

pany of Militia at Kaskaskia and the Spanish Bluffs mentioned at Indianapolis. Joseph Thompson Captain of the second Company at the same place. Moore was the similar situation at Cahokia and the St. Louis, who was to be consulted, must have been J. M. L. Gray, first sheriff of the Cahokia district, by whom, no doubt, the execution of Moore was conducted. These two entries therefore confirm Reynolds' account of the matter, the accuracy of which has sometimes been questioned and give to old Cahokia the sad distinction of having been a *Wheaton*.

The above subjects are far included in this interesting Record-Book, were all dealt with by Todd between May 14th and June 15th, 1779. He certainly was not idle nor did he lack for important business during the first month of his administration. His duties appear then to have called him away from Kaskaskia, probably to Vincennes, to make the appointments there already noticed. And as he was about to leave he addressed a letter to his deputy-commandant, Richard Winston, which is sufficiently interesting to be quoted entire.

"Sir: During my absence the command will devolve upon you as commander of Kaskaskia.—I hope Clark should give you thing more for his expedition, consult the members of the court upon the best mode of proceeding. If the people will not spare willingly, if in their power you must press it, valuing the property by Two men upon Oath.—let the military have no pretext for forcing property.—When you order it, and the people will not find it then it will be time for them to interfere.—By all means keep up a good understanding with Colo. Clark and the Officers.—if this is not the case you will be unhappy. I am sir

Yr Hble Servt JOHN TODD

June 15 1779

The expedition of Colonel Clark, referred to in this letter, is supposed to have been that planned against the British at Detroit, which he and Governor Henry were very anxious to undertake. They were ultimately prevented by lack of means. Todd's determination to keep the military in subordination to the civil power is very plain, but at the same time his doubts of his success and his appreciation of Clark's peculiarities are curiously shown by the concluding paragraph of this letter. When he tells Richard Winston by all means to keep up a good understanding with Colo. Clark, and that if this is not the case, he will be unhappy, he evidently is speaking of that of which he knows by personal experience.

Upon his return to Kaskaskia, July 27th, 1779, the resolutions

of Congress concerning the issues of the continental money, dated May 20th, 1777, and April 11th, 1778, engaged his attention. And he put forth a short proclamation in French and English, both copies being duly transcribed in his Record at pages 19 and 20, notifying persons having money of those issues that unless they shall as soon as possible pay the same into some continental treasury, the money must sink on their hands, and that the vouchers must be certified by himself or some deputy-commandant of this county, and have reference to the bundle of money numbered and sealed. Whether this Congressional plan superceded that of Todd's own devising, we do not know, but at all events we hear nothing further of his land fund.

It would appear that during his brief absence, the newly-appointed court at Kaskaskia had not transacted business with the diligence and celerity required by John Todd. The judges were all elected from among the French settlers, and we may assume that their easy-going ways did not find favor with the busy man from beyond the Ohio. They seem to have adjourned court to what appeared to him to be too long a day, and his consequent action savors somewhat of a direct interference of the executive with the judiciary, but, doubtless, was effective. On page 21 we read the following document:

"To Gabriel Cerre &c. Esqrs. Judges of the Court for the District of Kaskaskia:

You are hereby authorized and required to hold and constitute a court on Satterday, the 21st of July at the usual place of holding court within yr District, any adjournment to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided that no suitor or party be compeled to answer any process upon said Day unless properly summoned by the Clark and Sheriff. Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia July 31st 1779. JOHN TODD."

He was tender of the rights of parties, but proposed that the judges should attend to their work. Doubtless, Gabriel and his associates grumbled not a little at this interference with their comfort, and insisted, the one to the other, that they had not accepted the judicial office upon any such understanding. Pleasure first and business afterwards, had always been the rule at Kaskaskia, and to compel a man to hold court when he preferred to smoke his pipe in the sun, or go fishing, was an unprecedented hardship. But all the same, we may be very sure that they did "hold and constitute a court on Satterday the 21st of July, any adjournment to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mindful of Governor Henry's advice to cultivate a connection with the Spanish commandant, near Kaskaskia, Commandant

Todd sends a letter, in French, on August 9th, 1779, to Monsieur Cartabonne, commanding at St. Genevieve, and a letter to same effect to Monsieur Leyba, at St. Louis. It will be remembered that all the region west of the Mississippi then belonged to Spain, at that time at war with Britian, and was garrisoned by her troops. In these letters he proposes an arrangement concerning the commerce of the Illinois country, for the mutual advantage of their respective governments, his Catholic Majesty on the one hand, and the State of Virginia on the other, and for the disadvantage of their common enemy, the British. He informs the Spaniards that Colonel Clark has not yet departed from Post Vincennes, and further states that, if they are attacked by any enemies, and he can be of service to them, he is ordered by the Governor of Virginia to give aid to them.

The slow-moving French settlers seem to have been in other ways a trial, and probably were dilatory in providing supplies for the troops, which were soon expected from Virginia. And on Aug. 11th, Todd enters, on page 22 of his Book, a brief address, in which the inhabitants of Kaskaskia are, for the last time, invited to contract with the persons appointed for provision, especially "Flower," for the troops who will shortly arrive. He says, "I hope they will use properly the Indulgence of a mild Government. If I shall be obliged to give the military permission to press It will be a disadvantage, and what ought more to influence Freeman, it will be a dishonor to the people." It is evident that Baptiste, Francois, and the rest, while willing enough to be "Freemen," on their money still preferred a king. And the supplies which they would have readily furnished in exchange for coins stamped with the head of George III. or Louis XV., were not forthcoming when continental currency was offered in return, despite all of Todd's efforts in that behalf. It is said that the early French inhabitants were so puzzled by the machinery of free government, that they longed for the return of the despotic authority of their military commandants. If so, there must have been a familiar sound about this brief address which might have made them think their good old times had come again. After this he copies an order upon the Governor of Virginia, in favor of J. B. La Croix, the Sheriff of Cahokia, in payment of supplies furnished, probably one of the few, if not the only one who paid any attention to the address.

The Commandant found it necessary to resort to more stringent measures. And on August 22d, he issued another proclamation laying an embargo upon the exportation of any provisions whatsoever, by land or water, for sixty days, unless he has

assurances before that time that a sufficient stock is laid up for the troops, or sufficient security is given to the contractors for its delivery when required. And the offender is to be subjected to imprisonment for one month and forfeit value of such exported provision. This he records in English and in French, apparently having special reference to those of the latter race. And seemingly becoming weary of the delay of the people as to the surrender of the continental money, he gives notice, in both languages, that after August 23d, 1779, no more certificates will be granted at Kaskaskia to persons producing the called-in emissions. It does not appear whether this delay was due to the fact that the prudent French settlers really had no continental money on hand, or to their wish to get some return for what little they did own, and they were unable to see any such outcome from a deposit in a continental treasury.

October 7th, 1779, he makes a note of an order given to Patrick M'Crosky on the Gov't for 140 Dollars being No. 2 issued "by a certificate from Mr. Helm." This Mr. Helm was one of Clark's trusty lieutenants, and was, probably, then commanding the fort at Vincennes.

A short and simple method of forfeiting realty to the State, is illustrated in the proceedings set forth on pages 25 and 26. On the 4th of October, 1779, a notification was given at the door of the church of Kaskaskia, that the half-a-lot above the church, joining Picard on the east, and Langlois on the west, unless some person should appear and support their claim to the said lot within three days, would be condemned to the use of the Commonwealth. On the 13th day of October, 1779, accordingly, John Todd, under his hand and seal, at Kaskaskia, proclaimed that after publicly calling any person or persons to shew any claim they might have to said lot, and no one appearing to claim the same as against the Commonwealth of Virginia, he declares and adjudges the said lot to belong to the said Commonwealth, and that all persons, whatsoever, be thenceforth debarred and precluded forever from any claim thereto.

The heading of the following entry in this book is, "Copy of a Grant to Colonel Montgomery," but the remainder of that page, and one or two more, have been deliberately torn out. The explanation of this mutilation may be found in a report made, in 1810, by the Commissioners appointed by Congress to examine the claims of persons claiming lands in the district of Kaskaskia, from which it appears that many of the ancient evidences of title had been deliberately destroyed in the interest of speculators claiming under forged deeds or perjured testimony.

Some one, interested in opposition to this grant, may have had access to this book years after the entry, when the land had become valuable, and attempted to defeat the title in this way. The Colonel Montgomery, named in it, was probably the Captain Montgomery who came to the Illinois with Clark, and rendered good service on that expedition. He is described as a jovial Irishman, whom Clark fell in with at the Falls of the Ohio, on his way down the river, and who readily joined in the perilous adventure, from pure love of fighting. He commanded the garrison of Fort Gage, at Kaskaskia, after its surrender by the British.

This is the last entry in the book in Todd's handwriting.

We know that he continued to hold his position as Commandant and County-Lieutenant at the Illinois for some three years more, devoting most of his time to its affairs. And in that period he made the difficult and often dangerous journey between his distant post and the Kentucky settlements, or Virginia, two or more times in every year. In 1779, Virginia ordered two regiments to be raised for service in its western counties, and it is supposed that Todd was appointed Colonel of one of them. In the spring of 1780, he was elected a delegate from the county of Kentucky to the Legislature of Virginia, and was married while attending its session of that year. In the fall, he returned to Kentucky, and, having established his bride in the fort at Lexington, resumed his journey to Illinois. It is worthy of remark that the foundation of Transylvania University, the first institution of learning west of the mountains, is attributed to the State aid obtained from the Virginia Legislature by his exertions in its behalf. In November, 1780, the county of Kentucky was divided into the three counties of Fayette, Lincoln, and Jefferson, and in the summer of 1781, Governor Thomas Jefferson appointed Todd, Colonel of Fayette County, Daniel Boone, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Thomas Marshall, (father of Chief-Justice Marshall), Surveyor. In December, 1781, Todd secured a town lot at Lexington, and in May, 1782, he was made one of the trustees of Lexington by Act of Virginia. In the summer of that year he visited Richmond, on the business of the Illinois country, where it is said he had concluded to permanently reside, and stopped at Lexington on his return. While here, an Indian attack upon a frontier station summoned the militia to arms, and he, as Senior Colonel, took command of the little force of 180 men who went in pursuit of the retreating savages. It included Daniel Boone and many other pioneers of note, sixty of their number being commissioned officers. At the Blue Licks, on the

18th of August, 1782, the enemy was overtaken, and the headlong courage of those who would not observe the prudent counsels of Todd and Boone, precipitated an action which was very disastrous to the whites. One-third of those who went into battle were killed, a number wounded and several made prisoners. And among the heroes who laid down their lives that day was Colonel John Todd. He was shot through the body while gallantly fighting at the head of his men, and, says an eye-witness, "When last seen he was reeling in his saddle, while the blood gushed in profusion from his wounds."

A few other minutes were made in this book in Colonel Todd's life-time, which are not in his handwriting. On two pages, near the end, is kept his "Peltry Account," which is charged with his drafts on the Virginia Government, in favor of Monsieur Beauregarde, to the amount of \$30,000, dated at St. Louis, September 14th, 1779, the value thereof having, apparently, been received, one-third in paper currency and two-thirds in peltries. The account is credited with payments made for supplies for the garrison at Kaskaskia, purchased by Colonel John Montgomery, and for the garrison at Cahokia, purchased by Capt. McCarthy, probably that Richard McCarthy, gentleman, to whom a "License for Trade" was granted, as we have seen. The principal item in these supplies seems to have been a beverage called "Taffia," which was laid in by the hogshead. On page 28 is an oath of allegiance taken by one James Moore, at Kaskaskia, to the United States of America, on July 10th, 1872, while the States were still under the articles of confederation, showing the form then used. He renounces all fidelity to King George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, and agrees to make known to some one Justice of the Peace for the United States, all treasonous, all traitorous conspiracies which may come to his knowledge to be formed against said United States, or any one of them.

During Todd's later absences from his government, a French gentleman named Demunbrunt, appears to have been his deputy and acting-commandant in his place. And it is curious to notice on the inside of one of the covers of this book a little penmanship, which may indicate that this individual was rather proud of his temporary dignity. It reads "*Nota bene, Nous Thimothé Demunbrunt Lt. Comdt Par interim &c &c;*," and it seems as if Thimothé could not resist the temptation to see how his name and title would look, and so wrote it out in a fine, bold hand for all men to see for a hundred years to come. On the last page are two memoranda, apparently in the same bold hand,

which, in pencil underneath, are said to be by Thimothé Demunbrunt Lt. Comdt par interim, and, doubtless, this is correct. They read: "February 1782, Arrived a small tribe of the Wabash Indians Imploring the paternal succour of their Father the Bostonians, having their patent from Major Linctot, in consequence I did on Behalf of the Commonwealth give them Six Bushell Indian Corn, Fifty Pounds of Bread, four Pounds of Gun Powder, Ten Pounds of Ball and One Gallon of Taffia, from Carbonneaux." And, "March 22d, Came here Deputys from the Delawars, Shawanoes and Cherokee nations of Indians Begging that the Americans wold grant them Pease, as likewise the French and Spanish, and after hearing their Talk, Smoaking the pipe of peace and friendship with them, and from their conduct while here as well as many marks they gave us of their Sincerity I could not avoid giving them on Behalf of the Americans the Following articles, vizt.

10 Bushells Indian Corn, 100 lb. Flour and 100 lb. Bisquit, 6 lb. Tobacco, one Gallon Tafia, 5 qts wampum and Canoe which cost me 20 Dollars."

The use of the word "Bostonians" by the Wabash Indians, to indicate the whites, is interesting, and may, perhaps, show that this tribe contained or was made up of fragments of tribes of New England Indians, who would naturally use this phrase. The evidence furnished by these memoranda of the weakness and destitution of once powerful Indian nations, is very striking, although their real condition may have been slightly exaggerated, in order to obtain larger supplies of Tafia. Probably they fared better at the hands of the simple Frenchman, from the good-will of his race to the red man, than if Colonel Todd had been at the helm.

But, it may be asked, what had become of Richard Winston, who was Deputy-Commandant in the early part of Todd's administration, and how came he to be superseded by this soft-hearted Thimothé?

We should have been utterly unable to answer these questions but for a paragraph written upon the inside of the front cover of this book, which is as follows:

"Kaskaskias in the Illinois 29th April 1782. This day 10 o'clock A.M. I was taken out of my house by J. Neal Dodge on an order given by Jno. Dodge in despite of the Civil authority disregarding the laws, and on the malicious alugation of Jno. Williams and Michel Pevante as may appear by their deposition. I was confined by tyrannick military force without making any legal application to the Civil Magistrates—30th The Attorney for the

State, La Buinieux, presented a petition to the court against Richard Winston, State Prisoner in their custody the contents of which he (the Attorney for the State) ought to have communicated to me or my attorney, if any I had." It will be remembered that when Todd first went away from Kaskaskia, leaving Winston in command, he advised him, by letter, by all means to keep up a good understanding with Colonel Clark and the officers, telling him if this was not the case he would be unhappy. We can only conclude that the unlucky Winston had at this time neglected this injunction, as his trouble seems to have been with the military, and in consequence was very unhappy. At all events he had fallen into disgrace, of course had lost his office, and was imprisoned, doubtless, in the old French commandant's house, which served as the headquarters of the successive governments of the Illinois country, even down to the organization of our State when it became the first State House. Here shut up, perhaps in the governor's room, he found this Record-Book, and wrote his sorrowful tale within it. And so it preserves to us, a century after, poor Richard Winston's protest against "tyrannick military force."

The remaining pages of this book are occupied with a brief record in the French language of the proceedings of the Court of Kaskaskia, from June 5th, 1787, to February 15th, 1788. During this period it seems to be pretty much in the hands of one family, as three of the five justices are named Beauvais. Antoine Beauvais is the presiding justice, and Vital Beauvais, and St. Gemme Beauvais, are two of his four associates. For a long time they apparently do nothing but meet one month and adjourn to the next, as if determined in this way to regain the dignity of which the court was deprived by Col. Todd's peremptory order to their predecessors to hold a session, despite their order of adjournment. On October 25th, 1787, they settle down to business, at what they call an extraordinary session, to try a case between our good friend Demunbrunt, and one Francis Carboneaux. It will be remembered that Timothé bought the Tafia he gave to the Indians from Carboneaux, and perhaps he had forgotten to pay for it. The details, and the result of the cause, are not given. The court pursues the even tenor of its way with commendable regularity, meeting once a month, in the morning, and immediately adjourning to the next month, but holding an extraordinary session whenever it had a case to try, (and it had two, all told), until January 15th, 1788. At this date, it, for the first time, seemingly, has to deal with the subject of jurymen, and solemnly determines that each juror from Prairie du Rocher

shall have twenty-five francs, and thereupon adjourns. It meets in the afternoon and impanels a jury to try a cause in which John Edgar is plaintiff, and Thomas Green, defendant, and with a few similar minutes its record ceases, and this book comes to an end.

Its own story is curious enough to entitle it to preservation, if only for its age and the vicissitudes through which it has passed. Made in Virginia more than one hundred years ago, brought the long journey thence to Illinois, at that day exceeding in risk and time a modern trip around the world, in use here in the infancy of the Republic, then cast aside and forgotten for almost a century, and lately rescued by the merest chance from destruction, it has now, by the formal vote of the Board of Commissioners of Randolph County, Illinois, the lineal successors of our first County-Lieutenant, been placed, we hope permanently, in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society. And when we consider that its opening pages were inscribed by the first Governor of the State of Virginia, who was one of the foremost men of the Revolution, that it is mainly filled with the handiwork of the first County-Lieutenant of the great North-West Territory, that it contains the record of one of the first courts of common law in Illinois, and above all, that it is a summary of the beginning of Republican institutions here, and, in fact, the record of the origin of our State, this common-looking book, with its coarse paper and few pages of faded handwriting, becomes an unique historical memorial, worthy to be treasured by the people of Illinois with reverent care for all time to come.

And with it too should be treasured the memory of that brave and able man, John Todd, a pioneer of progress, education, and liberty, and the real founder of this Commonwealth, who served his countrymen long and well, and died a noble death, fighting for their homes and firesides against a savage enemy, and giving his life, as he had given the best of his years and strength, for the cause of civilization and free government in the Western World.

The foregoing Paper was read before the Chicago Historical Society, Feb. 15, 1881.

shall have twenty-five francs and thirteen centimes. It is now in the afternoon and impudently a lady to try a course in which John Edgar is present, and Thomas Gray, defendant, and with a few similar minutes its record ceases, and this book comes to an end.

Its own story is curious enough to entitle it to preservation, if only for its age and the vicissitudes through which it has passed. Made in Virginia more than one hundred years ago, brought the long journey thence to Illinois at that day exceeding in risk and time a modern trip around the world, in use here in the infancy of the Republic, then cast aside and forgotten for almost a century, and lately rescued by the merry chance from destruction, it has now by the formal vote of the Board of Commissioners of Randolph County, Illinois, the final successor of our first County-Lieutenant, been placed, we hope permanently, in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society. And when we consider that its opening pages were furnished by the first Governor of the State of Virginia, who was one of the foremost men of the Revolution, that it is mainly filled with the handwriting of the first County-Lieutenant of the great North-West Territory, that it contains the record of one of the first courts of common law in Illinois, and above all, that it is a summary of the beginning of Republican institutions here, and in fact the record of the origin of our State, this common-looking book with its coarse paper and few pages of faded handwriting, becomes an unique historical memorial, worthy to be treasured by the people of Illinois with reverent care for all time to come.

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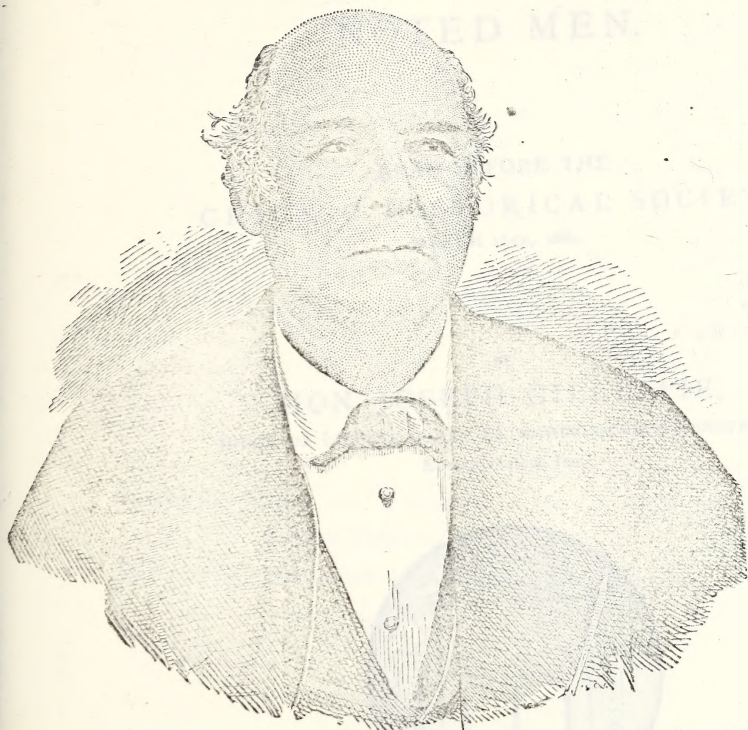


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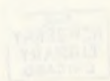


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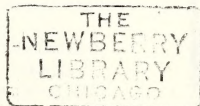
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RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY ILLINOIS

AND HER NOTED MEN.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN:

Through your kindness I am permitted to appear before you this evening, and, in my homely way, state my experiences, observations, and reflections, during a period of upwards of sixty years, in our grand State of Illinois. I have been spared a world of labor through the admirable address of my young friend, E. G. Mason, on the history of Kaskaskia. So thoroughly did he treat that question, that nothing further could be done, or even desired. So that I may very properly begin where he left off.

The first circumstance to be considered in the early history of Illinois, is that its population consisted of two distinct nationalities—the French and the Americans. How and why the former class settled here, Mr. Mason has vividly, and with critical historical accuracy, portrayed. I shall endeavor to point out the difference between the two classes of population.

In colonizing, the French people will first have an allotment of land set off, a portion of which will be laid out into narrow strips, for agriculture; another for timber, for building purposes, and for fuel; another portion for pasture-land. The last two will be enjoyed by all the settlers in *common*. The strips will be occupied, in *severalty*, by the persons to whom they are assigned. All these people will reside in a village built upon the large survey, which will be most convenient to the majority of families. The Priest prepares books in which marriages, births, and deaths are regularly entered, as also all transfers of land. Besides officiating as their religious teacher, he decides all the controversies and disputes which may arise amongst the people.

These decisions were (as I have understood) so eminently fair and proper as to satisfy even the disputants. These clerical functionaries were, in the main, men of highly-cultivated minds, with no object whatever in view except to do justice, and preserve harmony between the members of their flocks.

While cultivating these narrow strips of land the men would be in close proximity to each other, ready at a moment's notice to assemble for mutual protection or assistance. This arrangement gave the French people, likewise, an opportunity to gratify their strong social tastes and feelings.

On the other hand, there is nothing gregarious or social in the disposition of the American pioneer. *He* takes his family out into the wilds, and "squats" down wherever he finds water, timber, and game abundant. He builds a cabin, breaks up a few acres of ground, which he puts in corn, keeping in mind all the time that he is as far away from neighbors as is consistent with safety from Indians. He claims the whole country as belonging to him and his class. He has not the slightest conception of the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants. He regards it as his mission to drive them off, or what is preferable, to exterminate them. The minds of these men seem to have been so peculiarly constructed or *perverted* as to render it impossible for them to comprehend the fact that Indians have rights. They are *the* manifest destiny—men *par excellence*. The time in which they are not occupied in the corn-patch is spent in the deepest forest solitudes, their only companions their dog and gun. Day in and day out, he creeps stealthily through the woods watching for game; be it a buck or an Indian, the instant he perceives it his unerring rifle lays it dead at his feet. The savages in his front, and the wave of population coming after, equally annoy him. It is said that if your genuine pioneer hears his neighbor's chickens crow, he is off into the more profound depths of the wilderness, and gives up his cabin and his clearing, and goes off muttering his curses against the Indians and the "Yankees."

The *first* of the *permanent* settlers partakes largely of the prejudices of the class of whom I have been speaking. He hates equally the Indians, and the man who belongs to an advanced civilization.

For many years, the "Yankees" were the objects of the deepest animosity to the settlers in Southern Illinois, Indiana, and the South-western States. A story is told illustrative of this feeling:—An old "hard-shell-Baptist" preacher called "Daddy" Briggs, was once holding forth on the richness of God's grace. He said, "It tuck in the isles of the sea and the uttermost parts of the 'yeth.' It embraced the Esquimaux and the Hottentots, and some, my dear brithering, go so fur as to suppose that it takes in these poor benighted Yankees; but *I* don't go that fur." He *allowed** that the word *sprinkle* was not to be found in the

* The word *allowed*, with those people, was synonymous with *contended for*, *maintained*.

While cultivating these narrow strips of land the men would be in close proximity to each other ready at a moment's notice to assemble for mutual protection or assistance. This arrangement gave the French people likewise an opportunity to grant their strong social tastes and feelings.

On the other hand, there is nothing fraternal or social in the disposition of the American pioneer. We take his family out into the wilds, and "squats" down wherever he finds water, timber, and game abundant. He builds a cabin, breaks up a few acres of ground, which he puts in corn, keeping in mind all the time that he is as far away from neighbors as is consistent with safety from Indians. He claims the whole country as belonging to him and his class. He has not the slightest conception of the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants. His regards is as his mission to drive them off or what is preferable to exterminate them. The minds of these men seem to have been so peculiarly constituted or fostered as to render it impossible for them to comprehend the fact that Indians have rights. They are the manifest destiny of the continent. The time in which they are not occupied in the company is spent in the deepest forest solitudes, then only companions their dog and gun. Day in and day out he creeps stealthily through the woods watching for game, he is back or an Indian the instant he perceives it has stirring the air it dead at his feet. The savage in his front and the wave of population coming after equally annoy him. It is said that if your genuine pioneer hears his neighbor's chickens caw, he is off into the more profound depths of the wilderness and gives up his cabin and his clearing, and goes off mounting his horse against the Indians and the "Yankees."

The few of the American settlers that takes largely of the prejudices of the class of whom I have been speaking. He hates equally the Indians and the man who belongs to an advanced civilization.

For many years the "Yankees" were the objects of the deepest animosity to the whites in Southern Illinois, Indiana, and the South-western States. A story is told illustrative of this feeling. An old "land-holding" pioneer called "Libby" Rogers was once holding bath on the richest in God's grace. He said, "It took in the side of the sea and the mountain parts of the earth. It gathered the Kaimanians and the Hottentots and some my dear brothering go so far as to suppose that it takes in those poor beggled Yankees, but I don't go that far." He added, that the word "Yankee" was not to be found in the

The word Yankee with these people was synonymous with "heathen," and "heathen" was synonymous with "Yankee."

genuine editions of the Bible, but always contended that its being there was an *infernal Yankee trick*.

In consequence of the different characteristics of which I have spoken, the settlements of the French were small in area, and confined to a few localities, while those of the Americans spread far and wide. The French settled around Kaskaskia, Prairie-Du-Rocher, Cahokia, and Peoria. These were all contiguous to the water-courses, while those of the Americans extended into the interior.

The French maintained amicable relations with the Indians, while no Indians were permitted to live in the neighborhood of these Americans. The Frenchman had more humanity, greater sense of justice, and stronger social feeling, than the American; but he was not so self-reliant. He had either lost his individuality, or never had any, whilst that of the American became overweening; and to the lack of this quality may be attributed the comparative incapacity of the French for successful colonization. While, on the other hand, the Americans thrive and grow beyond anything the world has ever known. They swallow up and assimilate everything that comes within the sphere of their influence. Anybody but the Indian and the Chinese may come in, but he must "Americanize;" that is, things must go on "American fashion." Our laws, our language, and our institutions must prevail. We will not tolerate any class within our sphere who is not *of us* in all these respects. Those who try to adopt our customs, learn our language, and profess to reverence our Constitution and form of Government, and become naturalized, we receive with open arms; but woe betide the luckless wight who wears a "pig-tail" and blouse, and professes to take no interest in our Government, and arranges to have his bones transferred to the land of his birth for *burial*.

These French settlements remain in nearly the same condition they were when first established, and the mass of their people have never displayed much energy. While this may be said of the *bulk* of that population, there are some remarkable exceptions. Certain of these old French families have displayed a vigor and energy which cannot be surpassed. Take for instance the Choteaus, the Valles, the Pratts, the Gratiots, old Pierre Menard, and Nicholas Jarrot and his son Vital, were men whose lives were given to almost romantic business adventure. They were the first to develop the Missouri and Galena lead mines. The "fur-trade" was, by some of them, carried to a distance of thousands of miles. They had their trading-posts all along the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They explored every river that runs into the Mississippi to its source in their trading excursions,

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The French settlements remain in nearly the same condition they were when first established, and the mass of their people have never displayed much energy. While this may be said of the bulk of that population, there are some remarkable exceptions. Certain of these old French families have displayed a vigor and energy which cannot be surpassed. Take for instance the Choquets, the Valls, the Forns, the Girards, old René Menard, and Nicholas Jarrot and his son Vital were men whose lives were given to almost romantic business adventures. They were the first to develop the Missouri and Oregon land mines. The "fur-trade" was by some of them carried to a distance of thousands of miles. They had their trading posts all along the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They explored every river that runs into the Mississippi to its source in their trading expeditions.

and even took in New Mexico when it was a province of Spain. I know of none who have been so instrumental in bringing to light the inexhaustible resources of Missouri, and developing the iron industry of St. Louis, as Choteau, Harrison, and Valle.

The "Mound City" would never have been what she is but for the enterprise, judgment, and daring of these old French families.

The old French inhabitants treated their slaves with great kindness; slavery, with them, was a kind of patriarchal institution. With our South-westerners, slaves were used as machines with which to make money. If it was found to be more profitable to work a slave to death in a few years than to prolong his life, it was often done. No appeal, no argument against slavery, could find a response in the breasts of many of these people. The old settlers were convinced that *negro* slavery was the normal condition of all civilized life, and they believed that it existed here as well as in "Old Kaintuck." They were, however, afraid that an influx of Yankees might interfere with their sacred rights, and hence they hated the "Down-Easters" with the most intense feelings. It was no uncommon thing to hear some of them declare that it would have been a God's blessing if the *May Flower* had gone to the bottom of the ocean with all her crew and passengers.

They opposed the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal, because "it would open up a way for the Yankees to get here." They were the genuine "anti-carpet-baggers." The same prejudice is played upon, down South, at this time by artful and designing demagogues. The first thing that was done, after we formed a State-Constitution, was to adopt the laws of the slave States in respect to negro bondage, notwithstanding they were directly in the teeth of the Ordinance of 1787, and of the State-Constitution, and of the act admitting Illinois into the Union.

By these enactments, taken in connection with the territorial laws of Indiana, negroes were rendered incapable of being witnesses against a white man, and it embraced all those who had one-quarter negro-blood in their veins. A white scoundrel might murder a man in the presence of twenty negroes (whose word would have been implicitly believed in the ordinary transactions of life), and he would go "scot-free" because no white man witnessed the transaction. A jury of white men was not to be trusted to even *consider* the testimony of a man unless he had more than three-quarters white-blood coursing through his veins. For the purpose of making "assurance doubly sure," and to prevent interference with the *sacred* rights of the *master*, an artful dodge was contrived, called the "Indenturing process;" and laws were enacted, first in Indiana and then reinforced here, authorizing the master to take his slave before a county-clerk, and have

and even took to New Mexico when it was a province of Spain. I know of none who have been so instrumental in bringing to light the inexhaustible resources of Missouri, and developing the iron industry of St. Louis, as Chittenden, Hanks, and Vail. The "Mound City" would never have been what she is but for the enterprise, judgment, and daring of these old French families. The old French inhabitants treated their slaves with great kindness; slavery with them was a kind of patriarchal institution. With our South-western slaves were used as machines with which to make money. If it was found to be more profitable to work a slave to death in a few years than to prolong his life it was often done. No appeal, no argument against slavery, could find a response in the breasts of many of these people. The old settlers were convinced that negro slavery was the normal condition of all civilized life and they believed that it existed here as well as in "Old Kentucky." They were, however, afraid that an influx of Yankees might interfere with their sacred rights and hence they hated the "Down-Easters" with the most intense feeling. It was no uncommon thing to hear some of these declare that it would have been a God's blessing if the Missisippi had gone to the bottom of the ocean with all her crew and passengers. They opposed the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal because "it would open up a way for the Yankees to get here." They were the genuine "anti-carpet-baggers." The same prejudice is played upon down South at this time by ardent and designing demagogues. The first thing that was done after we formed a State Constitution was to adopt the laws of the slave States in respect to negro bondage, notwithstanding they were directly in the teeth of the Ordinance of 1787, and of the State Constitution, and of the act admitting Illinois into the Union. By these measures taken in connection with the territorial laws of Indiana, negroes were rendered incapable of being witnesses against a white man, and it empowered all those who had one-quarter negro blood in their veins - A white womaned might murder a man in the presence of twenty negroes (whose word would have been implicitly believed in the ordinary transactions of life) and he would go "scot-free," because no white man witnessed the transaction. A jury of white men was not to be trusted to even swindle the testimony of a man unless he had more than three-quarters white blood running through his veins. But the purpose of making "assurances doubly sure," and to give your inferiority with the negro rights of the whites, an artificial dodge was contrived, called the "Indemnity process," and laws were enacted, first in Indiana and then repeated here, authorizing the master to take his slave before a county-courthouse, and have

him bind himself to serve the master (generally for the period of ninety-nine years), for which the master was to requite him, at the end of each year, with a coat, waist-coat, pair of breeches, pair of shoes, two pairs of stockings, two shirts, a hat, and blanket. It was in the contemplation of these "solons" that these slaves might themselves, while in that condition, purchase others of their own complexion for servants. I presume that, under the statute, a quarteroon might buy a mulatto or full-blooded Nubian, but a gentleman of the full African persuasion could not purchase any one who had a dip of white in him; and if he should presume to buy a white person, such person would become immediately free. (See 17th sec. of the act of 1819, *concerning negroes and mulattoes*, for the correctness of what I state.) The same act provides that no person shall buy, sell, or receive from any servant, any coin or commodity, without the consent of his master. The 19th section provides that where white men shall be condemned to punishment, by fine, *servants* shall receive twenty lashes for every eight dollars. The 21st section provides, that if any servant shall be found ten miles from his place of residence, without a pass, any justice of the peace, before whom he may be taken, may order him to be whipped, not exceeding thirty-five lashes. The next section provides, that if any such servant shall be upon the plantation, or in the dwelling-house of any person, without leave or lawful business, the owner of such plantation or dwelling-house may order such servant to receive ten lashes.

This discloses the spirit of the legislation of the early days, and it was in harmony with the public opinion of the epoch. Since then, and not very long ago, laws disgraced the Statute-book of Illinois, which, under the pretense of keeping negroes out of the State, provided that if a negro came into Illinois, he should be fined; and if he did not pay the fine, he should be *sold* to the one who would pay his fine for the shortest term of service; and the negro was *compelled to remain here*, and serve the purchaser until the end of the period. This was a very curious way of keeping negroes out of the State, by compelling them to remain in it.

The excitement on the slavery question as the Yankees came in intensified, and, as a "*dernier resort*," it was proposed to attempt the adoption of a new constitution which would admit slavery. A more exciting contest than then ensued was never known. Every county, neighborhood, and household was more or less divided upon the question of slavery, and the feeling between those who opposed and those who favored the institution was rancorous to the utmost degree. A fight was sure to follow a disputation. Just about this time, the emigration of slaveholders from Kentucky to Missouri was at its height. The roads

him bind himself to serve the master (especially for the period of ninety-nine years) for which the master was to supply him at the end of each year with a coat worth not less than five shillings, two pairs of stockings, two shirts, a hat and shoes. It was in the contemplation of these "shirts" that these slaves might themselves, while in that condition, purchase others, or their own complexion for servants. I presume that under the statute, a person might buy a mulatto or half-blooded African, but a gentleman of the full African complexion could not purchase any one who had a drop of white in him; and if he should presume to buy a white person, such person would become immediately free. (See 17th sec. of the act of 1834, *westward* agree and amended for the convenience of what I state.) The same act provides that no person shall buy or receive from any other any coin or commodity without the consent of his master. The 18th section provides that where white men shall be condemned to punishment by law, whosoever shall receive twenty lashes for every eight dollars. The 19th section provides that any servant shall be found ten miles from his place of residence without a pass, any justice of the peace, justice of the peace taken, may order him to be whipped, not exceeding thirty-five lashes. The next section provides that if any such servant shall be upon the plantation or in the dwelling-house of any person without leave or lawful business the owner of such plantation or dwelling-house may order such servant to receive ten lashes. This discloses the spirit of the legislation of the early days and it was in harmony with the public opinion of the epoch. Since then and not very long ago, laws designed the punishment of ill-treatment which, under the pretence of keeping negroes and the State provided that if a negro came into Illinois he should be fined; and if he did not pay the fine, he should be sold to the one who would pay his fine for the shortest term of service; and the negro was ordered to remain here and serve the purchaser until the end of the period. This was a very cruel way of keeping negroes out of the State, by compelling them to remain in it. The excitement on the slavery question in the Yankee States is intensified, and as a "desires" word, it was proposed to attempt the adoption of a new constitution which would abolish slavery. A more exciting contest than then ensued was never known. Every citizen, neighborhood and household was more or less divided upon the question of slavery and the feeling between those who opposed and those who favored the institution was rancorous to the utmost degree. A fight was soon to follow a disputation. Just about this time, the migration of slaves, holders from Kentucky to Illinois was at its height. The words

were lined with wealthy men, followed by large droves of slaves; and these men never failed to assure our people that, if they could only hold their slaves, they would settle amongst us; and this had a powerful influence against the "free-state" party. Even the *poor* emigrant would talk in the same way, and say *he* would settle here if he could hold slaves.

A right amusing incident occurred in this connection: A great "six-footed" fellow, with one eye gouged out, bare-footed, nothing in the way of a wardrobe but a pair of tow trowsers and a shirt, a rifle on his shoulder, his "old woman mounted on an old gray horse, the bones of which were ready to cut the skin; she was seated on an old straw bed, with a skillet and a "big wheel" tied on behind her, and a frowsy, tow-headed youngster in her lap, came passing along through our town. Some one inquired of him where he was from. He answered, "Hiwassee purchase, McMinn County, State of Tennessee, off the roaring fork of 'Grindstone.'" He was asked where he was going. He replied, "Gwing to Missouri." "Well," said his interlocuter, "why don't you stay in Illinois? Don't you like the country?" The old fellow spoke up in an angry mood, and said, "Well, sir, your *sile* is mighty *fartil*, but a man can't own niggers here, God-durn you."

Some of the conventionites were not very scrupulous about the means they employed to accomplish their ends, either in or out of the Legislature. Hanson and Shaw were opposing candidates, from Calhoun County, for a seat in the Legislature that called the convention, and there was a contest between them. The majority of the House were for McLain (I think that was the name) for United States Senator. Hanson was for him, and Shaw against him. Shaw was in favor of a convention, and Hanson against it. The election for U. S. Senator was to come off before the vote on the convention, and the majority secretly concluded that they would admit Hanson to the seat until after the election was had, and then they would reconsider the vote admitting him, and admit Shaw, and thus they would have Hanson's vote for Senator and Shaw's vote for the convention, all of which was very nicely carried out.

This is a specimen brick of our early legislation. These pro-slavery men always stood ready to pour forth constitutional reasons for the faith that was in them. On one occasion, an audacious Yankee (no doubt of the "carpet-bag" stripe) had wormed himself into the Legislature, and took occasion to submit a proposition questioning the validity to the titles of the indentured slaves. Instantly an old fellow rose to his feet and remarked, that "fittener men" than he was "mout have been found to defend the masters agin the sneaking ways of these infernal aboli-

were lined with wealthy men followed by large droves of slaves and these men never failed to secure not people that they could only hold their slaves they would send amongst the "free state" party this had a powerful influence against the "free state" party. Even the Aboligist would talk in the same way and say it would settle here if he could hold slaves.

A right amusing incident occurred in the connection. A great "six-footed" fellow with one eye pegged out four-footed nothing in the way of a warhorse but a pair of raw horses and a shirt a rifle on his shoulder his "old woman" mounted on an old grey horse the horse of which were ready to cut the skin she was seated on an old straw bed with a pillow and a "big wheel" and on behind her and a heavy tow-headed youngster in her lap came passing along through our town. Some one inquired of him where he was from. He answered "Hillman's purchase, Madison County, State of Tennessee off the running farm or 'Grindstone'." He was asked where he was going. He replied, "Going to Missouri." "Well," said his interlocutor, "why don't you stay in Illinois? Don't you like the country?" The old fellow spoke up in an angry mood and said, "Well, sir, your old man might have, but a man can't own negroes here God damn you."

Some of the conversationists were not very scrupulous about the means they employed to accomplish their ends either in or out of the Legislature. Hanson and Shaw were opposing candidates from Calhoun County for a seat in the Legislature that called the convention and there was a contest between them. The majority of the House were for Hanson (I think that was the name) for United States Senator. Hanson was for him and Shaw against him. Shaw was in favor of a convention and Hanson against it. The election for U. S. Senator was to come off before the vote on the convention, and the majority secretly concluded that they would elect Hanson to the seat until after the election was held and then they would reconsider the vote returning him and so on Shaw and that they would have Hanson's vote for Senator and Shaw's vote for the convention, all of which was very nicely carried out.

This is a specimen proof of our early legislation. These two slavery men always stood ready to show their constituents reasons for the bills that was in them. On one occasion an Abolitionist asked one of the "cotton-bag" editors and returned a reply himself into the Legislature and took occasion to rebuke a proposition questioning the validity in the title of the returned slaves. Instantly an old fellow rose to his feet and remarked that "better men" than he was "must have been found to do" and the matter again the same way of these inland Abolitionists.

tioners; but, having rights on my side, I don't fear, sir. I will show that ar proposition is unconstitutionable, inlegal, and fornenst the compact. Don't every one know, or least wise had ought to know, that the Congress that *set* at *Visann* garnisheed to the old French inhabitants the right to their niggers, and hain't I got as much rights as any Frenchman in this State? Answer me that, sir."

This raised a storm of applause, and was regarded as an extinguisher. These people were, generally, opposed to "book larnin'," "pay-preachers," written "sarmonts," Bible societies, missionary efforts, Sunday-schools, and, last but not least, temperance movements. The general argument against common-schools was, that inasmuch as they had got along very well *without* "larnin'," their children could do so likewise. Besides, if they had "larnin'," they would get into trouble by signing notes, and they would become too cute and tricky like the Yankees. The only innovation upon the old order of things which, I imagine, they would approve, would be Petroleum V. Nasby's rendering of the text—"Bring unto me little *white* children, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

These people have nearly all been gathered to their fathers, and scarcely a vestige has been left of their peculiar ideas. Their whims and oddities are now only a subject of merriment among their descendants. The people of Illinois are almost homogeneous in character and ideas.

Slavery has disappeared from the land. The great principle of the Declaration of Independence, "That all men are created equal, and endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is becoming almost universal throughout the land. The Indians and Chinese are, it is true, considered outside of its pale in some sections. How long that will continue, God only knows. There may be more difficulty on this question than we imagine. The Indian is the personification of individuality, and is incapable of civilization. The Chinese has a civilization of his own which he will not exchange for any other. The Negro has no fixed characteristics. He is a "*tabula rosa*," upon which any impression can be made. He is amiable and imitative, and adopts readily the usages of any higher caste race into which he is thrown. In his attempts at imitation, he often becomes grotesque. Among the Musselmen, he is a stronger and fiercer Mohammedan than his master. With us, he is a greater zealot than any one else. But it is in the department of foppery that he shines; there he "*out-Herods Herod*." No Broadway dandy can exhibit his trumpery or flourish his "rattan" with the "gusto" or self-satisfaction of the stylish darkey. He

honest; but leaving rights on my side, I don't fear Mr. I will show that my proposition is unconstitutionally illegal, and I cannot the compact. I don't every one know of least give ought to know, that the Congress that at a time gathered to the old French inhabitants the right to their negroes, and that I got as much rights as any Frenchman in this State. Answer me that, sir."

This raised a storm of applause, and was regarded as an extraordinary. These people were generally opposed to "book learning," "African schools," written "grammar," "logic," "science," "history," "geography," and last but not least, "common sense." The general argument against common schools was that inasmuch as they had got along very well without "learning," their children could do so likewise. Besides, if they had "learning," they would get into trouble by signing notes, and they would become too wise and tricky like the Yankees. The only innovation upon the old order of things which I imagine they would approve would be President V. M. V.'s tendency of the text—"bring into me little white children, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

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has no individuality, and therefore clings for support to the more sturdy and self-reliant races. He submitted to be the slave, not only of the white man, but also of the semi-barbarous Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee Indians. The whole power of this Nation was unequal to the task of inducing him to colonize in the land from whence his fathers were brought.

I shall not trouble you with any attempt to delineate the character of the people of the northern section of the State. Their views of social order, political economy, and human rights, have supplanted the old-time notions throughout this State, and are rapidly spreading over the Nation.

I have been asked to give my recollections of the Governors of Illinois, since it became a State.

I had no personal acquaintance with Shadrack Bond, its first governor, nor have I heard of any incidents in his career that were particularly noteworthy. He was generally esteemed as being a plain, honest man, who administered our affairs creditably and acceptably to the people. He was, I think, a "Conventionist," and after that measure was so signally defeated he was not much heard of.

With Edward Coles I had an acquaintance. He resided in the town in which I live when he was elected, and during his term of office. He was born and raised in Virginia, and when he emigrated to Illinois he brought his slaves with him and emancipated them all, and gave them land to live on and support themselves. I knew them well. They were settled on farms within a few miles of Edwardsville. He took a very bold and decided stand against the introduction of slavery into this state. He used his money in establishing papers and circulating documents, against the call of the Convention, without stint. He denounced the wrong and evils of slavery, in season and out of season. He defended freedom through evil as well as good report. If I were called upon to name the most earnest opponent to the introduction of slavery into this State, I believe I would name Edward Coles. It was thought that the signal defeat of the "Convention" party, in 1824, would consign its leaders to the shades of private life, but such was not the case. The "Jackson" party was then beginning to show great strength, and nearly all of those leaders entered into and advanced with it. Gov. Coles, who was an "Adams" man, soon became the object of their revenge, and was persecuted in every possible way. A suit was instituted against him in the circuit court of Madison county, Illinois, I think, in the latter part of 1825,—to recover a penalty prescribed by the law of 1819,—to which I have referred, for setting free ten slaves without giving the bond required. The

has no individuality, and therefore things for assign to the name sturdily and self-reliant traces. He submitted to be the slave, not only of the white man, but also of the semi-barbarous Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee Indians. The whole power of the Nation was unequal to the task of inducing him to colonize in the land from whence his fathers were brought.

I shall not trouble you with any attempt to delineate the character of the people of the northern section of the State. Their views of social order, political economy, and human rights have supplanted the old-time notions throughout this State, and are rapidly spreading over the Nation.

I have been asked to give my recollections of the Government of Illinois, since it became a State.

I had no personal acquaintance with Stephen Bond its first Governor, nor have I heard of any incidents in his career that were particularly noteworthy. He was generally esteemed as being a plain, honest man, who administered our affairs creditably and acceptably to the people. He was I think a "Conventioneer," and after that measure was so signally defeated he was not much heard of.

With Edward Coles I had an acquaintance. He resided in the town in which I live when he was elected, and during his term of office. He was born and raised in Virginia, and when he emigrated to Illinois he brought his slaves with him and emancipated them all, and gave them land to live on and support themselves. I knew them well. They were settled on farms within a few miles of Edwardsville. He took a very bold and decided stand against the introduction of slavery into this State. He used his money in establishing papers and circulating documents against the call of the Convention, without stint. He denounced the wrong and calls of slavery in season and out of season. He defended freedom through evil as well as good report. If I were called upon to name the most earnest opponent to the introduction of slavery into this State I believe I would name Edward Coles. It was thought that the signal date of the "Conventioneer" party in 1837 would connect its leaders with the shade of private life, but such was not the case. The "Jack-son" party was then beginning to show great strength, and nearly all of those leaders entered into and advanced with it. Coles who was an "Adams" man, soon became the object of their revenge and was persecuted in every possible way. A suit was instituted against him in the circuit court of Madison county, Illinois, I think in the latter part of 1842—to recover a penalty prescribed by the law of 1837—to which I have referred in setting free ten slaves without giving the bond required. The

jury returned a verdict against him. He had pleaded the statute of limitations, but the court overruled the plea. A motion was made for a new trial, which the court took under advisement, pending which the legislature passed an act releasing all penalties under that act, including those in litigation. Coles' motion for a new trial was overruled, and he pleaded this act of the legislature — *puis darrien continuance*. A demurrer was sustained to this plea, upon the ground that the act of the legislature, remitting the penalty, was *ex-post facto*. Judgment was given against him for \$2000, which the supreme court reversed and held the act valid, and Coles was discharged from liability (see Breese's reports, p. 154) for his great iniquity in setting free ten of his slaves, and providing them with the means of supporting themselves. There is no doubt but the whole proceeding was the result of a political intrigue. The leaders of the "Jackson" party were incensed against him on account of the statement he made to the effect that Mr. Jefferson said that Gen. Jackson had no greater qualifications for president than a cock had for an admiral. Gov. Coles had been private-secretary for Mr. Madison while the latter was president, and his (Coles') statements carried with them great weight. Gov. Coles, after his term of office expired, removed to Philadelphia, where he married and lived during the remainder of his life. There was this peculiarity about Gov. Coles: although he was a highly educated and accomplished gentleman, yet his talk on common subjects, when he was not on his guard, was exactly that of an old Virginia negro. Such was the force of early habits and association.

Ninian Edwards was the successor of Gov. Coles. He had previously been territorial governor of Illinois, and during that time he conducted the "Peoria campaign" against the Indians, (for an account of which see his life, written by his Son, a work containing a vast amount of information touching our early history.) He had been eminent as a judge of the court of appeals of Kentucky, and bid fair to be a very prominent politician in the United States.

I knew him well. He resided in Edwardsville, which was named in his honor. He was a magnificent specimen of a man, physically, and his intellect corresponded with his appearance. He was, after his term of governor of the State expired, elected to the Senate of the United States, and was appointed from that position to that of Minister to Mexico.

Previous to this latter appointment, and while he was senator, the Bank of Edwardsville was selected as a place of deposit for the Government funds collected at the land-office in that town. The governor had undertaken to keep the treasurer of the United

jury returned a verdict against him. He had pleaded the statute of limitations, but the court overruled the plea. A motion was made for a new trial, which the court took under advisement, pending which the legislature passed an act repealing all penalties under that act, including those in litigation. Coler's motion for a new trial was overruled, and he pleaded this act of the legislature upon the ground that the act of the legislature, remaining in general, was *ex post facto*. Judgment was given against him for \$1000, which the supreme court reversed and held the act valid, and Coler was discharged from liability (see *Freese's reports*, p. 124) for his great misgiving in setting free ten of his slaves, and providing them with the means of supporting themselves. There is no doubt but the whole proceeding was the result of a political intrigue. The leaders of the "Jackson" party were incensed against him on account of the statement he made to the effect that Mr. Jefferson said that Gen. Jackson had no greater qualifications for president than a cock had for an animal. Gov. Coler had been private secretary for Mr. Madison while the latter was president, and his (Coler's) statements carried with them great weight. Gov. Coler, after his term of office expired, removed to Philadelphia, where he married and lived during the remainder of his life. There was this peculiarity about Gov. Coler: although he was a highly educated and accomplished gentleman, yet his talk on common subjects, when he was not on his guard, was exactly that of an old Virginia negro. Such was the force of early habits and association.

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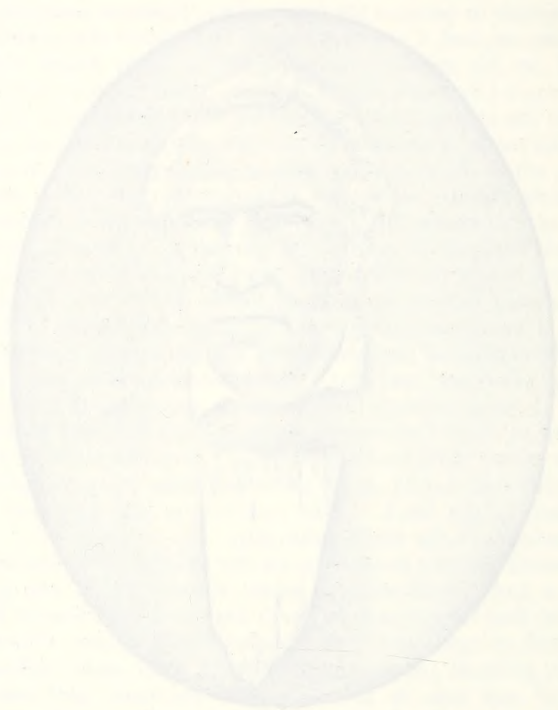
Previous to his latter appointment, and while he was senator, the Bank of Edwardsville was selected as a place of deposit for the Government funds collected at the land-office in that town. The Governor had undertaken to keep the moneys of the United

States, who at that time was Wm. H. Crawford, posted as to the situation and solvency of the bank, which turned out to be a defaulter for some \$40,000. A controversy arose between Edwards and Crawford, as to whether the former had notified the latter of the shaky condition of the bank in time to have enabled the treasurer to prevent the loss. Gov. Edwards asserted that he had done so, and Crawford denied it. After the governor had started on his mission, he published a letter which threw the blame upon Crawford, who, I believe, called the attention of Congress to the charge, and a committee was appointed to investigate it. This made it necessary that Edwards should return to Washington, where he was taken sick, in which condition he was, if I remember rightly, while the investigation was going on. The result of the whole thing was that the committee reported that Edwards had not fully sustained his charge. I have not examined the proof before the committee, but I know of some circumstances which would incline me strongly to the belief that Edwards was right. I know personally that before the defalcation of the bank, Gov. Edwards and the controlling officer of that institution were at "daggers-draw" and that a street encounter took place between them. I know enough of Edwards to satisfy me that he was not the man to allow Government funds to remain in the hands of his violent enemy if he could prevent it. Both his sense of duty and his inclination would have prompted him to make known the condition of the bank. This controversy laid Edwards, as well as Crawford, on the shelf, politically.

Edwards was not outspoken on the subject of a Convention to frame a new Constitution to admit slavery, but it was generally believed that he sympathized with his son-in-law, Daniel P. Cook, who took an open and very decided stand against slavery. He put his political prospects which were then more brilliant than those of any man in the State into the scale, and went down under the furore for Jackson, under whose banner the pro-slavery men all flocked. He was beaten at the next election for Congress, by Joseph Duncan, the "Jackson" candidate. Cook cast the vote of this State, in the house, for Adams, in 1824. He had pledged himself that he would go with his State, in the event of the election going into the house, and he always contended that he fulfilled his pledge. At that time, Illinois elected, by districts, three electors. Adams carried one and Jackson two, but Cook contended that the opposition to Jackson had a majority of the popular vote. Cook, during the last session he was in Congress, was chairman of the committee of ways and means, upon whom was devolved immense labor, and it was the unanimous voice of the country that no man ever discharged the arduous duties of that position with greater ability than he did.

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Edwards was not outspoken on the subject of a Convention to frame a new Constitution to abolish slavery, but it was generally believed that he sympathized with his son-in-law, Daniel H. Cook, who took an open and very decided stand against slavery. He put his political prospects which were then more brilliant than those of any man in the State into the scale and went down under the laurels for Jackson, under whose banner the pro-slavery men all rallied. He was beaten at the next election for Congress by Joseph Hancock the "Jackson" candidate. Cook cast the vote of this State in the house for Adams in 1824. He had pledged himself that he would go with his State in the event of the election going into the house, and he always confessed that he fulfilled his pledge. At that time Illinois elected, by districts, three electors. Adams carried one and Jackson two, but Cook contended that the opposition to Jackson had a majority of the popular vote. Cook, during the last session he was in Congress, was chairman of the committee of ways and means upon whom was devolved immense labor, and it was the unanimous vote of the country that no man ever discharged the arduous duties of



Yours friend
John G. Brown

His defeat hastened his death. He died soon after from consumption. Illinois never had his superior on the floor of Congress. Gov. Edwards was placed in rather a dilemma. His relations with Gen. Jackson were of the most cordial character. On the other hand, he wished to sustain his son-in-law, and so he rather halted between two opinions; but he was a very great and conspicuous man, even in those days, "when there were *giants* in the land."

Adolphus Hubbard used to relate a rather amusing incident in connection with the governor. Hubbard was annoying him for a letter of recommendation, which he said the governor had promised to give, so the letter was handed to him. "But," said Hubbard, in his lisping way, "contrary to the *uthage* amongst gentlemen, he *thealed* it up; and, contrary to the *uthage* amongst gentlemen, I broke it open. And what do you think? *Instheea* of being a letter of recommendation, the old *rathscal abuthsea* me like a pickpocket." I don't vouch for the authenticity of Hubbard's story, but it was considered a good joke, whether true or not.

Gov. Edwards was born in Maryland, and emigrated, when he was very young, to Kentucky, where he rose rapidly into public notice and attained a National reputation. He soon became a distinguished member of the court of appeals of that State, and his opinions were characterised by profound research and ability. Owing to the great amount of *land* litigation in Kentucky, and the zeal and ambition of the lawyers, her courts and bar, soon stood confessedly at the front for learning and accuracy in the law concerning *real estate*. Edwards was soon appointed governor of the Territory of Illinois, and vested with the power and patronage appertaining to that important and responsible trust. The late Judge Nathaniel Pope—one of the ablest men of the nation, and father of the present Gen. John Pope—and a member of the distinguished Pope family, of Kentucky, was appointed his secretary. While Edwards was Territorial governor, the laws were revised, and military operations carried on, which, to a great extent, protected our infant settlements from Indian depredations. Edwards would have been considered a great man in any age or country.

John Reynolds, who next appears upon the stage, was a native of Pennsylvania. His parents were born, raised, and married in County Monahan, Ireland, and, immediately after their marriage, emigrated to the United States, where they raised a large family of children. Upon John, a good collegiate education was bestowed; his father, doing what is usual in Scotch-Irish families, robbing all the other members of the family, in order to *pile* an

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education upon the "gentleman" of the household. I suppose this is an offshot of primogeniture. Gov. Reynolds was an accomplished Greek, Latin, and French scholar, and yet, strange to say, he was ashamed of his collegiate education. His father settled in Illinois, a few miles south of Edwardsville, under the bluff.

John soon went to Cahokia, which was the business center of the country at that early day, to practice his profession—that of the law. While there he married a very estimable French lady, a widow, with whom he lived very happily many years. The governor's dislike to appear to be educated, grew out of the contempt the early settlers had for "book larnin'." The great aim of his life seemed to be in unison with the multitude. With him the voice of the people was the voice of God. If he could be on the popular side, that was enough. He never lost sight of this object. It was his guiding-star. He always catered to the popular clamor, and indeed went beyond it, in most cases. He at one time introduced a bill into the legislature to constitute every man a justice of the peace. He consulted Justin Butterfield, who was a great wag, about it, and he said it was a capital measure, only he did not know where the governor would get his *constables*. He was a very inaccurate man, and paid little attention to forms and precedents, so that it was a common remark with him, that when he filed a declaration, "*in* would come a demurrer, and *out* would go your humble servant."

David J. Baker, of Kaskaskia, who was remarkably accurate as a special pleader, once filed a declaration in court, at Kaskaskia, to which Gov. Reynolds interposed a demurrer. We were all amazed at the step taken by the governor, and none half so much as Mr. Baker. After he had appeared to recover from his astonishment, he said that he had read law with care, and had made special pleadings his principal study, but so abundantly cautious had he been, that, even now, when he had the forms at his tongue's-end, he would not venture to frame a declaration without consulting the precedents.

He "could say, without boasting, that no demurrer had been sustained to his pleadings for the last twenty years, but now comes forward, at this late day, one who had ventured upon the task of assailing the accuracy of his pleadings. But who," he said, "is this man? It is no other than Gov. Reynolds, one, who, of all men on earth, ought to have the least to say about accuracy. We have all known him as member of the legislature. We have known him as judge of the circuit and supreme courts; as member of Congress, and as governor of the State; and God Almighty only knows how long we shall be afflicted with him here-

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after, but in every position that he has held he has been *conspicuous only as a bundle of informalities*." Mr. Baker gave him a dreadful castigation, which the governor felt acutely, but he never "let on." Soon after Mr. Baker said to the governor, in the goodness of his heart, "Well, governor, I am afraid I was a little too severe upon you the other day."

"Why, Mr. Baker, have you been saying anything about me? I was not aware of it. I guess your speech did not amount to very much, or I would have noticed it. There is no need of apologies, Mr. Baker."

Another instance of how readily the governor would extricate himself from a dilemma is the following: The governor was a candidate for reelection to congress on the democratic side, and was making as usual with men of that party, a "*free-trade*" speech at Sparta, where they were interested in the "*castor-bean*" business. An Englishman, named Brashaw, who was a whig, made a bet with some of the governor's friends that the governor did not know whether castor-beans were *protected* or not; and he asked the governor whether castor-beans were among the "h'enumerated h'articles" or not. The governor did not seem to comprehend what he meant, and made some evasive and unsatisfactory reply, to which Brashaw triumphantly cried out, "I told you that 'e did not know whether castor-beans were h'among the h'enumerated h'articles h'or not." The governor, by this time, discovered what was going on, and said: "Stop. I am like the boy who was offering a horse for sale, and someone asked him if the horse had the 'splint'. The boy scratched his head, and said, 'I don't know exactly what the splint is, but I *do* know that if it is good for the horse, he has got it, and if it is *not* good for him he is devilish clear of it.' And that is the way with the castor-beans; if it is good for them to be among the enumerated articles, they are there; and, if it is not, they are devilish clear of it." The governor could make the most rambling and incoherent remarks imaginable. On one occasion, he was prosecuting some Covenanters, who were indicted at Kaskaskia for a riot, committed in Sparta, in tearing down a grocery belonging to an old fellow named Turk. Judge Breese was off the bench at the time, and defending the rioters, and he referred in severe terms to the fact that the governor was found prosecuting his old friends and supporters. This touched the governor in a very tender place. He denied that his prosecution of these men was any evidence of his want of friendship for them. "For," said he, "gentlemen of the jury, if I should meet any of these men in *heaven* or in *hell*, I would run to greet and shake hands with them. But," said he, "they were not following in the footsteps of their illustrious prede-

cessor, Jesus Christ, when they were tearing down old Turk's grocery. They say they were afraid old Turk would raise a mob and tear down their churches if they did not destroy his grocery. Why, sir, so far from poor old Turk raising a mob, he can not raise anything. I am very much afraid he can not raise the \$10 fee he promised to pay me in this case."

Gov. Reynolds was remarkably good in illustrating by an anecdote. He did not like Douglas, and never would admit that he was a great man. Douglas was not pro-slavery enough for him. I asked him on one occasion if he did not consider Douglas a *strong* man. He said he regarded him in the same light the boy did the oxen. He said a boy was once trying to sell a yoke of small steers, and was bragging desperately upon them, and telling what big loads they had hauled. A man said to him: "Now, my son, do you pretend to say that those little fellows are *strong*?" "Yes," said the boy, "I pretend to say that they are *devilish strong—in light work*."

The governor was the most thorough-paced politician I ever knew. He kept a newspaper for his own use. It was the *Belleville Advocate*, in early days. He had a "standing" chairman of all his meetings; an old gentleman named McLemore, who always decided as the governor desired.

The governor was never without a "hobby." He was for the Mexican war; the acquisition of Texas; "Fifty-four Forty, or Fight"; as well as the conquest of Cuba. Whenever one of these "hobbies" was to be set going, the governor would announce, through his paper, that a meeting would take place at "such and such" a time, in Belleville, to consider the measure. At the appointed time, the governor would nominate McLemore, as chairman, and would make his speech, and then call upon those present to address the meeting; and it was a great breach of political etiquette not to "chime in" with his opening remarks. Sometimes, however, the meeting would be refractory, and the governor would prorogue them. I remember a case in which the old gentleman was unable to control his meeting. He had called one to consider the propriety of taking possession of Texas. It was during the Texas revolution. The assemblage was large, and the governor, at the outset, was in "high feather". McLemore took the chair, and the governor opened out in grand style, and insisted that Texas was ours, inasmuch as Spain had gotten the best of the bargain, when we traded Texas to her for Florida, which, he said, she could not have held. He contended that we *needed* it, and, therefore, had a valid right to *take* it.

He wound up by offering a resolution, setting forth that, "Our title to Texas is *indisputable*!"

cession, Jesus Christ when they were tearing down old Turk's grocery. They say they were afraid old Turk would raise a mob and tear down their churches if they did not destroy his grocery. Why, sir, so the poor old Turk raising a mob, he can not raise anything. I am very much afraid he can not raise the five

he promised to pay me in this case.

Gov. Reynolds was remarkably good in liberating in an anecdote. He did not like Douglas and never went where there he was a great man. Douglas was not two-thirds capable for him. I asked him on one occasion if he did not consider Douglas a very man. He said he regarded him in the same light as the boy did the oxen. He said a boy was once trying to sell a yoke of small steers, and was dragging desperately upon them, and telling what big loads they had loaded. A man said to him: "Now, my son, do you pretend to say that those little fellows are heavy?" "Yes," said the boy, "I pretend to say that they are heavy."

The governor was the most thoroughly-paced politician I ever knew. He kept a newspaper for his own use. It was the *Wells* with *Whelan* in early days. He had a "standing" chairman of all his meetings; an old gentleman named McMenore, who always decided as the governor desired.

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A few of us, who wanted some fun, offered an amendment to the effect, that "this meeting is eminently qualified to decide the question of title to Texas;" which the governor violently opposed, and denounced us as traitors, and as having come there to interfere with and breaking up his meeting. We assumed that the meeting was composed of the wisest and best men of the world; that parliamentary and diplomatic bodies were composed of ignoramuses, as compared with us; that every American citizen, and especially every citizen of Belleville, was endowed with wisdom from "on high", in reference to all political measures; and whoever denied that palpable truth was a traitor to his country, and an enemy to mankind; and that the fiery vengeance of the present and future generations would be poured out upon their devoted heads. We drove the governor ignominiously from his own sacred ground, for the "*infallibility of the people*" was his "stock in trade", generally. We had nineteen-twentieths of the meeting with us, and carried our amendment; but McLemore paid no attention to the proceeding. The governor moved to adjourn. Three or four feeble "ayes" were heard. When the "noes" were called for, they made the welkin ring; but McLemore said: "Weel men, the meetin's adjourned, anyhow."

Next morning, the governor's paper came out with a flaming account of the meeting, and representing the resolution, offered by the governor, as having passed unanimously; and saying nothing about the amendment and other proceedings. I met the old gentleman, and said to him that the account of the meeting did not square very well with the actual proceedings. He replied: "No; you damned fellows beat me in the meeting, but I can beat you in the papers."

Adam W. Snyder and Gov. Reynolds were rivals and antagonists. It would not be going too far to say that they were in a state of chronic hostility to each other. Their warfare never proceeded so far as to become violent. They were, in some respects, in the condition that Kentucky was, according to the account the "*Governor*" used to give. He used to tell of a Kentuckian who was "calaboosed" in New Orleans for fighting. He said to one of his friends, who had called one day to condole with him, that he had made up his mind that if he ever got out of that infernal place, he would go back to *Kentucky where he could fight in peace.*

Snyder and Reynolds never broke the peace, but they were continually fighting, politically (although they were both "Jackson men," and professedly Democrats.) They were generally aspirants for the same place—always in each other's way. Each one looked upon the other as being his "evil genius," and neither

A few of us who wanted some law offered an amendment to the effect that "this meeting is eminently qualified to decide the question of this Texas," which the Governor violently opposed, and denounced us as traitors and as having come there to interfere with and break up his meeting. He asserted that the meeting was composed of the wisest and best men of the world; that parliamentary and diplomatic bodies were composed of good men; as compared with us; that every American citizen and especially every citizen of Belleville, was endowed with wisdom from "on high," in reference to all political measures; and ever denied that palpable truth was a traitor to his country, and an enemy to mankind, and that the very vengeance of the present and future generations would be poured out upon their devoted heads. We threw the Governor ignominiously from his own sacred ground, for the "sacredness of his paper" was his "stock in trade," generally. We had nineteen-twenty of the meeting with us and carried our amendment; but McLennan paid no attention to the proceeding. The Governor moved to adjourn. Three or four ladies "saw" were heard. When the "noes" were called for they made the welkin ring; but McLennan more said: "Well men, the meeting adjourned, anyhow."

Next morning the Governor's paper came out with a flaming account of the meeting and representing the resolution offered by the Governor as having passed unanimously; and saying nothing about the amendment and other proceedings. I met his old gentleman and said to him that the account of the meeting did not square very well with the actual proceedings. He replied: "No; you damned fellows bargain in the meeting but I can beat you in the papers."

Adam W. Sawyer and Gov. Reynolds were rivals and satigists. It would not be going too far to say that they were in a state of chronic hostility to each other. Their warfare never proceeded so far as to become violent. They were in some respects in the condition that Kentucky was according to the account the "Governor" used to give. He used to tell of a Kentuckian who was "calamoured" in New Orleans for fighting. He said to one of his friends, who had called one day to console him, that he had made up his mind that if he ever got out of that infernal place, he would go back to Kentucky never to make fight in there.

Sawyer and Reynolds never broke the peace, but they were continually fighting politically (although they were both "Jack son men," and professedly Democrats). They were generally aspirants for the same place—always in each other's way. Each one looked upon the other as being his "evil genius," and neither

would have regarded the removal of the other to some other country as a very great evil. A man named Coonce once called upon Snyder, to take the necessary steps to obtain some testimony with a view to its *perpetuation*. Snyder never liked the drudgery of the profession, or the office business. He loved to try a case and address a jury, which he could do with great ease to himself, and splendid effect. He endeavored to get rid of the task upon various pretexts; but Coonce was very importunate, and finally Snyder sat down to writing, and asked Coonce whose testimony he wished to take. The latter said, "That of Gov. Reynolds." Snyder looked up in amazement, and broke out with an exclamation, that he never heard of such folly as to go to the expense and trouble to perpetuate old Reynold's testimony. "Why, damn him," said he, "*he will never die*. I have been waiting for him to 'kick the bucket' for more than a quarter of a century, and his hold upon life seems now to be stronger than it was when I first knew him; he will live forever, sir. I will not make a damned fool of myself by seeking to perpetuate the testimony of a man who will outlive any record in existence."

A specimen of the governor's style of quoting is rather amusing. He was attempting to quote from Shakespeare the passage about McDuff, and he said—as Shakespeare says—"Come on, McDougall, and be damned to you." His rendering of the maxim *caveat emptor*, was that it meant "Flee from the wrath to come." During his term as governor, a man named Wakefield wrote and published a history of the Black-Hawk War, in which Judge Breese was made to figure as the hero. Breese was ashamed of the production, as in one place the author was trying to describe one of the movements of the army. He said, that in its march it came to a certain point, at which one portion turned off at a *right* angle, and the other turned off at a *left* angle. Wakefield solicited some favor from Breese, thinking the latter was under great obligations to him. But he got the cold shoulder. He became indignant, and said: "Sir; I shall re-write the history of the Black-Hawk War, and I will make you figure in a very different light."

The governor was a wonderfully inconsistent man in his politics. He stoutly maintained that he was a Democrat; but, at the same time, vindicated doctrines and a policy, the opposite of that which was contended for by that party. In his message, as governor, to the legislature, of Dec. 8, 1830, he most explicitly advocated the constitutionality and propriety of a protective tariff; of internal improvements by the General Government, the latter of which was distinctly repudiated by Gen. Jackson, in his veto of the "Maysville road bill;" but the most startling discrepancy, in his

would have regarded the removal of the other to some other country as a very great evil. A man named (whose name I have forgotten) to take the necessary steps to obtain some land money with a view to its redemption. Snyder never lost the sting of the confession, or the other business. He found it very a case and address a jury, which he could do with great ease to himself, and splendid effect. The endeavor to get rid of the task upon various pretexts; but (as once was very important) and finally Snyder set down to writing and asked (Cory) what testimony he wished to take. The latter said, "That of (Cory) Snyder looked up in amazement and looked on with an exclamation, that he never heard of such folly as to go to the expense and trouble to perpetrate old Snyder's testimony. "Why damn him," said he, "as will water his. I have been waiting for him to 'kick the bucket' for more than a quarter of a century, and he holds upon life seems now to be stronger than it was when I first knew him; he will live forever, sir. I will not make a damned fool of myself by seeking to perpetrate the testimony of a man who will outlive any record in existence."

A specimen of the governor's style of dealing is rather amusing. He was attempting to quote from Shakespeare the passage about Macbeth, and he said—as Shakespeare says—"Come on, Macbeth, and be damned to you." His confiding of the maxim *omnes omnes omnes*, was that it meant "Plan from the wish to come." During his term as governor a man named Washfield wrote and published a history of the Black-Flaw War, in which Judge Lincoln was made to figure as the hero. Lincoln was ashamed of the production, so in one place the author was trying to describe one of the movements of the army. He said that in its march it came to a certain point, at which one portion turned off at a right angle, and the other turned off at a 45° angle. Washfield selected some lines from Lincoln, during the fight, was under great obligations to him. But he got the cold shiver. He became indignant and said: "Sir, I shall rewrite the history of the Black-Flaw War, and I will make you figure in a very different light."

The governor was a wonderfully inconsistent man in his politics. He mainly maintained that he was a Democrat, but at the same time vindicated slavery and a policy, the opposite of that which was contended for by that party. In his message to the senate to the legislature of 1836 & 1837 he made a very able effort to the constitutionality and propriety of a protective tariff; and internal improvements by the General Government, the latter of which was distinctly repudiated by Gen. Jackson in the veto of the "Maysville road bill"; but the most striking inconsistency in his

views, is in reference to the preservation of the Union. At the close of his message, he uses this language: "The Union of the people of the several States forming the National Government, is the palladium of our political safety, and should be preserved at all hazards. Every attempt toward its dismemberment will be resisted by every good man." In the archives of the "Southern Confederacy" was found a letter from Gov. Reynolds to Jefferson Davis, advising a resort to arms for the destruction of the Union. Reynolds was elected governor in August, 1830.

Joseph Duncan succeeded Gov. Reynolds as the executive head of the government of Illinois. He was born in Paris, Bourbon County, Ky., in February, 1794; was early left fatherless, and upon him, together with his mother, rested the responsibility of rearing the family. In that relation his conduct was all that could be desired. At the age of 16, he was commissioned in the regular army of the United States, and greatly distinguished himself for courage, fidelity, and good conduct, in so far as to attract the attention and command the approval of his superiors. He was engaged in the bloody battle of Sandusky, in which the American forces repulsed a vastly superior force of British and Indians, with terrible loss to the enemy. In 1818, he removed to Illinois, and settled in Jackson county, where he engaged in the milling business.

It was in reference to his mill that the *passage d'armes* between David J. Baker and Adolphus Hubbard took place. The story illustrates the "clap-trap" employed in early times to humbug the juries by a certain class of lawyers. "Reports" of the decisions of the courts were a new thing in our temples of justice. David J. Baker had recently arrived from New England, and located in Kaskaskia, to practice law. He brought with him a fine library, containing many of the reports of the decisions of the courts of the eastern States. In the case referred to, he cited a decision found in Johnson's New-York Reports, which was squarely in point against Hubbard, who warded off its effects by telling the jury that the *Johnson* whose Reports were quoted by Mr. Baker in support of his views was a Yankee clock-peddler, who has been perambulating the country gathering up rumors and floating stories against the people of the west, and had them published in a book entitled "Johnson's Reports." Hubbard indignantly repudiated them as authority in Illinois, and said: "Gentlemen of the jury, I am sure you will not believe anything that comes from such a source; and, besides, what did Johnson know about Joe Duncan's mills?" Of course, this was conclusive with the jury, and Hubbard gained his case.

In 1823, Duncan was elected to the State Senate from Jackson

County, and served with great credit to himself, until he defeated Daniel P. Cook for representative in Congress, in 1826. The latter was a man of transcendent ability, and had acquired a national reputation, but he went down during the Jackson "furor," as described in the sketch of Gov. Edwards.

Duncan left the "Jackson Party" on account of the finance question, after the old General removed the deposits from the United States Bank. Duncan considered that the struggle, at that time, was really between the New-York "safety-fund system" of banks and the Philadelphia system of a bank chartered by Congress, with power to establish branches in the States. He thought that VanBuren had adroitly managed to enlist the immense popularity of Gen. Jackson on the side of the New York banks, or rather against the United States bank. The old general was, doubtless, actuated by the doctrine of "State-rights", which was becoming, then, the prevailing "dogma" at the South. He regarded it as an act of usurpation on the part of Congress, to charter a bank with power to locate branches in the States. Although the Jackson party was in a large majority in Illinois, yet Duncan, owing to his popularity, was elected governor in 1833; and in his inaugural message, he lays down his views on that question with great precision, and they were the views of the Whig party, to which he had attached himself.

His immediate predecessor in the gubernatorial chair was William L. D. Ewing, who held the office for fifteen days. Reynolds, the governor, and Zadock Casey, lieutenant-governor, had both been elected to congress, which vacated their offices about fifteen days before their successors could qualify, and so the office of governor of the State was devolved upon Ewing, who had been elected president of the senate. He delivered a message to the legislature at the beginning of his fifteen days' term, in which he lays down the democratic views on the question of banks. From a comparison of these two documents, the exact status of the two great parties of that day can be distinctly ascertained on that question. It will be there learned that the whig party was in favor of a "*National*" bank, and the "*Democratic*" party was for "*State*" banks. Neither party was, at that time, for exclusively hard-money currency. After the overthrow of the National bank, State banks sprang up, which were supported or acquiesced in by both parties. Most of them broke down, and then a party, of which Thomas H. Benton might be considered the *head*, arose, whose leading dogma was an "*exclusively metallic currency*."

Gov. Duncan commanded the Illinois troops on the expedition against Black Hawk, in 1831. It may be said of him that in all the relations of life he was up to the requirements of the occasion.

He was a man of fine presence, and dressed with great neatness and circumspection. He was a staunch friend of education, and gave that subject his constant support. He believed it was better to govern the country through the schools than the court-houses, the jails, and the penitentiaries. Gov. Duncan was a man of respectable talents and the highest moral attributes. I was personally acquainted with him, and was profoundly impressed with a conviction that he was an ornament to the State.

Thomas Carlin succeeded Duncan as governor, and was elected in 1838. His opponent was the Hon. Cyrus Edwards, of Madison County, and, for the purpose of vindicating the truth of history, I take this occasion to say that an error has crept into our annals as to the views of these two gentlemen on the internal improvement question of that day.

Mr. Edwards was a warm friend of internal improvements, but he disapproved of so stupendous a system as was adopted in our State, and he still more opposed a system which was to be carried on by State management. He preferred that railroads should be built and operated by private effort, and when he failed in this he wished to combine the two methods; and when this could not be accomplished he made up his mind to oppose the whole scheme, and I remember distinctly that he was authoritatively instructed to vote for the measure, which instructions he obeyed most reluctantly. He always predicted the downfall of the system. Gov. Carlin, on the other hand, in his inaugural message urged its prosecution. He was born in Kentucky, July 18, 1789, and was of Irish extraction. He possessed great physical powers, and was as courageous as a lion. He was accounted hard to handle in a rough-and-tumble fight, in which he would engage at the drop of a hat. The late Gen. McConnell told me that the first glimpse he got of Gov. Carlin, he was springing from the back of a horse, upon a man named Van Arsdale. This occurred at Milton, in the upper end of the American bottom. They had made arrangements for a race, and Carlin suspected that Van Arsdale had tampered with his rider, so he stripped and did the riding himself. As soon as he reached the outcome, some one informed him that Van Arsdale had said something derogatory of him, and he instantly sprang from his horse upon his antagonist, who was a man after Carlin's fashion, and they had a terrible contest. This was not considered disreputable in those times. Indeed, a man who would not fight was scorned, and held to be unfit to live in the country. Carlin was in high repute as a ranger and Indian-fighter. He was a fine horseman, woodsman, and marksman, and brimful of fight, and, of course, was an invaluable member of pioneer society, always ready for a raid after the

Indians. His education was extremely limited, so much so that it may be said that he was wholly uneducated in early life, but being a man of great *natural* endowments, he endeavored, as soon as society changed, to retrieve his losses, and made amends by diligent application, but he was never entirely able to burst the bonds which early life had thrown around him. He was always intensely pro-slavery, or rather *negro-hating*. I always regarded him as being perfectly honest and as liberal in his views as it was possible for a man, raised as he was, to be. He hated banks and was suspicious of Yankees unless they were Democrats. At the same time, he was perfectly conscious that Yankee intelligence and enterprise was desirable, even in the West. He had overcome the prejudices of such men as Gov. Kinney, who opposed the construction of the canal because it would encourage the immigration of Yankees to our State. He adored Gen. Jackson, for two reasons. First, because the General, like himself, was of Irish extraction, and, secondly, because he would have his own way. I don't know that Gov. Carlin was hostile to Catholicism. I think he was indifferent on that subject, but he said to me on one occasion that if he had his life to live over again he would never have his children educated in an institution where there should be the slightest sectarian bias exercised over them. Gov. Carlin was a seeker after what was right, but he had so many prejudices, acquired in early life, that it was almost impossible for him to stand on modernized and enlightened ground. If he had been born forty years later, and had reasonable opportunities, he would have been a distinguished man for capacity and liberality of sentiment. As it was, he was an honest, plain, well-intentioned man. During his administration an incident occurred deserving explanation. It has been frequently stated that Mr. Lincoln *jumped out of the window* to avoid voting, while he was a member of the legislature. It happened as follows, according to my recollection:

The banks throughout the country became crippled during the panic of 1837, and they were, throughout the West, allowed to suspend specie payments. At the session of 1837-8, an act was passed authorizing the State Bank of Illinois to suspend "*until the end of the next general assembly*." Gov. Carlin convened the next session two weeks earlier than the time prescribed for its meeting by the Constitution. A quarrel occurred between some of the members of the dominant party and the bank, and it was secretly determined to adjourn the legislature *sine die*, at the end of the first two weeks of the next session. That would be the next session after the act allowing the bank to suspend, and it would be compelled to resume, while the banks in the other States

Indians. His education was extremely limited so much as that it may be said that he was wholly uneducated in early life, but being a man of great natural endowment he endeavored to attain as society changed, to relieve his lower, and made advances by diligent application, but he was never entirely able to loose the bonds which early life had thrown around him. He was always intensely poverty-stricken, or rather self-sufficient. I always regarded him as being perfectly honest and as liberal in his views as it was possible for a man, raised as he was to be. He hated banks and was suspicious of Yankees unless they were Democrats. At the same time he was perfectly conscious that Yankee intelligence and enterprise was desirable, even in the West. He had overcome the prejudices of such men as Gov. Kinney, who opposed the construction of the canal because it would encourage the immigration of Yankees to our state. He shared Gen. Jackson's fear for two reasons. First, because the Federal, like himself, was of Irish extraction and secondly, because he would have his own way. I don't know that Gov. Lincoln was hostile to Catholics, but I think he was indifferent on that subject, but he said to me on one occasion that if he had his life to live over again he would never have his children educated in an institution where there should be the slightest sectarian bias exercised over them. Gov. Cahoon was a seceder after what was right, but he had so many prejudices, acquired in early life that it was almost impossible for him to stand on moderate and enlightened ground. If he had been born forty years later, and had reasonable opportunities, he would have been a distinguished man for capacity and liberality of sentiment. As it was he was an honest plain, well-intentioned man. During his administration an incident occurred deserving explanation. It has been frequently stated that Mr. Lincoln opposed one of the measures to avoid voting, while he was a member of the legislature. It happened as follows, according to my recollection:

The banks throughout the country became crippled during the panic of 1837, and they were throughout the West allowed to suspend specie payments. At the session of 1837-8 an act was passed authorizing the State Bank of Illinois to suspend "any way of the new money business." Gov. Cahoon convened the next session two weeks earlier than the time prescribed for its meeting by the Constitution. A quarrel occurred between some of the members of the dominant party and the bank, and it was secretly determined to adjourn the legislature two weeks at the end of the first two weeks of the next session. That would be the next session after the act allowing the bank to suspend, and it would be compelled to resume, while the banks in the other States

were suspended, and *they* would drain the specie from our bank and pay out none themselves. The Whigs regarded this move as being unjust to the bank and detrimental to the welfare of the people. They got wind of the thing on the morning of the day when the adjournment was to take place, and they instantly resolved that they would absent themselves, and thus break up a quorum, but, as the Constitution of 1818 would allow such a vote to be taken without a call of the ayes and noes, it was necessary that two Whigs should be in the house to call for them, so that it should appear that a quorum was not voting, in which case, the legislature could only adjourn from day to day, and the following Monday they would be convened by the Constitution. Lincoln and I were selected to call the ayes and noes, and the Whigs promised to keep out of the way. When the motion was put we called for the ayes and noes, and there was no quorum voting. A call of the house was ordered, and the sergeant-at-arms was sent for the absentees, many of whom, we discovered, allowed themselves to be caught and brought in. Lincoln and I began to suspect that they had a quorum. Finding that the Whigs who had been brought in would not withdraw, we got them to agree to call for the ayes and noes, and we concluded to leave, but, ascertaining that the doors were locked, we raised the windows of the church, in which the session was held, and jumped out. The sergeant-at-arms, William Murphy, reported that he had commanded Cyrus Edwards to attend in his place. "What did he say?" inquired the speaker of the house. "He said he would not." "What did you say?" "I told him I would take him by force." "What did he do?" "He raised his cane and said: 'Touch me at your peril.'" "What did you do?" "I sloped, sir."

Thomas Ford succeeded Carlin as governor of the State, in 1842. He was elected over Joseph Duncan, who was the Whig candidate, by a majority of 8317. Ford was born at Uniontown, Pa., in 1800, and was the half-brother of George Forquer, who was six years the senior. The mother of these men was reputed to be a woman of heroic character. She emigrated from Pennsylvania—where her husband, Robert Ford, was killed by the Indians—to the Spanish country, west of the Mississippi river, the government of which donated the land to actual settlers. Soon after that country passed under the dominion of the United States, she removed to Monroe County, Illinois.

I was very well acquainted with a daughter of Mrs. Ford, who had married a man named David Ditch, who kept a public-house at Waterloo for many years after I began to travel the circuit. Mrs. Ditch was an enterprising and industrious old lady when I

knew her, and was considered the best house-keeper, and set the best table, in all that region, considering her opportunities and surroundings. Thomas Ford was, from the first, extremely ambitious, and struggled hard to obtain an education. He, with the aid of his half-brother, Forquer, and the patronage of Daniel P. Cook, under whom he studied law very thoroughly, entered the practice, and was soon elevated to the bench, where he signalized himself by the correctness and impartiality of his decisions, and the strong hand with which he maintained the supremacy of the laws in opposition to those self-constituted bulwarks of society, the "regulators." If Gov. Ford could have peered twenty years into the future, his wrath against mobs would have been greatly intensified.

I learn that one of his sons, a very promising young man, was overtaken by a band of men in Kansas, who were in pursuit of a horse-thief, and, without giving him a moment for explanation, they hung him up. Very soon after, they discovered their mistake, but it was too late to restore the life they had so ruthlessly taken. This should be a solemn warning to those miscreants, who, under the guise of administering justice without the delays of the law, *hang* a man *first* and *try* him *afterward*. Ford settled in Edwardsville, at an early day, and there married a Miss Fannie Hambaugh, a young lady from Kentucky, who was very attractive in person and manners, and amiable in her disposition. Gov. Ford was quite low in stature and slender in person, but firm and decided in character, and rather belligerent in disposition. He professed to be of the Democratic faith, but, in delineating the characters of his contemporaries, he laid the heaviest blows upon men of his own party. He administered the State government with firmness, and for the promotion of the highest interests of the people, according to his best judgment. During his administration, the Mormons were expelled from the State. Undesirable as this class of persons were, I never could perceive how we could legitimately drive them away. We had, unquestionably, the power to enact laws to compel them to shape their institutions and observances according to the views of civilized men, but we had no right to dump our offal into other communities. We deny the right of European nations to send the scum of their society to this-hand, and the principle is the same.

While on this subject it may not be inappropriate to allude to the remark of Justin Butterfield, an eminent lawyer of Chicago, in a case in which the Mormon prophet, Joe Smith, was concerned. An attempt had been made to assassinate Gov. Boggs, of Missouri, and Joe Smith was indicted for being party to a

conspiracy to compass the death of Boggs, and a requisition was made upon the Governor of Illinois to deliver him up as a fugitive from justice. The requisition was granted and Smith taken into custody. Butterfield sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* before Judge Pope, U. S. district judge, of Illinois. On the day set for hearing, Smith was brought to Springfield, and in his company were his apostles. The judge had the platform, on which he was seated, supplied with chairs for the ladies of Springfield, who appeared in great numbers beside him, elegantly bedizened. When Butterfield arose, he began his remarks by saying, in his most quizzical manner, that he supposed no member of the legal profession had ever been similarly situated with himself. He said that he "was standing here defending the prophet of the Lord, before the Pope, surrounded by angels." Judge Pope very properly held that a "fugitive from justice," in the meaning of the Constitution, was one who had committed a crime in one State and fled to another. It was not pretended that the offense charged against Smith had been committed in Missouri, or that he had been out of Illinois for some years, and the court held that he was *not* a fugitive from justice, and, consequently, could not be taken on a requisition to Missouri; and he was therefore discharged.

Gov. Ford left the office of governor bankrupt. He had spent all his means in the economical support of his family, but he had made nothing but his salary of \$1200 per annum. He died soon after his retirement, and his children were compelled to be bound out to avoid being sent to the poor-house.

Gov. Bissell, as well Gov. Ford, was financially ruined by holding the office of governor. He went in with means enough to have supported himself and family in comfort during the evening of his life; but the absolutely necessary expenses of the position so far exceeded his salary as to exhaust his other means.

The effect of these inadequate salaries will be to prevent poor men from aspiring to or holding offices; and I see no difference between a law providing that no poor man *shall* hold office and one that prescribes that no poor man *can* hold office. The masses of the people labor under the delusion that slim salaries are to their advantage, when the reverse is the case. Adequate compensation should be provided for all public trusts, so that the poor man can afford to accept them as well as the rich. A poor man who accepts a place, the salary of which is inadequate to reasonably support himself and family, must either starve or steal. A Roman Proconsul or Persian Satrap could well afford to dispense with a salary when he had a rich province which he could plunder placed under his power.

conspiracy to compass the death of Rogers and a requisition was made upon the Governor of Illinois to deliver him up as a fugitive from justice. The requisition was granted and Smith taken into custody. Huntfield sent out a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Pope, U. S. district judge, of Illinois. On the day set for hearing Smith was brought to Springfield and in his company were his associates. The judge had the prisoners on which he was seated supplied with chairs for the ladies of Springfield, who appeared in great numbers beside him, elegantly bedecked. When Huntfield rose, he began his remarks by saying, in his usual quaint manner, that he supposed no member of the legal profession had ever been so highly honored as himself. He said that he "was standing here defending the property of the lady, before the Pope, surrounded by angels." Judge Pope very properly held that a "fugitive from justice," in the meaning of the Constitution, was one who had committed a crime in one State and fled to another. It was not pretended that the offense charged against Smith had been committed in Missouri, or that he had been out of Illinois for some years and the court held that he was not a fugitive from justice and, consequently, could not be taken on a requisition to Missouri, and he was therefore discharged.

Gov. Ford left the office of Governor Langdon. He had spent all his years in the economical support of his family, but he had made nothing but his salary of \$1,200 per annum. He died soon after his retirement, and his children were compelled to be bound out to avoid being sent to the poor-house.

Gov. Russell, as well Gov. Ford, was financially ruined by holding the office of governor. He went in with means enough to have supported himself and family in comfort during the evening of his life; but the absolutely necessary expenses of the position so far exceeded his salary as to exhaust his other means.

The effect of these inadequate salaries will be to prevent poor men from aspiring to or holding offices; and I see no difference between a law providing that no poor man shall hold office and one that prescribes that no poor man can hold office. The masses of the people labor under the delusion that after attaining to their advantage, when the revenue is the case, adequate compensation should be provided for all public trusts, so that the poor man can afford to accept them as well as the rich. A poor man who occupies a place the salary of which is inadequate to reasonably support himself and family, must either starve or steal. A Roman President or British Statesman could well afford to despise virtue salary when he had a rich province which he could plunder placed under his power.

I hope I shall not be understood as favoring *extravagant* salaries. My only purpose is to contribute my mite towards counter-acting a political heresy into which, I think, the public mind is drifting, and that is *cheap public services*. I shall do nothing more than enumerate the other governors, as they are of the present time, and have been your contemporaries, except Gov. Bissell, respecting whom something might be profitably said out of the ordinary course.

Augustus C. French succeeded Gov. Ford in 1846.

Joel A. Mattison succeeded Gov. French in 1853, and Gov. Mattison was followed by Wm. H. Bissell, in 1857. Bissell was born in New York, in 1811, where he studied the medical profession, and removed to Monroe County, Illinois, where he married a Miss James, a very beautiful, amiable, and accomplished lady, by whom he had two daughters, now living in Belleville, Ill., who are worthy, in every respect, of their illustrious father. Bissell had no fondness for his profession, although he had the reputation of being successful. He inclined to politics, where he displayed marked abilities. He was elected, as a Democrat, from Monroe County, to the Legislature of 1846, and was soon recognized as one of the best speakers in the House of Representatives. He was characterized by the elegance of his style and diction, and a quaint sort of satire, which was very cutting and effective. I recollect a passage at arms during that session, in which he got the better of one of our ablest Whig speakers. The Democrats made arrangements for celebrating the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, from which they desired to exclude the Whigs, who insisted upon their right to participate. One of our Whig speakers who had been in the battle, said (among other things) that many of those who were claiming the exclusive right of celebrating the day would not have been willing to place their heads where *his* had been, where a quart of bullets had been flying around it. We Whigs thought this was very good. When Bissell came to reply to this part of the speech, he said, in his clear, ringing voice, that he "would give the gentleman credit for sincerity in the statement that at least a *quart* of bullets had been flying around his head, but," said he, "it would have removed every vestige of doubt of the truth of the statement if he had gone farther and admitted that at least *one pint thereof* had lodged therein."

An ungovernable passion soon seized him to abandon his profession and betake himself to the law. He attended the sessions of the courts as diligently as any of the lawyers; his mind seemed to be engrossed with all that was going on. His friends, perceiving the bent of his inclination, advised him to procure "Black-

...Constitution," and go to work. In his rapidly spent
space of time he was admitted to practice and was soon ap-
pointed prosecuting attorney, and was in the shortest time
at once in the front rank as a lawyer. His career failed to
convict. It shortly came to a head a reputation that in
defeat where he was never engaged in any court-
ship.

Bissell practiced law in Washington County, New York, and was
defended by him in the case of the *Ex parte* *W. C. C. C.*,
and was defended by him in the case of the *Ex parte* *W. C. C. C.*,
had boundless influence in the community. He was
leading politician in the county, and was the only man who
doubt the guilt, and was the only man who was not
He had an interest in the case, and was the only man who
with great zeal and ability, and was the only man who
presenting the facts, and was the only man who was not
new and fresh, and was the only man who was not
the jury in the case, and was the only man who was not
was a man of great ability, and was the only man who was not
he had won the sympathy of the jury, and was the only man who was not
the sympathy of the jury, and was the only man who was not
sell in his power, and was the only man who was not
was a man of great ability, and was the only man who was not
air, and was the only man who was not
employed in the case, and was the only man who was not
portrayed the facts, and was the only man who was not
around the case, and was the only man who was not
with the facts, and was the only man who was not
wounded, and was the only man who was not
the grave, and was the only man who was not
clansy men, and was the only man who was not
played their part, and was the only man who was not
a dry eye in the house, and was the only man who was not
because an inevitable result of the forward action
and opposing of the facts, and was the only man who was not
Bissell were all men of great ability, and was the only man who was not

Wm. A. Bissell

I realized that the name of Bissell was stamped itself indeli-
bly in my mind. I see it in the vision of the night. I hear his
burning eloquence, to this day, ringing in my ears. He triumphed,
and poor Casey was found guilty. If that effort had been taken
down, and could be read by any of itself—it would have made
the name of Wm. A. Bissell known to all. The Mexican war broke out
The Mexican war broke out, and was the only man who was not

stone's Commentaries," and go to work. In an incredibly short space of time he was admitted to practice, and was soon appointed prosecuting-attorney, and was in his element. He stood at once in the front rank as a prosecutor. He never failed to convict. It shortly came to be considered a hopeless task to defend where he was prosecuting. He was equal to any emergency.

Bissell prosecuted, for murder, a man named Raney, who *lived* in Washington County, but was *tried* at Carlyle, Clinton County, and was defended by Judge Breese, in his own county, where he had boundless influence. Raney was a respectable man, and leading politician in the dominant party; there was great room to doubt his guilt, and the court instructed strongly in his favor. He had an interesting wife and family. Breese defended him with great zeal and ability. He left no stone unturned; but after presenting the facts and law of the case with remarkable clearness and force, he ventured upon an appeal to the sympathies of the jury in behalf of the wife and little children of his client. It was a most powerful effort, and the by-standers all believed that he had saved his man. But not so; by his efforts to work upon the sympathies of the jury, he had opened a door which let Bissell in to play upon their feelings. This was *his* forte. The scene was at night; the room was dimly lighted, and wore a sepulchral air; and such word-painting I shall never hear again as Bissell employed on that occasion. He turned the picture over and portrayed the murdered man in his grave, his winding-sheet around him, his hair matted with clay, and his shroud clotted with blood, streams of crimson gore trickling still from his gaping wounds. He drew the mother and little children to the edge of the grave, where they could take a last look at the cold and clammy remains of their beloved husband and father. He depicted their agony in such heart-rending terms as to scarcely leave a dry eye in the house. He turned the tide of sympathy, and it became an irresistible torrent in behalf of the bereaved widow and offspring of the dead. The effects of the splendid efforts of Breese were all swept away.

I realized then, to its fullest extent, the power of language in the mouth of a master over the feelings of mankind. The picture drawn by Bissell on that occasion has stamped itself indelibly in my mind. I see it in the visions of the night. I hear his burning eloquence, to this day, ringing in my ears. He triumphed, and poor Raney was found guilty. If that effort had been taken down, and could be read by us—of itself—it would have made the name of Wm. H. Bissell immortal.

The Mexican war broke out. Bissell embarked in it, and com-

manded the 2d Illinois regiment with great ability and gallantry, and, together with the late lamented Hardin, Clay, of Kentucky, and Jeff. Davis, of Mississippi, was highly instrumental in saving the day at the perilous battle of Buena Vista. On his return from the war, he was extremely popular. He was engaging in his manners, eminent as a speaker, and brought with him a glorious record from the war. He was immediately elected to Congress, where he promptly became conspicuous. An event soon occurred which still more endeared him to the people of his district.

In 1850, a Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, indulging in the delusion—then so prevalent in the South—that one Southern man was equal, in battle, to a host of Northerners, in a speech claimed all the credit of our victory at Buena Vista for the Southern regiments. Bissell replied to him with so much firmness, severity, and effect, that it was determined, in solemn conclave, that speeches of such boldness and ability on the Northern side of the House could not be longer tolerated, and that Bissell's mouth must be closed, and the best way to reform him would be to disgrace or exterminate him.

Jeff. Davis was selected as the minister to carry this laudable purpose into effect, and he chose to consider that claiming a share of the honor of the victory for Northern troops was a reflection upon the gallantry of his regiment. Bissell had been in the highest degree complimentary to Davis's command, as well as to the rest of the Southern regiments. No man, who had the slightest conception of fairness, could take umbrage at Bissell's remarks in reference to the conduct of the Southern troops in that engagement. But Davis affected to regard it otherwise, and challenged Bissell to mortal combat. He knew the latter to be as brave as Cæsar, but thought that the effect of early education and popular opinion in the North would influence him to decline its acceptance, and then they could hector and domineer over him *ad libitum*. Contrary to the expectations, Bissell accepted to fight with muskets, loaded with ball and buckshot, at ten paces. This, it was known, would be certain death to Davis, and that result was not in the programme.

The next question was, how to extricate Davis from this dilemma. It was done in this wise: Mrs. Dr. Linn, of Missouri, a very intimate friend of Mrs. Davis, went, the night before the affair was to come off, to the White House and waked Gen. Taylor, President of the United States, informing him of what was pending. The President hurriedly notified the mayor of the city, and the belligerents were placed under immediate arrest, and thus the affair ended; but no attempts were made after that to "bull-doze" Bissell. He was afterwards (in 1856) elected governor as a free-

soiler, and died, soon after the close of his term, from the effects of an injury to his spine, occasioned by the falling of the seat of a wagon on which he was riding, which threw him with his back across the side of the wagon-bed. This paralyzed his lower limbs, and from it he subsequently died. Although he was unable to walk, yet his glorious intellect was bright and vigorous to the last. He conducted a campaign for congress and one for governor, both successfully, while he was unable to walk a step.

A somewhat singular incident occurred while he was governor. The Democrats obtained a majority in the legislature, and passed two bills—an *appropriation* bill, and an *apportionment* bill. Bissell intended to veto the latter and approve the former. In external appearance, the bills resembled each other, and were both placed on the governor's table at the same time, and Bissell, through inadvertance, approved of the wrong bill—the one he intended to veto. It was communicated to the house that the governor had approved the *apportionment* bill. This occasioned a great stir, as his purposes had been generally well known. As soon as he discovered his blunder, he called in his friends to consult as to what should be done. Mr. Lincoln, and N. B. Judd, of this city, were called in, and I was also invited. We advised the governor to get hold of the bill and strike his approval off, which he did; and upon the case coming up before the Supreme Court, on writ of *mandamus*, they held that he had the right do so.

I venture the opinion that Illinois had, at one time, in the persons of Edward D. Baker—who was killed at Ball's Bluff—and William H. Bissell, the two best extemporaneous speakers in the United States. Baker's speeches appear best in the reading, Bissell's in the delivery. Baker seldom gained his point, Bissell never lost his. Baker had the more poetical imagination, Bissell the best appreciation of facts. Baker could best tickle the fancy, Bissell could the more effectually rouse the passions. Baker could entrance an audience, Bissell could carry them with him. Baker spoke for fame, Bissell for effect. Neither Baker nor Bissell needed any time for preparation. Their ideas seemed to come to them by intuition. Baker had the most culture, Bissell the most sense. Baker was sometimes too profuse in his decorations of his subject, which was occasionally thereby hidden from view. Bissell never over-adorned his topic.—I could refer to many more incidents in the career of Baker and Bissell, with whom I was well acquainted, but time and space forbid. I will close, as to them, by remarking that neither of them had a particle of "*money-sense*."

Richard Yates followed Bissell, as governor, in 1860.

Richard J. Oglesby came after Governor Yates, in 1864.

John M. Palmer succeeded Governor Oglesby, in 1868.

John L. Beveridge came after Governor Palmer, in 1873.

And last, but not least, Shelby M. Cullum, in 1876.

I should like, if time permitted, to say something of Yates, who is dead and gone. He was one of the "noblest Romans of them all," but he lived in our own day, and I could say nothing concerning him that you do not know as well as I do.

Of the "latter-day saints," Oglesby, Palmer, Beveridge, and Cullum, they are still "monuments of God's mercy," and are still spared to us. It is not becoming on this occasion to speak of the living, and I hope it will be a long time before it will be fitting to speak of them as the departed. When that time comes, no man will be justified in saying aught of them, except in terms of the highest commendation.

I have discussed the governors, now I will turn back and take up a few names, here and there, which I consider deserve particular mention.

Peter Menard is one. He was born in 1767, in Quebec, and emigrated to this country prior to 1786, and contributed to the conquest of Kaskaskia and Vincennes by George Rogers Clarke. He was opposed to the British rule, and was American in all his sympathies. He was extremely enterprising and adventurous, and soon obtained a great influence over the Indians with whom he traded, which he turned to good account in our war of 1812.

He was the first lieutenant-governor of the State. Honesty, energy, and *benevolence* were the predominant traits in his character. It is related of him, in proof of his *benevolence*, that at one time there was a great scarcity of salt in the settlements, and as it was an indispensable article, the people, in the early part of the season, called upon Menard, who had the only supply there was outside of St. Louis, to engage it from him. He would not tell them whether they could get it or not, but directed them to come to his house on a certain day and he would let them know. They came, at the appointed time, and were seated. Menard passed around, and would ask each one, "You got money?" Some said they had, and some said they had not, but would pay as soon as they killed their hogs. Those who had money he directed to range themselves on one side of the room, and those who had none were to take the other. Of course, those who had money expected to get the salt, and the others were crestfallen. Menard soon spoke up, in his brusque way, and said: "You men who got de money can go to St. Louis for your salt. Dese poor men, who got no money, shall have my salt, by gar!"

This was not an ostentatious display on his part, it was per-

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Of the "Saturday evening" Cabinet, Palmer, Beveridge, and Cullum, they are all "monuments of God's mercy," and we still appear to us. It is not becoming on this occasion to speak of the living, and I hope it will be long time before it will be fitting to speak of them as the departed. When that time comes, no man will be justified in saying aught of them, except in terms of the highest commendation.

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This was not an ostentatious display on his part. It was per-

factly in character. He did not know much about parliamentary proceedings, and he was presiding over the deliberations of the State Senate. He thought if he was opposed to a measure, he was not bound to put it to a vote. A proposition came up to memorialize the treasurer of the United States to receive bills of the Bank of Edwardsville in payment for lands, which he believed would be the means of defrauding the Government, and he refused to put it to a vote. His friends explained to him that it was his duty to put it to vote, and he said: "Gentlemen, if I mus', I mus'. You who are in favor of this resolution, will signify the same by saying '*aye*,' but I bet ten thousand dollar Congre' never make him land-office money; you who are opposed will say '*no*.'" Menard was wrong in one of his conjectures. Congress *did* make it "land-office money." But he was right in the other; the bank did defraud the Government out of some \$40,000. Menard's hospitality was boundless. He entertained every comer, Indians as well as the whites, who called on him. He provided for the comfort of all his superannuated slaves, and did the same with the last remnant of the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians. He contended that the Indians were the best physiognomists he ever knew. He told me that some wild Indians called upon him once, and were sitting in his parlor, on the walls of which were hung several portraits of distinguished men, among which was one of the great Napoleon. He observed the Indians eyeing it, and he inquired if they had ever seen it before. They said, "no." Said he, "What do you think of him?" "Very great brave."

I regret that I am compelled to forbear any farther consideration of the life and character of these eminent old French and Swiss pioneers. Without them, this country would not have been discovered so soon. Without them, we should have had greater difficulties to encounter from the Indians. They could penetrate farther into the Western wilds than the Americans. They were better acquainted with the Indian character than we were. To some of these we are largely indebted for services in more recent times. It may not be generally known, but it is nevertheless true, that one of the finest military engineers in the world was Gen. Gratiot, who designed and constructed Fortress Monroe, and who, for a long time, was at the head of the engineering department of the United States. He was a man of the strictest integrity added to great professional ability. If that fortress had not been so formidable, and had fallen into the hands of the rebels, it might have cost greater efforts, and loss of life and treasure, to have maintained the supremacy of the laws and the integrity of the Union.

Gen. Gratiot belonged to one of those French families. I can

feely in character. He did not know much about parliamentary proceedings and he was presiding over the deliberations of the State Senate. He thought if he was opposed to a measure, he was not bound to put it to a vote. A proposition came up to memorialize the President of the United States to receive bills of the kind of Adamsville in payment for lands, which he believed would be the means of defrauding the Government, and he refused to put it to a vote. His friends explained to him that it was his duty to put it to vote, and he said: "Gentlemen, if I must, I must. But who are in favor of this resolution, will signify the same by saying 'aye,' but I let ten thousand dollars' worth of money make him land office money; you who are opposed will say 'no.' " "Money was wrong in one of his conjectures. Congress did make it 'land office money.' But he was right in the other; the bank did defraud the Government out of some \$400,000. Adamsville's honesty was dishonest. He entertained every country Indian as well as the whites, who called on him. He provided for the comfort of all his superannuated slaves, and did the same with the last remnant of the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians. He contended that the Indians were the best physiognomists he ever knew. He told me that some wild Indians called upon him once and were sitting in his parlor on the walls of which were hung several portraits of distinguished men, among which was one of the great Napoleon. He observed the Indians eyeing it, and he inquired if they had ever seen it before. They said, "no," said he, "What do you think of him?" "Very great power."

I regret that I am compelled to forbear any further consideration of the life and character of these contemptible French and Swiss pioneers. Without them this country would not have been discovered so soon. Without them we should have had greater difficulties to encounter from the Indians. They could penetrate farther into the Western wilds than the Americans. They were better acquainted with the Indian character than we were. To some of these we are largely indebted for services in more recent times. It may not be generally known, but it is nevertheless true that one of the finest military engineers in the world was Gen. Gist, who designed and constructed Fort Mifflin, and who for a long time was at the head of the engineering department of the United States. He was a man of the strictest integrity added to great professional ability. If that country had not been so barbarized and had fallen into the hands of the rebels, it might have cost greater efforts and loss of life and treasure to have maintained the supremacy of the law and the integrity of the Union.

Gen. Gist belonged to one of those French families, I can

say that, after devoting all his energies to the promotion of the welfare of his country, Gen. Gratiot was poorly requited.

Nicholas Jarrott, and his son Vital, also deserve favorable mention in this connection. The father was born in Rochelle, in France, and emigrated to this country at an early day, and settled in Cahokia, where his son was born. The old gentleman was ardently devoted to the institutions of our country. He directed his attention principally to business, in which he was highly successful, and died leaving a large estate to his numerous offspring.

His widow departed this life a year or so ago, at a very advanced age. She was uncommonly intelligent and interesting in conversation. She could have shed a flood of light upon the early history of Illinois, and particularly upon the French settlements; and I have heard that she left very valuable papers upon that subject, which it would be well for those interested in antiquarian research to secure. I would advise the secretary of this Society to correspond with George L. Brackett, of East St. Louis (her grandson), in reference to this matter. Like her husband, she was extremely kind-hearted and benevolent.

Vital Jarrott was a very enterprising, intelligent, and public-spirited citizen. Late in life, he sunk a large fortune in endeavoring to sustain the East St. Louis rolling-mill, whereby he was reduced from affluence to poverty after he was seventy years of age. So punctiliously honest was he, that he paid out the last cent of his private means before one of the employes should suffer. His energy was so great, however, that he pushed out, at the age of seventy-three, to try to retrieve his fortunes in the *Black Hills*, where he died from toil and exposure not long ago.

Mr. Lincoln was a warm friend and great admirer of Vital Jarrott, and almost forced upon him the office of Indian Agent. No better selection could have been made. He was honest, enlightened, and humane, and discharged the arduous duties of the position with remarkable ability and fidelity. He soon gained the confidence and respect of the Indians, and I feel sure that if he had been retained, and his policy adopted, the relations between the whites and the aborigines would have been much more satisfactory than they are. He was intimately acquainted with the Indian character, having spent a good deal of time trading with them in the mountains, and he had just and humane views respecting the treatment they should receive. He did not adopt the prevalent dogma, that "the red man had no rights that the white man was bound to respect." He felt that the finger of destiny pointed unerringly to the speedy annihilation of the race, but he was for smoothing their pathway as much as possible.

I wish to make a remark here about the unreliability of history

in its minor aspects. About 1820, a man named James D. Henry settled in Edwardsville. He was a shoemaker, and a very remarkable man. He was the most magnificent specimen I ever saw. His courage was that of a lion, his gentleness that of a lamb. It was learned after a while that he was the illegitimate offspring of a Major Henry, of the United States army. His mother's name was Dougherty. He was raised in indigence and obscurity, but he inwardly felt the irresistible aspirations belonging to his nature. He felt that he possessed the highest qualities of manhood and greatness, and yet was doomed, by the accident of birth, to ignominy. He was extremely unhappy, and yet he was extremely ambitious. He knew that he was greatly admired; still, he would never go into society. He found himself, at maturity, illiterate, and he resolved to supply this defect. He became almost frantic at the thought of his deficiency in this respect. His circumstances would not permit him to neglect his business in the daytime, and so he attended a "night-school," kept by a man named Wm. Barrett. I attended along with him. He was the most earnest student I ever knew. He would beg me to come to his shop and read to him, while he was at work, which I often did. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable. History was his favorite study, and next to that, "Brown's Dictionary of the Bible." He studied history on account of the light it shed on military affairs, in which direction his ambition tended, and his perception of his aptitudes led him. His theological opinions were of the Calvinist stripe. He was a thorough fatalist. He studied everything appertaining to military affairs, with the most intense application. He idolized Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Napoleon. He was familiar with every evolution of those great masters of the art of war, in their battles and campaigns. His taste led him to the organization of a military company, in Edwardsville, which he trained and disciplined. About 1826, he was established in the business of merchandizing at Springfield, by Joshua Atwater. His predilection continued, and, in the summer of 1827, he appeared at the head of a battalion of volunteers in the lead-mines, to quell the Winnebago disturbance. I met with him, and found him in his element, until he discovered there would be no war. Then he was despondent, and regarded the "fates" as using their malign influence against him.

In 1831, he was again in the field to drive back the Sacs and Foxes, and again he was disappointed and driven almost to distraction by the retreat of the Indians, without a battle. In 1832, on the renewal of the invasion by Black Hawk, he again appeared on his favorite theatre; and this time, his aspirations were, to

some extent, gratified. He fought nearly all the battles and gained all the victories of the campaign, contrary to the orders of his military superiors. He was truly and emphatically the Alpha and Omega of the war, and yet I am informed that his name does not appear in the archives of the Government, as connected with its military affairs. He is as completely ignored as if he had never been born.

Such is history in the full blaze of the enlightenment of the nineteenth century. Henry was fully the equal of Cromwell, of Lord Clive, and of Gen. Jackson, as a natural-born hero; but the goddess of fortune was inauspicious, and he died unwept, unhonored, and his glories comparatively unsung. I refer my hearers, for all that remains of the fame of James D. Henry, to the brief sketches, in the histories of Illinois, by ex-governor John Reynolds and Thomas Ford, who have endeavored to rescue his name from complete oblivion. He was nominated, at the close of the Black-Hawk war, for governor, by universal acclaim, and would have been elected but for his untimely death in New Orleans, whither he had gone to retrieve his health, which he had lost by exposures in the campaign. His character was a singular compound; when he was unexcited, he was as mild as a May-morning; when aroused to anger, he was terrible as a tornado, and his voice and manner would strike terror into the stoutest hearts. He was as ambitious in his aspirations as Lucifer; and as humble in his pretensions as Lazarus. He was wonderfully reticent as to what he was, but extremely communicative as to what he would like to be.

Another instance of the unjust partiality of history, or rather the stuff of which it is made, is the case of John J. Hardin, who was a worthy scion of an illustrious Kentucky family, conspicuous for talents, virtues, and prestige. Like most Kentucky lawyers, he was thoroughly educated in his profession. He emigrated to Illinois at an early day—prior to 1830, I think—and settled in Jacksonville, then the most growing town in the State. By dint of his diligence, ability, and integrity, he soon took a position in the front ranks, at the bar, and obtained a lucrative practice. His capacity, and the confidence he inspired, brought him into the political arena. He first served the people of Morgan County, in the legislature, and he did it with great ability and effect. I remember that he was greatly annoyed with measures looking to dividing or taking off slices from his county. At that day, the country was overrun with a class of men whose sole business consisted in buying tracts of land, and laying them off into town-lots, and then set to work to have a new county formed, of which their location was to be the county-seat. They were invariably

shrewd, managing fellows, and there were so many of them hanging around, and their combinations were so extensive and artfully contrived, and could be made to subserve the interests of so many members, that it was almost impossible to defeat their schemes. Hardin, however, went at those who were menacing his county, with all his ardor and energy, and he never failed to defeat them; and no change could be made in the boundaries of his county to which he did not assent. He soon became prominent for a seat in Congress, to which he was elected, and occupied a conspicuous position. He was a thorough-paced Whig and had such men to compete with, in his own party, as E. D. Baker and Abraham Lincoln, and in the opposite ranks, John Calhoun and Stephen A. Douglas; but he was universally admitted to be the equal of any of his antagonists in either party. I consider him the strongest of any that I have named among the people. He was an indomitable worker, and absolutely fearless in the expressions of his opinions, and he attached his friends to him with "hooks of steel." While Lincoln, Baker, and Hardin were rivals, there were no unkind feelings between *them*, but the people, holding them as having equal pretensions, gave them a seat in Congress, by turns. Hardin had one quality which endeared him to the public, he was considered as having aptitudes for military affairs. He was adjutant for Duncan, in 1831, in the first Black-Hawk campaign, and made himself immensely popular with the men; but as Black Hawk retreated, and there was no engagement, Hardin had no opportunity of distinguishing himself. When the Mexican war broke out, he immediately raised a regiment and entered that service, where he perished. I went to see him embark from Alton, and, when bidding him farewell, I had a presentiment that he would never return, and remarked, when I went home, that I felt satisfied that I would never see John J. Hardin again. I knew that he possessed uncommon gallantry, and would at all hazards distinguish himself, and I suppose that led me to think that he would be killed in battle; something like this is the foundation of what is called a *presentiment*.

Hardin was a man of clear head, strong will, and sound judgment; just and honorable in his purposes; faithful to his friends, but not disposed to yield in the slightest degree to his enemies until he had obtained the mastery over them. Napoleon is said to have asserted that if Hoche had lived, *he* would not have cut the figure he did. He did not regard Hoche as his superior, but he did believe there was enough of him to divide the honors with him, and make it doubtful which would have been in the ascendant. I think the death of Hardin was not detrimental to Lincoln. Hardin had high aspirations, strong convictions, and

resolute purposes, and, had he survived the Mexican war, he would have added to his other elements of popularity great military renown. He loved to hunt, and while on one of his excursions, one of his eyes was blown out by the explosion of the gun at the breech. Such, however, was his indomitable will, that he walked home—several miles—suffering the most intense pain and agony, which would have unnerved any other person. He was a man of medium height, erect figure, square build, with a pair of highly-expressive hazel eyes. His step was firm and elastic, with a striking military bearing. His physique was in perfect harmony with his mind. Taken altogether, John J. Hardin contained the elements out of which very great men are made.

I shall next speak of a remarkable personage, who figured here in early times, named Benjamin Mills. Ben emigrated to this country in 1819, I think, and settled at Greenville, Bond County, and afterwards removed to Galena. He was the son of an eminent Presbyterian divine in Massachusetts, where Ben was born and raised. He was a lawyer by profession, and had a wonderful faculty of remembering everything he had written. Ben had been required to copy all his father's sermons, and consequently knew them all "by heart." His father started him out West with a reasonable outfit. Ben fell in with a man named Wait, who was a wonderful singer. They got on a spree, and on reaching Richmond, Virginia, found themselves strapped, and in order to "raise the wind," Ben "gave out" that he was going West on missionary service. He was invited to preach, which he did with wonderful unction. His rehearsal of some of his father's sermons in his inimitable manner, coupled with Wait's magnificent singing, carried Richmond by storm. The enthusiastic Virginians would not tolerate the idea of allowing such splendid apostles to go empty-handed to the work of converting the heathen, and their exchequer was filled to overflowing.

The "missionaries" went on their way rejoicing, and in due time reached Illinois, where Mills hung out his shingle in the profane calling of a lawyer. He soon started on the circuit, and won renown. His eloquence and wit were unequaled, and he had no drawback except that he was a Yankee. He was soon appointed justice of the peace in Greenville, which was a sort of Athens in Illinois, where talent and culture were estimated above birthplace. At that time, the law made it the duty of a justice of the peace to impose a fine of one dollar upon every person who should utter an oath in his (the justice of the peace's) hearing; but it was understood by some to give him the liberty of remitting it upon discovering proper symptoms of contrition.

Ben and an old gentleman named Enloe, who was also a jus-

tice of the peace, were walking together one day, when Ben uttered an oath. In a few minutes he had occasion to go to his office, and immediately rejoined Enloe. When they were about parting, Enloe said: "Brother Mills, I suppose you know that it is made my duty to impose a fine upon you for profane swearing?" Mills replied: "Brother Enloe, you are a little too late. I have just been to my office where I have entered a fine against myself, and, having discovered signs of proper contrition, I am now considering the propriety of remitting it." This was satisfactory to Brother Enloe, a good old Presbyterian, who gave Mills a large share of credit on account of the piety of his father. Mills was an accomplished scholar, a genuine wit, and a finished lawyer. He, in conjunction with Alfred Cowles, prosecuted Winchester for the killing of Daniel D. Smith, in Edwardsville, about 1823. Felix Grundy, the unequaled criminal lawyer of the West and South, defended. I heard them, and it was difficult to determine which was the ablest man. Mills was decidedly the most eloquent, Grundy, the most adroit; but he was driven to make use of the prejudice against Yankees in order to save his client, who was a Western man, while Smith was from the East. The jury, with the exception of a Mr. Bennet (who afterwards removed to and died at Galena), were Western men, and Grundy appealed to their prejudices incessantly. He said he had never encountered such a competitor as Mills, and that he considered it inhuman to employ a man of such ability in the prosecution; that it was not giving the accused a fair chance.

Mills was a member of the legislature from Jo Daviess County during the proceedings for the impeachment of Judge Smith, and he was appointed one of the managers. On that occasion he distinguished himself. His effort was looked upon as transcendently great. I have heard the Hon. Cyrus Edwards (who was a master of elocution and a severe critic in that realm, and who was familiar with the efforts of all the famous orators of Kentucky) declare that he never heard a more finished, scholarly, or eloquent oration, and that it could not be surpassed. Brilliant passages from his address were quoted on the streets at Vandalia for a long time afterwards, and they were truly gems of thought set in the most brilliant language.

Mills was afterwards a candidate for Congress in the Galena district, on the Whig side, against William L. May. He made a splendid canvass, but was defeated in consequence of the popularity of Gen. Jackson, and the zeal of his partisans. Ben died soon after. His forte, however, was his quickness in repartee, of which I shall endeavor to give a few instances. On one occasion, A. W. Caverly demurred *generally* to one of Ben's plead-

ings. The defect insisted on could only be taken advantage of by a *special* demurrer, which, when Caverly discovered, he insisted that his demurrer was *special*, because he had "*underscored*" parts of it. The court, of course, decided against Caverly. Afterwards, at dinner, Caverly sent his plate to Mills to be helped to a slice of what he supposed to be venison. Mills supplied him. Caverly said: "Brother Mills, I sent for venison and you helped me to beef." Mills replied: "*Underscore* it, Brother Caverly, and that will make it venison."

Mills was bald-headed; Caverly had bushy hair. Caverly said to him one day: "Brother Mills, you have a prairie *on* your head." Mills said to him: "Caverly, the difference between us is, that while I have a prairie *on* my head, you have a prairie *in* yours."

Mills joined a temperance society once; and, while he was a member, the style of drinking-vessels changed from tumblers to wineglasses. He relapsed, and was found, by David Prickett, in a grocery flourishing a wineglass in his hand. Prickett said to him: "Mills, I thought you had quit drinking." "So I have," said Mills, holding up his *little* glass, "in a *great* measure."

He was engaged in a law-suit in Galena, before Judge Young, and had a colored man for a client; the other party was a white man. They compromised the case out of court, and Mills told the parties to follow him and he would get the judge to enter the terms of the compromise upon his minutes. But the judge said: "Mr. Mills, the court will pay no attention to your agreements unless they are reduced to writing." Mills, pointing to the parties, said: "If your Honor please, here it is, in *black* and *white*."

These are a few of the innumerable instances of his quickness at repartee. Mills' conversational powers could not be surpassed; and he was the soul of every convivial party. The only man I have ever known, or read of, to whom he bore a striking resemblance, was the celebrated Irish orator, Curran. He was not ambitious for office, and only ran at the solicitation of his friends. I regret that time will not permit me to speak of other conspicuous men of early days in Illinois. I have been requested to allude to the early times in the Galena lead-mines, which may not be amiss, although I do not know that I can say anything respecting them which is not as well, if not better, known by others now living than myself.

My brother, Matthew, and I left Edwardsville on the 22d of February, 1827, to seek our fortunes at the mines. The winter had been a very "open" one, more so, I think, than the one through which we have just passed, but had been very wet. The whole country was covered with water, and as there were but few

ing. The defect insisted on could only be given advantage by a speech denouncing which, when Caverly discovered, he insisted that his denunciation was speech, because he had "asked away" parts of it. The court of course decided against Caverly. After wards, at dinner, Caverly sent his plate to Mills to be helped to slice of what he supposed to be venison. Mills supplied him. Caverly said: "Brother Mills, I sent for venison and you helped me to beef." Mills replied: "Ask away it, Brother Caverly, and that will make it venison."

Mills was bold-headed; Caverly had bushy hair. Caverly said to him one day: "Brother Mills, you have a picture on your head." Mills said to him: "Caverly, the difference between us is that while I have a picture on my head, you have a picture in yours."

Mills joined a temperance society early; and, while he was a member, the style of drinking-words changed from tumbler to wineglass. He refused, and was found by David Frost, in a grocery hawking wineglasses in his hand. Frost said to him: "Mills, I thought you had quit drinking." "So I have," said Mills, holding up his wine-glass, "in a glass measure."

He was engaged in a lawsuit in Galena, before Judge Young, and had a colored man for a client; the other party was a white man. They compromised the case out of court, and Mills told the parties to follow him and he would get the judge to enter the terms of the compromise upon his minutes. But the judge said: "Mr. Mills, the court will pay no attention to your representations unless they are reduced to writing." Mills, pointing to the party, said: "If your Honor please, here it is, in ink and red-ink." There are a few of the innumerable instances of his quackery at reputation. Mills' constitutional powers could not be surpassed, and he was the kind of every-day party. The only man I have ever known, or read of, to whom he bore a striking resemblance was the celebrated Irish statesman, O'Connell. He was not ambitious for office, and only ran at the solicitation of his friends.

I regret that time will not permit me to speak of other contemporaries of early days in Illinois. I have been requested to allude to the early times in the Galena lead-mines which may not be axiomatic, although I do not know that I can say anything respecting them which is not as well, if not better, known by others now living than myself.

My brother, Matthew, and I left Edwardsville on the 27th of February, 1837, to seek our fortune at the mines. The winter had been a very "open" one, more so, I think, than the one through which we have just passed, but had been very wet. The whole country was covered with water, and as there was but few

bridges, we were compelled to swim nearly every stream between Edwardsville and Galena, and "camp out" every night. After passing Springfield, where we rested the third night, we ferried the Illinois River at Fort Clark (now Peoria), and Rock River where Dixon now stands. It was occupied by a band of Winnebago Indians, with whom we bivouaced and bargained for ferriage the next morning. During the night it turned very cold, and in the morning the Indians either would not or could not take us over, and so we took their canoes and crossed, ourselves. This was the first bitter cold weather we had experienced. We arrived at Vinegar Hill on the night of the 19th day out. Soon after, I went to the neighborhood of Gratiot's Grove. This grove, which was one of the most beautiful spots on earth, was occupied by Henry Gratiot, who was engaged in the smelting business. Of Mr. Gratiot I must say a few words. He was one of the noblest of God's creation. He was enterprising, energetic, honest, and honorable in the highest degree. He was benevolent to a fault. I had the pleasure of being better acquainted with him than generally falls to the lot of an obscure young man with one of *his* position and character.*

In the fall of 1830, he traveled on horseback from the mines to St. Louis. He stopped at my father's house on the road, and left his horse (which was very much jaded) with us to recruit. I

* Among the early and distinguished settlers of Illinois was Henry Gratiot, to whom allusion has been made in the foregoing pages. He removed from St. Louis to Fever-River Lead Mines, (now Galena) in 1824, having determined to leave Missouri on account of his hatred of slavery and a desire to bring up his family in a free-state. He was born in the little French village of St. Louis in 1789, and died while on a visit to Baltimore, Md., April 26, 1836. He was the son of Charles Gratiot, one of the founders of St. Louis. The Gratiots were of a Huguenot family, driven from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and settled in Switzerland. Charles Gratiot having received an excellent education in his own country, emigrated to America in 1777, reaching St. Louis (by the way of Canada), where he arrived in the same year.

From his education, acquirements, and business capacity he soon became one of the most influential residents of the embryo village.

He warmly espoused the cause of the Revolution, and different from nearly the whole population of the town, he hailed with pleasure the treaty which annexed Louisiana Territory to the United States. When the transfer of the Sovereignty took place, March 10, 1804, and the flag of France was lowered in the presence of a great multitude amid sighs and tears, Charles Gratiot unfurled the first American flag in upper Louisiana on the balcony of his own residence. He left a family of four sons and five daughters. The second of the sons was the subject of this notice. The eldest son, General Charles Gratiot, was one of the earliest graduates of West Point, distinguished himself as

bridges, we were compelled to swim nearly every stick between Kewanee and Galena, and "crump out" every night. After passing Springfield, where we rented the third night, we turned the Illinois River at Fort Clark (now Fort) and Rock River where Dixon now stands. It was occupied by a band of Winnebago Indians with whom we divested and bargained for furs the next morning. During the night it turned very cold, and in the morning the Indians either would not or could not take us over, and so we took their canoes and crossed ourselves. We arrived at Vinona Hill on the night of the 15th day out. Soon after, I went to the neighborhood of Grant's Grove. This grove which was one of the most beautiful spots on earth, was occupied by Henry Grant, who was engaged in the smoking business. Mr. Grant I must say a few words. He was one of the noblest of God's creation. He was enterprising, energetic, honest, and honorable in the highest degree. He was devoted to a fault. I had the pleasure of being better acquainted with him than really falls to the lot of an obscure young man with one of his position and character.

In the fall of 1830, he traveled on horseback from the mines to St. Louis. He stopped at my father's house on the road, and left his horse (which was very much faded) with us to return.

* Among the early and distinguished settlers of Illinois was Henry Grant, to whom attention has been made in the foregoing pages. He arrived from St. Louis to Fort-Clark (now Galena) in 1825, having been named to leave Illinois on account of his hatred of slavery and a desire to bring up his family in a free state. He was born in the Irish French village of St. Louis in 1785, and died while on a visit to Baltimore, Md., April 20, 1851. He was the son of Charles Grant, one of the founders of St. Louis. The Grants were of a distinguished family, whose name shines after the name of the Earl of Grant and settled in Switzerland. Charles Grant having received an excellent education in his own country, migrated to America in 1777, teaching St. Louis for the way of Kentucky, where he arrived in the same year.

From his education, acquirements, and business capacity he soon became one of the most influential residents of the country. He warmly espoused the cause of the free state, and suffered great results the whole population of the town, he battled with pleasure the slavery which threatened Louisiana Territory to the United States. When the transfer of the sovereignty took place, Grant for that, and the day of France was known in the presence of a great multitude held high and low. Charles Grant on behalf the first American flag in upper Louisiana on the 15th of July 1803. He left a family of four sons and two daughters. The second of the sons was the subject of this notice. The eldest son (Charles Grant) died, was one of the earliest graduates of West Point, distinguished himself

took him to St. Louis, and on the way I remember he gave me the most graphic and entertaining description of French life and society (before the advent of the Americans) I had ever heard. He died at an early age, in the midst of his usefulness, universally regretted by all who had known or heard of him. I never think of him without recalling his virtues.

I spent three summers and one winter at the mines. There were estimated to be 10,000 adventurers there during the summer of 1827, some from Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri, but much the greater portion from Illinois. The Missourians were chiefly from the lower mines (as they were called), and were old miners. There were some "*voyageurs*" from Canada and the "Red-River Country." Also, some Swiss from the "Selkirk Settlement," who brought their families with them. The Canadians and Swiss settled about Gratiot's Grove. There were, also, a few Cornish miners from England. The Irish were there in large force. Neither the Irish, Swiss, Canadians, or those from the lower mines in Missouri, were called "*Suckers*;" nor was any one called a "Sucker" after he had "wintered" in the mining country. The term was exclusively applicable to Illinoisans, who went up in the spring and returned in the fall. They were so-called because, in their roving habits, they resembled the fish known as the *sucker*, which went up the streams in the spring and came down in the

an engineer officer in the war of 1812, and finally became chief engineer of the United States army. Many monuments to his skill still survive him. Henry Gratiot married Susan Hempstead, a daughter of Stephen Hempstead, a revolutionary soldier and one of the earliest emigrants from Connecticut to upper Louisiana Territory. She was the sister of the Hon. Edward Hempstead, the first delegate in Congress from Missouri Territory and all the vast country west of the Mississippi River, and also of Charles S. Hempstead, one of the early lawyers of Galena, as well as of Wm. Hempstead, one of the most prominent of the early merchants of that town.

Mr. Henry Gratiot and his brother J. P. B. Gratiot were among the first men to develop the Fever-River Lead Mines, and for a long time carried on an immense business in mining and smelting. Their smelting works at Gratiot's Grove, now in Lafayette County, Wis., were among the most extensive of the time. At that period the Indians held the title to the land and from them they purchased the right to mine and smelt lead ore on Indian Territory.

Such was the character of their dealings with the Indians that no men ever enjoyed their confidence and friendship to a higher degree. It was these relations with the Indians that enabled Mr. Henry Gratiot to have such an influence over them during the Black-Hawk war. Exercising the functions of Indian Agent at this time his services were of inestimable value to the whole white population. A man of great enterprise, liberal, generous, and just, his name was everywhere the synonym of probity, honor, and business integrity. Three sons now survive him, Col. Charles H. Gratiot, of Gratiot, Wis., Lieut. Col. Edward H. Gratiot, late assistant Paymaster, United States Army, of Platteville, in the same State, and Henry Gratiot, a resident of California. His only surviving daughter is the wife of Hon. E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, late Minister of the United States to France.

look had on St. Louis and on the way I remember he gave me the most graphic and entertaining description of French life and society (before the advent of the Americans) I had ever heard. He died at an early age, in the midst of his valedictory university, regretted by all who had known or heard of him. I never think of him without recalling his virtues.

I spent three summers and one winter at the mine. There were estimated to be 10,000 adventurers there during the summer of 1857; some from Ohio, Indiana and Missouri, but much the greater portion from Illinois. The Missourians were chiefly from the lower mines (as they were called), and were old miners. There were some "wreckers" from Canada and the Red-River County. Also, some swags from the "Scholar Settlement," who brought their families with them. The Canadians and Swags sat about Laramie's Grove. There were also a few Cornish miners from England. The Irish were there in large force. Whether the Irish Swiss Canadians or those from the lower mines in Missouri were called "Swags," not was any one called a "Swager," after he had "wintered" in the mining country. The term was exclusively applicable to Illinoisians who went up in the spring and returned in the fall. They were so-called because in their roving habits they resembled the fish known as the sucker, which went up the streams in the spring and came down in the

autumn. In the war of 1812, and finally became wild swags in the United States army. Many movements to the fall will come from Henry's father married him. He was a member of the Illinois Legislature, a revolutionary soldier and one of the earliest emigrants from Louisiana to the upper Louisiana Territory. She was the sister of the Rev. Edward Thayer, the first settler in Louisiana from Kentucky Territory and all the way west of the Mississippi River, and also of Charles S. Thompson, one of the early buyers of Chicago, as well as of Wm. Thompson, one of the most prominent of the early merchants of that town.

Mr. Henry (Cannon and his mother), E. H. Cannon were among the first ones to develop the Fox-River Lead Mines, and for a long time carried on an immense business in mining and smelting. Their smelting works at Laramie's Grove, now in Laramie County, Wyo., were among the most extensive of the time. At that period the Indians held the title to the land and from them they purchased the right to mine and smelt and use on Indian Territory.

Such was the character of their dealings with the Indians that no one ever enjoyed their confidence and friendship to a higher degree. It was therefore with the Indians that enabled Mr. Henry Cannon to give such an extensive over them during the Black-Hawk war. Learning the location of Indian Agents at this time the various acts of insubordination to the United States. A man of great enterprise, liberal opinions and great sense was everywhere the champion of justice, peace and Indian rights. Three years later he was Col. Charles H. Cannon of Illinois, Wyo., I was Col. Edward H. Cannon, the assistant Governor, United States Army of Kansas in the war with Mexico. Henry Cannon a resident of Chicago. His only surviving daughter is the wife of Hon. E. H. Thompson, of Illinois. The Minister of the United States to France.

fall. The "Suckers," by way of retaliation, dubbed the Missourians "Pukes," as they said Missouri had taken a *puke* when her contribution to the population of the mines left that State. They styled the Ohioans "Red Horse," the name of a fish of little value. The Michiganders were called "Wolverines." The ingenuity of the miners was exercised in giving each other names after insignificant objects. I have no doubt the Wisconsinites got the name of "Badgers" from the large numbers of that animal which must have occupied the country before the whites penetrated it. "Badger-diggings" were found everywhere in the clay. They sunk their holes to a great depth in the ground. I have found where they penetrated twelve or fifteen feet. Where a badger had dug a hole, if it were hundreds of years ago, the dirt found in it would be of a different color and solidity from the surrounding earth. They did not seem to have dug these holes to live in, as I never found any enlargement of them at the bottom as a receptacle for their food or their young. They were nearly perpendicular, and I never could understand why they were formed. It may have been to find "grubs," or the succulent roots of vegetation that penetrated the earth to a great depth in that country. I have found the roots of what was called the "Masonic-weed" thirty feet deep, and about as large at that depth as at the surface. This weed, which is called in other localities the "Devil's shoe-string," grows luxuriantly over crevices, as its roots penetrate the rich clay, which fills them, and derives greater nutriment than from the surrounding earth or soil. As lead-ore was found in these crevices, it became an object to ascertain the whereabouts of a crevice from the surface; and if one could find a luxuriant row of these weeds, he might reasonably infer the existence of a crevice underneath, and there he would put down a "hole." This sign was at first known to but a few, and was tried by them to be kept as a secret, and hence the *growth* got the name of the "*Masonic-weed*." Badgers dug, it appeared to me, to get into these crevices; and sometimes the dirt they excavated would contain small pieces of lead-ore, and by digging there you would be apt to strike a "*lead*."

It was at such an early day when I was at the mines, and there were so few who could then be called *inhabitants* of Wisconsin, that I don't recollect to have heard them particularly designated. The miners (no matter where from) generally worked in pairs, and their hovels were partly in the ground. They would dig down the side of a hill, and lay up logs to form the ends and outside wall, the perpendicular side of the hill being the inner wall. Poles would be laid from a "step" in the hill to the outer wall, and over them would be laid first brush, then grass, then dirt, so

all. The "Suckers," by way of retaliation, dubbed the Missourians "Lakers," as they said Missouri had taken a "bad" when her contribution to the population of the mines left this state. They styled the Opinions "Red Horse," the name of a fish on this value. The Missourians were called "Wobblers." The insignificance of the names was expressed in giving each other names after insignificant objects. I have no doubt the Wisconsinans got the name of "Lakers" from the large number of that animal which must have occupied the country before the white people started it. "Laker-digging" were found everywhere in the city. They sunk their poles to a great depth in the ground. I have found where they penetrated twelve or fifteen feet. Where a laker had dug a hole, if it were hundreds of years ago, the dirt found in it would be of a different color and softness from the surrounding earth. They did not seem to have dug these holes to live in, as I never found any remains of them at the bottom as a receptacle for their food or their young. They were nearly perpendicular, and I never could understand why they were formed. It may have been to find "grubs," or the succulent roots of vegetation that penetrated the earth to a great depth in that country. I have found the roots of what was called the "Masonic-weed," thirty feet deep, and about as large as that depth as at the surface. This weed, which is called in other localities the "Devil's shoe-string," grows luxuriantly over crevices, as its roots penetrate the rich clay which fills them, and derives greatest nourishment from the surrounding earth or soil. As lead ore was found in these crevices, it became an object of ascertainment the whereabouts of a crevice from the surface, and one could find a hundred tons of these weeds for night reasons. By taking the crevices of a crevice underground, and there it would put down a "boom." The sign was at first known to put a pole, and was used by them to be kept as a secret, and hence the name for the name of the "Masonic-weed." Lakers dug it up, and put it into these crevices, and sometimes the pits they excavated would contain small pieces of lead ore, and by digging there you would be apt to strike a "boom."

It was not such an early day when I was at the mines, and there were so few who might then be called residents of Wisconsin, that I do not recollect to have heard them particularly distinguished. The miners (no matter where from) generally carried in pans, and their houses were partly in the ground. They would dig down the side of a hill, and lay up logs to form the walls and one side wall, the perpendicular side of the hill being the front wall. Poles would be laid from a "chip" in the hill to the outer wall, and over them would be laid thin boards, then poles, then dirt, and

that the roof of the edifice would form a continuation of the slope of the hill. Dirt would be embanked against the sides; and a "fire-place" would be dug out of the earth in the upper side, and a chimney would be formed by laying up sods about a foot high. In coming down hill in the dark, you would be in danger, at times, of stepping into your neighbor's chimney; and you could seldom see his house unless you approached it from below. These huts were pretty warm in the winter, when the ground was frozen, for the miners generally kept up good fires. The floors were of "old mother Earth." The only utensils for manufacturing our furniture (which consisted solely of a bedstead and two stools) were an axe and an auger. The bedstead was constructed thus: holes were bored in the logs forming the end and outer walls, at the proper height and distance, into which the ends of "quaking-asps" poles were driven, the other ends of which were inserted into holes bored into an upright post which formed the corner. Other poles were laid across these, and grass upon *them*, and a buffalo or bear-skin placed over the grass. This constituted the bed. The covering was a blanket and overcoat. The dirt roof kept out the snow and a slight rain, but if it rained heavily, torrents of mud would descend upon us.

A miner's costume would consist of two red flannel shirts, a pair of buckskin pants, a pair of stogy shoes, a blanket, overcoat, and a red, knit cap.

A dutch-oven and lid, a long-handled frying-pan, a coffee-pot, and two tin cups, comprised our kitchen-furniture.

The "bill of fare" was coffee, biscuit, and fried salt pork. One partner would brown, pound, and boil the coffee, and fry the meat, the other would make the bread. The grease fried out of the meat was used for "shortening." A bread-tray was formed by cutting off a section of a flour-barrel, which was turned over and made a cover for the barrel, and kept the dirt and mice out. The coffee was drank without cream or sugar. Butter was unheard of. The only thing we ever got in the vegetable line was wild onions, which were sought for and devoured ravenously. I have always thought that our desire for onions was in obedience to a craving of nature for an anti-scorbutic. We never had the "scurvy" or dyspepsia.

As there were no books or papers amongst us, our intellectual entertainments consisted entirely in telling stories and playing cards. The Missouri miners were famous for their jokes. They had been reared up in that sort of life. Hospitality was a cardinal virtue among the miners. The latch-strings to their cabin-doors were always out, and every man was at liberty to go in and help himself to something to eat.

Rattlesnakes abounded; they were as plenty as "lightning-rod peddlers are supposed to be in purgatory, or a still hotter place;" and instead of supporting a rattan-cane, every miner, when perambulating the country, would carry a spade in his hand to exterminate them, and dig for lead-ore if any indications appeared.

In early times, all the money that was brought into or made in the country was paid into the land-offices, and expended on the seaboard. To compensate for this drain in some measure, "Internal improvements by the General Government were demanded; such, for instance, as the construction of the "Cumberland Road" (begun under the auspices of Mr. Jefferson), and the improvement of the rivers. When Gen. Jackson, however (at the suggestion of Mr. Van Buren, as we supposed), in vetoing the "Maysville Road" bill, announced the dogma, "that no appropriation could be constitutionally made for an improvement *above a port of entry.*" We were thrown into great tribulation until Mr. Clay's "land-bill" took effect, which, to some extent, compensated for the drain through the land-offices.

To get the better of Jackson's dogma, nearly every creek in the State was declared by the legislature to be a navigable stream, and some village at its head to be a port of entry. While things were in this condition, dollars were like angel's visits, "few and far between."

To give an idea of hard times, I will relate an incident. On returning from the lead mines, in the fall of 1829, I came down the river from Galena, to where Quincy now stands, in a skiff, and crossed the country on foot to Phillips' Ferry, on the Illinois River. From there I walked home, about 100 miles. I had but one dollar in my exchequer when I started, and I offered to pay my way at every place at which I stopped over night, or took a meal, and found no one who could change my dollar until I reached Carrollton, in Greene County. Nothing was produced in the settled parts of the State at that early day, except beeswax and peltries, which would bear transportation, or could be converted into money. A few persons living on the margins of the rivers could club together and build a flat-boat, and descend to New Orleans and market their surplus products, but these were exceptional cases, speaking of the State at large.

I am constrained, by a sense of propriety, to draw my remarks to a close, but I cannot forbear to make a few general observations as to what I have passed through. I have seen Illinois emerge from a population of 40,000 to upwards of 3,000,000. I have seen her expand to be the third State in the Union. She is to-day confessedly at the head, in point of agricultural and mineral resources, of the roll of States. She has money enough in

her treasury to wipe out the last cent of her once enormous indebtedness. Her public buildings, her educational and charitable institutions, are equal to those of any State in the Union. Her escutcheon is without a blemish. Her credit in the money markets of the world is above par. The devotion of her children to the maintenance of our glorious Union was conspicuous in the highest degree. Within her limits were the great champions of the two great national parties of the country—Lincoln and Douglas; men of whose transcendent virtues and abilities it would be presumption in me to speak.

Illinois is the heart of the nation, from her geographical position and the composition of her population.

Of our grand nation, I may say that we have passed through the most trying ordeal to which a people was ever subjected, but in so-doing have eliminated from our system an element which antagonized with the first principles of Republican government and the perpetuity of our Union; and, contrary to the hopes and anticipations of the enemies of free government, as expressed through the authorities of Spain, England, and France, we emerged from the conflict with our power and prestige not only uninjured but immeasurably increased. We had only to say the word and the hordes of the treacherous and degenerate scion of the illustrious family of Napoleon, who by fraud and villainy had usurped the authority over the gallant and noble French people, would have scampered in hot haste from the soil of our sister-republic of Mexico. The dastard ruthlessly and recklessly involved his country in a war with the nearly-consolidated Germanic race, and France was reduced to the lowest depths of humiliation and despair, and her proud people became frantic and furious, and threatened universal war against mankind.

On that dreadful occasion, the only foreign Minister who stood to his post and braved the danger was the American—and a citizen of Illinois—the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne. The only flag which afforded protection against the infuriated mob was the American flag; under its ample folds the benignant provisions of international law were observed. The voice of our heroic Minister, in the interests of humanity, rose above the din of the tumult, and through his influence, and the regard of the Parisians for the people he represented, the lives of thousands of prisoners were saved. This was the grandest tribute of respect ever paid to a nation. The exclamation, "*I am a Roman citizen*," might, in days of the Roman power, save the man who uttered it, through fear; but in Paris there was no dread of American retaliation, and the protection was extended to all nationalities, and was through the respect entertained for the principles of our Government and people, and the regard had for our representative.

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On that dreadful occasion, the only foreign minister who stood to his post and braved the danger was the American—and a citizen of Illinois—the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne. The only flag which afforded protection against the infuriated mob was the American flag, under its folds the bravest provisions of international law were observed. The voice of our brave citizens in the interests of humanity rose above the din of the tumult, and through his influence, and the regard of the Parisians for the people he represented, the lives of thousands of innocents were saved. This was the grandest tribute of respect ever paid to a nation. The exclamation, "Vive le drapeau américain," might in days of the Roman power save the man who uttered it, though lost; but in 1870 there was no dread of American retaliation, and the protection was extended to all nationalities, and was through the respect entertained for the principles of our Govern-

Henceforth our career as a nation is "onward and upward." There is no longer any interest in this country which could imagine that its condition would be bettered by a disruption of the Union. Our mission is simply to develop our boundless natural resources, and protect every one in the "enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

You have here a great city—a city of palaces—the equal of which, for magnificence, is not to be found on the globe. You have risen "phoenix-like," with redoubled splendor, from your ashes. It is said that the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren, after the great fire in London, besought the authorities to have the burnt district rebuilt in grander style. They were insensible to his arguments. He withdrew, and in tones of indignation, remarked that "they were *unworthy* of a great fire." You have proved yourselves pre-eminently deserving of such a dispensation.

I shall say nothing of your growth in population and business; that is known to all men. If any should desire particular information on that head, I refer him to the accurate and thorough compilations of my friend, Gov. Bross, on "*Chicago, and the sources of her past and future growth.*" I will simply remark, that you are located at the crossing of the two great lines of trade and travel over North America, and, until some great convulsion of nature disturbs your geographical position, you need have no fears of your commercial superiority. I come to Chicago, as the pious Israelite went up to Jerusalem, "to worship at the shrine of your magnificence."

St. Louis, upon our borders, is a great city. She had the advantage over you of being an emporium of commerce when you were in your swaddling-clothes. She had the benefit of the fur-trade, and the Indian and army disbursements, when your place was unknown except by the name of Fort Dearborn. You have overtaken and passed her in growth and business, but she is no contemptible rival. She is surrounded by a splendid country and admirable facilities. She, I fear, has not the enterprise you have. I am reminded of the difference between the two cities by the story of the two men who were bragging of the strength of their horses. One was giving an account of the heavy load his horse had drawn up hill. The other said: "Stop; my horse is so strong that he has to hold back while pulling up hill." You are "up in the collar," St. Louis is against the "breeching," and they seem to have as much faith in that part of the harness as the old lady had when the horse ran away with her. She was asked how she felt during the runaway. She said "she put her trust in God until the breeching broke, and then she thought no power could save her."

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THE TRIBULATIONS OF
GENERAL JAMES SHIELDS
IN HIS ASPIRATIONS FOR THE WHITE HOUSE.

Shields was born in Ireland, and emigrated to this country before his maturity. He resided some time in South Carolina before reaching Illinois, as I gather from an address made to him on the occasion of the presentation of a sword by the authorities of that State, after the Mexican War, in consideration of his gallantry and distinguished services. The first I heard of him he was located at Kaskaskia, where he first taught school, and then studied law with Judge Nathaniel Pope. He was soon elected to the Legislature from Randolph County, and before the end of his term he took up his residence in St. Clair, at Belleville, which was then the political focus of Southern Illinois. He professed the Democratic faith. That party was divided, in the congressional district in which he lived, into two factions, known as the Reynolds and Snyder wings. Reynolds and Lyman Trumbull constituted the woof and warp of the Reynolds branch, and Adam W. Snyder and James Shields of the Snyder branch. Reynolds and Trumbull and Shields, from St. Clair, and Robert Smith, of Madison, became candidates for the nomination for Congress by a Democratic convention, which was to be held at Kaskaskia. A very spirited contest was carried in the primaries for the delegates. When they were over, it became apparent that a decided majority of the delegates were in favor of Shields, and the rest were divided amongst the other aspirants. Smith had the delegation from Madison, amongst whom was I. G. Cameron, a recent arrival from New York, and versed in the arts of political management for which that State was conspicuous. Shields, feeling perfectly secure and magnanimously inclined, conceded the organization of the convention to his opponents. I don't remember now who was chairman, but Cameron was selected for secretary. A plot had been laid to defeat Shields, in spite of his majority, which was that Smith was to solicit from Shields a few of his delegates, which, when added to the Madison-County delegation, would give Smith a respectable complimentary vote. Shields fell into the trap, and said nothing would afford him greater pleasure, and desired Smith to name the men, and Shields requested them to vote on the first ballot for Smith. Cameron immediately made up the roll and placed the names of the Shields delegates at the

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head, then followed the names of the delegates who were for Reynolds and Trumbull, and Smith's own men, and lastly the names of the rest of the Shields delegates. This gave Smith the majority, and quicker than lightning the result was announced, and Smith declared the nominee, and motion to adjourn *sine die* carried.

Shields and his friends were dumbfounded for the instant, but in a few minutes he recovered his self-possession, and pledged himself to the support of the nomination. The great object was to get rid of Shields. Smith, it was supposed, could be brushed aside at any time. It was understood, however, that Smith had stipulated that, in the event of his success on that occasion, he was not to be in the way of Gov. Reynolds in the future.

Smith was elected, and by dint of close application to business, and the free use of the franking privilege, he soon made himself immensely popular with the people of his district. He procured the names of all the voters, and sent to every one either a letter or public document, and attended to their wants with such promptness and assiduity that he stole away the hearts of the people, and became invincible for many years. As soon as the sessions of Congress were over he spent all his time among his constituents, and availed himself of the opportunities afforded by the courts of seeing many of them together. On his return from the first session, he was visiting one of the courts where Reynolds was. The latter did not seem to like the way Smith busied himself amongst the people, and he reminded him of his pledge—not to be in his way. Smith said: "Oh, Governor, I am just round returning thanks." Said the Governor: "Smith, that may be so, but your manœuvring looks to me a devilish sight more like *grace* before meals than *thanks* after."

Smith was frequently elected to Congress after, and the old Governor never was. This ended Shields' pretensions for the lower House; but after much tribulation, he succeeded to a seat in the Senate from Illinois. It came about in this wise: Sidney Breese voted in the U. S. Senate for a resolution censuring Gen. Taylor for the armistice at Monterey during the Mexican War. At, perhaps, the next session of the Legislature, the election for Senator came on. Breese was regarded as certain to be elected, he having control of the machinery. Stinson H. Anderson, U. S. Marshall, was his lieutenant, and managed the business with singular energy and address. In an unusually brief space of time he had Breese nominated, and the day for the election was set for the next Saturday, by a resolution of the House. Things seemed to be going on swimmingly for Breese. But Judge Nathaniel Pope, who was a great personal and political friend of

Gen. Taylor, and who was very indignant at Breese on account of the censure passed upon him, took it into his head that Breese might be defeated after all. Gen. Taylor had just been elected President, and had disavowed the dogma that "to the victors belong the spoils," and had said that he would divide the offices between the parties. It was known that Taylor was greatly exasperated at the vote of censure, and that Breese would have no influence over him. But, on the other hand, he was very friendly towards Shields. He told Shields to send out and get the land-officers and postmasters to come to Springfield, and let them know that some of them would stand a chance of retaining their offices if he was elected, but not if Breese succeeded; and the Judge undertook to get the Senate to postpone the election for a week or more. This could only be done through the Whigs in that body; and then it would be necessary to keep the Democrats from suspecting that the Whigs had any object in view; and it would be necessary to keep Don Morrison, one of our Whigs, in the dark, as he was a nephew of Mrs. Breese. According to instructions, we Whigs professed to care not the turn of a feather who beat; but when the resolution for bringing on the election came up, we voted to sustain the motion to postpone the election for a week, which was made, I think, by Cloud, of Morgan, who was for McClernard, whose friends, together with some that were opposed to Breese and the Whigs (except Don Morrison), carried the motion. Shields went to work with his men who had come up, and they effected such a change in public sentiment that the Democrats called another caucus and nominated Shields, who was elected; but when he went to Washington, was confronted with a certificate of naturalization from Effingham County, showing that he lacked a few weeks of having been long enough a citizen of the United States to entitle him to a seat in the U. S. Senate. Of course this dashed his hopes, and he returned to Illinois a sadder man than he left. He was thought to have committed an egregious blunder while in Washington in threatening personal violence to Breese. But his star seemed to be yet in the ascendant. The Governor appointed Shields to the office after the lapse of time which would qualify him to take his seat. He again posted off to Washington, and to his amazement found that the Senate held that a governor had no power to appoint to a seat in that body under such circumstances, and he was again checkmated. Soon after this, the Governor convened a special session of the Legislature, by which he was duly elected and took his seat. He was afterwards elected to that august body from Minnesota and Missouri, having been U. S. Senator from three States, which never happened before, and may never happen again.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL COLLECTION
EDWARDSVILLE, 30 March, 1880.

ROBERT FERGUS, ESQ.,—DEAR SIR:

MR. N. W. EDWARDS has called my attention to some errors in my Address, in respect to his Father, Gov. Edwards. I have no doubt that, in regard to facts and dates, Mr. Edwards is correct. I said that the controversy between Edwards and Crawford laid them both on the shelf, politically. I meant *National* politics. I don't think that Edwards was damaged at home thereby, for he was afterwards elected Governor of the State; and our people believed him to have been in the right. Gov. Edwards died in 1834, I think in Belleville; and there was not much time intervening to enable one to realize the effect upon him abroad of the controversy. I have no doubt that Gov. Edwards retained the entire confidence of very many, and, perhaps, most, of the distinguished men in the United States; but still I think it had a damaging effect, in a political point of view, upon both the Governor and Mr. Crawford. Mr. N. W. Edwards thinks I am in error, in saying that his Father was not *outspoken* on the Convention question. I did not say that he favored the introduction of Slavery. I did say that he was believed to be in sympathy with his son-in-law, Daniel P. Cook, who was a very decided anti-slavery man; and, I believe that he gave his influence to the anti-slavery side of the question; and his efforts may have been more serviceable to the cause than if he had been outspoken, as he had great personal influence with some Jackson men, particularly the Whiteside family. I may have been mistaken in reference to the cause and time of the street rencounter with a person who had, or was represented to have, great control over the affairs of the Edwardsville Bank. Mr. Edwards differs from me as to the time of its occurrence. He is doubtless right, as I only speak from memory. I wish to remark, that I am not writing history, but only giving my recollections of the times and men of early days. There is not much difference, in fact, between my version and that of Mr. N. W. Edwards. We agree in the main features, and differ only in detail. There was a controversy between Gov. Edwards and Mr. Crawford about the Edwardsville Bank, and neither of them figured in National politics after that. There was a street rencounter between the Governor and Judge Smith, and I thought it was in reference to the affairs of the Bank. Mr. Edwards thinks it was not. He is probably right. He says, Col. Stephenson was president of the Bank. That is correct; but Judge Smith was director, and exercised great control over it. Stephenson and Edwards were devoted personal friends, but they diverged in politics. Stephenson and his family were ardent Democrats, while Edwards and his family sided with the Whigs. They sustained Mr. Cook, who voted for Adams, in 1824, in the House of Representatives; and the Adams men were known as belonging, in Illinois, to the Edwards party; while their opponents were classed as belonging to the Bond party, as is stated by the late Wm. H. Brown, in his Memoir of Mr. Cook.

Yours truly,

J. GILLESPIE.

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EMBRACING ALSO

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By JOHN REYNOLDS,

LATE GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, STATE SENATOR, AND
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Wisdom is the great end of history.—BLAIR.



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EARLY SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

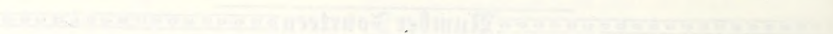
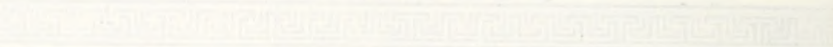
By ROBERT W. PATTERSON, D.D.

THE ILLINOIS BAR FORTY YEARS AGO. By Hon. ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

THE FIRST MURDER-TRIAL IN IROQUOIS COUNTY

FOR THE FIRST MURDER IN COOK COUNTY.





W. H.



THE EARLIEST RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF CHICAGO



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BY REV. JEREMIAH PORTER

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

BY HON. WM. H. BROWN

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THE FIRST MURDER-Trial IN IROQUOIS COUNTY

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The Earliest Religious History of Chicago

BY REV. JEREMIAH PORTER,

ITS FIRST RESIDENT PASTOR.

An Address read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1859.

IN compliance with the kind invitation of the Chicago Historical Society, sent me by Mr. Barry, its honored Secretary, it affords me much pleasure to give, on this occasion, some of my early recollections of this wonderful City, that others may partake in my admiration and astonishment, as I contrast its infancy with its present commercial, political, and religious importance.

If the little incidents of the childhood of one whom the world admires, are repeated with delight by their friends, you will not wonder that it affords me peculiar joy to review the years spent in this place, when I was, by Divine Providence, to give a helping hand to the tottering infant; and now, after a quarter of a century, am building another infant church, in a part of the City which was then a distant and unbroken prairie.

THE CHICAGO OF 1833.

Had one fallen asleep on the main body of the Chicago River, in 1833, to awake, after a quarter of a century, in 1859, on the same river, he would be overwhelmingly convinced that, though he had slept, it was not in a sleepy hollow. That sleepy men had never, in any age, built a city, from a mere military and Indian trading-post, of one hundred thousand people; yet such he would find, had been done during that brief sleep.

In the cabin of a schooner, on my way to Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, in the autumn of 1831, I found a man on his way to Chicago, and heard from him that the United States Government was about to build a light-house there, and he was going to open a boarding-house, and believed it—Chicago—would become a fine place for business.

At Mackinac, I found Mr. A. Duncan Stewart, who was getting materials, and superintending the building of that light-house. At Sault Ste. Marie, from Hon. Henry R. Schoolcraft, U. S. Indian agent, whose house was my happy home during my ministry there, I learned more about Chicago: that he had explored with Indians, in a bark canoe, the west coast of Lake Michigan;

The Earliest Religious History of Chicago

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ITS FIRST RESIDENT PASTOR.

An Address read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1882.

In compliance with the kind invitation of the Chicago Historical Society, sent me by Mr. Henry, its honored Secretary, I afford me much pleasure to give on this occasion, some of my early recollections of this wonderful City, that others may partake in my admiration and astonishment as I contrast its history with its present commercial, political, and religious importance.

If the little incidents of the childhood of one whom the world admires are repeated with delight by their friends, you will not wonder that it affords me peculiar joy to review the early years spent in this place, when I was by Divine Providence, in God's hand, in the fostering infant; and now, after a quarter of a century, am looking another infant child in a part of the City which was then a distant and unknown prairie.

THE CHICAGO OF 1832.

Had one fallen asleep on the main body of the Chicago River, in 1832, to awake after a quarter of a century, in 1857, on the same river, he would be overwhelmingly convinced that though he had slept, it was not in a sleepy hollow. That sleepy men had never, in any age, built a city from a more solitary and Indian trading-post of one hundred thousand people; yet such he would find had been done during that brief sleep.

In the cabin of a schooner on my way to South Sea Maine, Michigan, in the autumn of 1832, I found a man on his way to Chicago, and heard from him that the United States Government was about to build a light-house there, and he was going to open a boarding-house, and believed it—Chicago—would become a fine place for business.

At Mackinac, I found Mr. A. Dabney Stewart who was getting materials and superintending the building of that light-house. At South Sea, Maine, from Hon. Henry K. Schoolcraft, U. S. Indian agent, whose house was my happy home during my sojourn there, I learned more about Chicago, that he had explored with Indians in a bark canoe the west coast of Lake Michigan;

had sailed in his frail bark up the Chicago River, and down the DesPlaines, and visited a remarkable mound on the prairie, some thirty miles south, called "Mount Joliet." He also informed me, in 1832, that Mr. John H. Kinzie, then sub-Indian agent, at Fort Winnebago, was about to lay out a town on the Chicago River, or had done so, and he believed it would be a flourishing one. The Black-Hawk war, and the cholera, in General Scott's army, at Chicago, in 1832, brought the place into notice. One of our companies at Fort Brady, was ordered to Chicago that year, Captain J. B. F. Russell's 5th Infantry.

In 1833, our troops at Sault Ste. Marie, were ordered to Fort Dearborn, (Chicago), to relieve those then there. Major John Fowle, commanding; who, with his lovely Christian wife, had been of my bible class at Fort Brady, invited me to accompany him to Fort Dearborn; as Mr. Schoolcraft, of my church, was already removed to Mackinac, and a majority of my church were going with his command, and a prosperous Baptist mission existed at the Sault, I was glad to accept the invitation of Major Fowle.

Passing up in a schooner, from the Sault, into Lake Michigan, we found but one solitary house on the shore, and that at Milwaukee. Solomon Juneau, of the American Fur Company, had his post there.

Arriving in Chicago in May, with Major Fowle and family, and command, I found the beginning of a town. Many families had fled from the surrounding country to Chicago, for military protection from the Indians, the previous year; some of these remained, and others had come in from the East. Including the two companies in the Fort, there were nearly three hundred people dwelling here.

Conceive, now, of Chicago, as it was in 1833, when the hand of man had hardly begun to form its streets; a wide, wet prairie, as far as eye could reach, on a muddy river winding south over a sand-bar to the Lake, with a few scattered dwellings. Sweep away, not only the iron blocks and marble palaces, but every brick store and dwelling, and all but three of the framed buildings, and the light-house; tear up every rod of the scores of miles of pavements of wood or stone, and substitute, in their place, the wild grass of the prairie! Obliterate our three or four score churches! Blot out our twelve public school-houses, now accommodating ten thousand scholars! Return to their homes, in New England, New York, and the Southern States, to their dwellings in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to their native France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark! Bury in utter forgetfulness the princely fortunes which these various races have wrought from the

soil of this one township, and think of Chicago as a small military post at the mouth of the river!—Colonel J. B. Beaubien's trading-post of the American Fur Company, just outside of the Reservation; a dwelling, for the light-house keeper; with a single street, on the river, from the Fort to the Point, near where Lake Street bridge now is.

A log-cabin, west of that bridge, was the boarding-place of the merchants, until Mrs. Rufus Brown opened her log boarding-house, on LaSalle Street. The dwellings were then all of logs, and their were only three framed stores,—these had just been built for Newberry & Dole, Philo Carpenter, and P. F. W. Peck—Mr. John Wright had commenced the fourth store.

No place for Sabbath worship had been built on the west side of Lake Michigan. The only place for worship was a log school-house, over the bridge. On the north side of the river, opposite the Fort, was the Kinzie House; a third of the way to the Point was the dwelling of Colonel Richard J. Hamilton, and still further west, was the house of Dr. Harmon, and his brother, Deacon Harmon. Mrs. Hamilton was a Methodist and Deacon Harmon a Baptist.

Think of Chicago River as flowing between grassy banks, making a half-circle around Fort Dearborn, and flowing south a half-mile, and then crossing a bar before it could empty its sluggish waters into the lake.

Such was Chicago as I passed up that river, in the yawl of our schooner, in which we had lain at anchor from Sunday morn till Monday, because the lake was too rough to allow us to go ashore.

To complete its isolation from the world, you must blot out every railroad this side of Schenectady, New York, and, remember that the entire network of telegraph wires was an undeveloped thought in the mind of the painter, Prof. S. B. F. Morse; that the news of the death of a friend in New York, now flashed to us in an hour, could then hardly, by mail, be brought to us in ten or twelve days; that no newspaper was published nearer than Detroit, and it took a week for it to reach us by mail!

Pure water, by hydrants, gas and sewerage, with all their blessings, were undreamed of! Such was Chicago, when, with Major Fowle, we entered the river on the 13th of May, 1833.

Major Fowle was to superintend the building of a pier, from the river to the lake, after cutting a channel through the sand-bar. Major Fowle relieved Captain Seth Johnson, who, with his company, returned (on the schooner that brought us down) to Fort Brady. To Captain Johnson I had brought letters of introduction from Captain J. B. F. Russell, who had returned to Mack-

inac, from the Black-Hawk war. I learned that he had found at Chicago, a young man from Troy, New York, by name Philo Carpenter, who had commenced a Sabbath-school, and was sustaining religious meetings, with a few Christians, each Sunday. As I came with friends, I was sure I would find friends. At noon, I learned that Mr. Carpenter had gone to New York for goods; yet, to my great surprise, as the gentlemen came to dinner at the log-cabin, over the south branch, I found a face familiar to me while in college at Williamstown, and whom I parted with in the City of New York, five years before—it was John Wright, father of five of your present distinguished citizens. As he met me, he exclaimed, with wonder, “Why, Mr. Porter, where have you come from?” “I arrived with the troops, this morning.” “Indeed! in what capacity? As army surgeon?” “No, sir! as their minister. I have been preaching to them for a year and a-half at Fort Brady, and come here at their request; I have gathered a church among them.” “Well, I do rejoice, for yesterday was the darkest day I ever saw. Captain Johnson, who had aided in our meetings, was to leave us, and I was almost alone; I have been talking about, and writing for, a minister for months, in vain, and yesterday, as we prayed with the Christians about to leave, I was almost ready to despair, as I feared the troops coming in would all be utterly careless about religion. The fact that you and a little church were, at the hour of our meeting, riding at anchor within gun-shot of the Fort, is like the bursting out of the sun from behind the darkest clouds.” Until then, I was not fully decided as to my duty. There were three military posts, beside Fort Dearborn, west of Lake Michigan: Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien; Fort Winnebago, now Portage City; and Fort Howard, at Green Bay. Of these four, I had reached the most important; and, complying with the wishes of Major Fowle, I followed the advice of Mr. Wright, and Captain Johnson, and I remained here, and it was soon my privilege to organize the first church ever formed in Chicago. There had previously been no preaching in this place, except by Methodist circuit preachers, coming in from their mission on Fox River. Father Jesse Walker had monthly appointments in the log school-house; he had been associated with Peter Cartwright, on the frontier, for thirty years, and had found some Methodists at Chicago, Mrs. R. J. Hamilton being his chief friend and hostess. Colonel Hamilton had come up to Chicago from the South. North of Chicago, there was no church this side of Lake Superior, except the Stockbridge Indian mission of the A. B. C. F. missions, and an Episcopal Indian mission, at Green Bay, Rev. Cutting Marsh in the first, and Rev. Mr. Cadle

in the other. West, the nearest church was at Galena: and the first south-west was that at Princeton—the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church; Rev. Lucien Farman, its first pastor. East, the nearest church was at White Pigeon, Michigan. There were in all the States west of Lake Michigan, no points, except the military posts, and the Indian trading-posts, where ministers could be sustained. Though Father Walker's meetings had been encouraged by all professing Christians, his principal reliance was then on Mrs. Hamilton, and the venerable English Methodist, Mr. Mark Noble, who lived on the lake shore, in a log-house, south of Colonel J. B. Beaubien's dwelling, which was just outside the Fort. When I first called on Father Noble, and spoke of his residence in this new country, he said, impressively, "There is one lesson that Paul had learned, that I have not *quite yet*; it is this: 'I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.'" Mr. Noble sold his log-house to Mr. John Wright; there Mr. Wright took his family when they came in 1833, built, and there, some years after, died; there, too, his noble widow showed Christian hospitality, admired and loved for many years, a mother in Israel; and there, next to the Bishop's palace, now resides her only daughter, wife of Captain J. Dana Webster, and her admired family.

Temporary provision was at once made for preaching at the Fort; the carpenter shop was emptied, cleaned, and seated, and on the 19th of May, I preached my first sermon in this place; text, John, xv., 8: "Herein is my Father glorified that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples." On the 20th of May last, just one-quarter of a century from that first sermon in this City, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met in this City, and it was my privilege there to state this fact. The handful of corn sown twenty-five years ago, now shakes like Lebanon. After the services of that first Sabbath morning, Mr. Wright said to me, "My eyes filled with tears of joy several times to-day, as I saw the influence of the new command on this place, and contrasted this Sabbath with the last, when we were so despondent."

The Fort was so full there was no room in it for a minister's study, so I sought a place outside. Families had had no time to build houses since the panic of the Indian war, of the year before, and I could find no room in their log-houses; but in the unfinished second-story of the store of P. F. W. Peck, just built, I found a lodging-place and study. The building still stands, on the corner of South Water and LaSalle Streets—it and the light-house are the only buildings now standing to remind me of Chicago as I first saw it. But the men of that day—many of them

still remain. I found a boarding-house at Mr. Rufus Brown's, in a double log-house, on the alley, back of Mr. Peck's store, where the law offices of Woodbridge & Williams now are.

At that table, I daily met the principal business men of the infant Chicago—Messrs. John Wright, and his son, J. S. Wright, George W. Dole, Mr. Peck, Mr. Mulford, a jeweler, Philo Carpenter, John S. C. Hogan, postmaster, Mr. and Mrs. Lemuel Brown, and John Bates, and the lady Bates afterwards married. Most of the members of my original church, except those in the army, were of this family, so that Mrs. Brown could, with much truth, say, "the church that is in my house." Within the Fort there were professing Christians—two officers, three wives of officers, three wives of soldiers, and ten soldiers, all these from my Fort Brady church. All these outside of the Fort, except Mrs. Charles Taylor, were born in New England; so were the army officers, Major Towle, and Major Wilcox, and educated in Congregational Churches, like myself, yet we organized a Presbyterian Church, and called it the "First Presbyterian Church of Chicago."

There was one Presbytery only, in Illinois; the Moderator, J. G. Bergen, resided at Springfield. We reported, by letter, to that Presbytery, but were never represented in it. The four elders of the early church, were all Congregationalists, except Mr. Carpenter, who had come from the church of Dr. Beman, of Troy, though born of Baptist parents. All these elders and their wives, —except Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter, who are here to-night—are now, we believe, before the throne of God, in heaven. Of these, the youngest—Brother Carpenter and myself—remain, and wonder at what God hath wrought. Many may have despised that day of small things, and believed that if a fox went up on our wall it would fall. This day shows that such were false prophets. Major D. L. Wilcox, Philo Carpenter, and John Wright were the first elders, and in 1834, Aaron Russell, of Boston, was added to their number.

THE HARBOR.

The report had gone through the land that, in addition to the light-house, a pier was to be built, making the Chicago River a harbor, and that a canal would be dug, connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois River; in that case, Illinois farmers would find an Eastern market, and corn would rise in price, from twelve cents and a-half to half a dollar. This the farmers of interior Illinois could not credit, but Eastern capitalists and farmers guessed it might be so. DeWitt Clinton's Erie Canal had made the journey through New York easy, and a tide of population had begun to flow through it to the corn-bearing prairies of Illinois. Black-

Hawk was gone, and fears of Indian massacres were subsiding. Eastern emigration began at once to reach Chicago, so that a gentleman who had come from Washington to make his home here, was so bold as to wager that "in five years there would be five thousand inhabitants in this place." An army officer replied to this assertion, "*That cannot be, for there is no back country to sustain a city.*" But the most sanguine never dreamed of what we see to-day, in twenty-five years, one hundred thousand. The stream then setting toward our rich prairies, has made a back country that well supports the present wondrous City.

My own church, organized in June, 1833, received from that tide of people its due proportion, and other churches, afterwards formed, were strengthened from the same source. Our necessities and strength induced us at once to set about building a house of worship. The location chosen was, as the builder's (Mr. Joseph Meeker) wife said, "out on the prairie;" it was one and a-half blocks from South Water Street, on the alley, on Clark Street, in the rear of the present Sherman House. It cost us six hundred dollars. It was the first church ever built in Chicago, though the Baptists had a school-house built, in which we had preached for a time—for a few months—on alternate Sabbaths. It was my privilege to dedicate the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, on Saturday, the 4th day of January, 1834. My text was these words: "The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, even thine altars, my King and my God." This house still stands, increased to four times its original size. It was removed to the rear of the lot on the corner of Clark and Washington Sts., and used until the brick church was built in front of it, on Washington St. The elements, on dedication day, were against us. The mild autumn was succeeded by intense cold. I had invited the Rev. N. C. Clark, of DuPage, who had come into the State during the summer, and the Rev. Mr. Humphrey, of Michigan, to aid in the dedication, but the intense cold—mercury 29 degrees below zero—prevented their coming, so I was only aided in the dedication services by Rev. Brother Allen B. Freeman, the Baptist minister, who had been laboring in Chicago, by my side, since August. Previous to the building of our church, we had preached, alternately, in a room on Franklin Street, near the old Post-Office, in a building put up by his society, of two-storys, the upper room for a classical school, and the lower for worship. Each of us visited the country once a month, the one remaining in town the Sabbath the other was gone. Our country parishes were Naperville, Blackstone's Grove, etc., some thirty miles distant. For two or three months, we preached in the house built

for his use. Previous to Brother Freeman's coming, his principal supporters—Dr. J. T. Temple, and others—had attended our church in the Fort and at the Point. After their room was ready for use, we alternated in preaching in it, until our house was dedicated. I proposed continuing in our house (being about twice as large as theirs), our united worship, alternately, as before, but his church chose to remain in their own house; so, with perfect cordiality, we divided, and had our separate congregations and Sabbath-schools; and, the first pleasant Sabbath after the dedication, more were present in my church than there had been while the two societies worshipped together. Religious interest seemed greatly increased in both churches. Just at this time, we received a beautiful Sunday-school library—a donation from Chas. Butler, Esq., and Arthur Bronson, of New York—containing about two hundred volumes. They had come to purchase town lots, and enrich us, and, as it afterwards proved, themselves. We soon commenced the monthly tract distribution. Our annual temperance meeting was held on the 20th of January, in our new church. The address was delivered by Dr. Clark, brother-in-law of Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard. Dr. Josiah Goodhue, who had come from Canada to reside in Chicago, was chosen vice-president. Five lawyers, five physicians, and six officers of the army, were members of the society, and its prospects were very promising.

A personal incident occurred, on the 7th of February, that can never be forgotten. Returning from our evening prayer meeting, by way of the Post-Office, in a very dark night, to avoid the deep mud of the street, I walked down the river on the ice; noticing, by the light of my lantern, what seemed very dark ice before me, I stepped boldly forward, and in a moment found myself in the river. Dr. Temple had sawed out ice there for summer use. I had stepped into it, and was swimming, with my hymn-book, lantern, and cloak. Had I gone under the ice, my swimming hat alone would have told the story of my disappearance in that cold river; but reaching soon the square-cut, solid ice, I had no trouble in throwing myself on it.

A fortnight later in that month, on my way to Blackstone's Grove, (now Hadley, Will County), to preach to my church there, then increased to twenty members, I lost my way, on the west side of the AuxPlaines, sixteen miles from town. Finding no road to lead me out, and darkness increasing, I could do nothing but tie my horse to a tree, and sit down beside it, in my saddle. A gentle rain was falling on the leaves above me. In the distance, barking wolves were heard. Like Paul in the Adriatic storm, "I wish for the day." It came at length, and my hungry

horse and myself turned eastward, with no road to guide us. A heavy rainstorm came on, in which I reached the river, and plunged into its swollen stream, the water reaching the middle of my saddle-pads. My strong horse took me safely across. I then rode six miles in the rain before finding a house, and almost as wet as if I had been a "day and a night in the deep." If the prince of the power of the air intended to prevent me keeping my appointment, or prevent a protracted meeting that had been appointed, he signally failed. The Lord kindly delivered me out of these dangers, and during the year after the consecration of the church, we enjoyed a precious revival of religion, and fifty-two persons were gathered into the church; among them were many who continue to this day. Of these were the large family of Deacon Samuel Brookes, now of Cleaverville. Mr. Brookes, a gardener or florist, from London, had reached Chicago in that year, coming by land from Buffalo, with his own wagons. He was eight weeks coming from Buffalo, through Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, to Chicago. Mrs. Brooks, an English Congregationalist, had heard at home of American revivals, and soon her hope of witnessing one was realized—one in which her husband and three young Englishmen of their family, and some six of their children, were brought into our church on profession of faith. In this revival I was aided by Rev. Ralph W. Gridley, who had come from Williamstown, Massachusetts, and had passed down to Ottawa, and was the pastor of that church. I had known him in college, and Deacon Wright's family had loved him as their pastor at home. His labors with us were greatly blessed. The Rev. William Kirby was then preaching to the church I had organized at Hadley, Will County, and, with Rev. I. W. Prentiss, aided in that work of grace.

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL.

The first ever held in Northern Illinois. This was called by the Congregational Church at DuPage, called Fountaindale, and met on the 10th of June, 1834, about a year after the organization of my church at Chicago.

It met at Walker's Grove, now Plainfield. On assembling, there were present:

Rev. Jeremiah Porter, and Major DeLafayette Wilcox, U.S.A., from Chicago.

Rev. N. C. Clark, Deacon E. Clark, Mr. Henry Goodrich, Dr. Abbott, Mr. Dudley, from Fountaindale.

Rev. William Kirby, Deacon Reuben Beach, John Blackstone, Delegate, Union Church, Blackstone's Grove.

Rev. — Hazzard, Jesse A. Clark, Delegate, Ottawa.

Deacon James Mather, of Plainfield.

Rev. R. W. Gridley, Rev. Nahum Gould, passing to fields of labor from the East.

Nahum Gould was chosen Moderator. Jeremiah Porter was chosen Clerk.

The question on which the Council was called, was "Is it advisable to change our form of government, so as to make them uniformly Congregational?"

After a protracted and kind discussion, it was—

Resolved, unanimously, That this Convention deem it inexpedient to make any decision concerning the mode of church government, and each church in our bounds be left to make its own choice of form.

PRESBYTERY OF OTTAWA FORMED.

In November, 1834, the churches of Northern Illinois that had joined the Sangamon Presbytery, were set off by that body as a new one, and called it the Presbytery of Ottawa, as that was a central church. It embraced the three counties—Cook, LaSalle, and Putnam. In these counties were now eleven Presbyterian and Congregational churches, and eight ministers. Our church united with that Presbytery at that session. It pleased the President to appoint myself its first Delegate to the General Assembly, to meet, the following spring, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Never before had Northern Illinois been represented in that body.

AN INCIDENT OF THAT FIRST MEETING OF OTTAWA PRESBYTERY.

Colonel Benjamin F. Mooers, then of Ottawa, now of Green Bay, Wisconsin, long one of my parishioners, recently told me how he had often amused his friends by telling them of this fact of our attending that meeting of the Presbytery. Riding over the prairie with my dear brother, Rev. N. C. Clark, not far from Ottawa, seeing a prairie-wolf before our horses, and he understanding them as I did not, rode up to the wolf, screaming, and jumped from his horse. The alarmed wolf turned on his back, and lay confounded, till Brother Clark killed him with his riding-whip. We carried the trophy of victory directly to Colonel Mooers' door. He had often entertained his friends with this account of the early missionaries of Illinois, who could frighten wolves to death! But this honor all belonged to Mr. Clark, so far as I was concerned, yet this reminds me of another unmerited honor given me. Mr. Robt. Stuart, of Mackinac, (in whose house I first saw, in 1831, her who is now my wife), called my attention to an article in a Cincinnati Roman Catholic paper, occasioned by a published account, by myself, of a deep work of religious interest among the troops at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1832. In it the writer

says: "Here we see the grinning teeth, and bristling mane of this Presbyterian wolf, as he prickles up his predestinating ears." Can you wonder that wolves were afraid of such a missionary? Equally undeserved is the following, found in a monthly (Catholic), published in this City a few years since, which a friend was amused to find, after a glowing account of Catholic institutions here. It exclaims, with admiration, "And all this since the Rev. Jeremiah Porter prayed at midnight on his knees, in the streets of Chicago, before the little Catholic chapel, built in 1833, 'that nothing good should ever come out of it.'" Certainly, if I ever prayed at midnight before that chapel, or any of the Roman Catholic churches, since built in this City, it was that *no evil should come from them*. My heart's desire and prayer is, and always has been, that they who teach, and they who worship, in those churches would receive the *whole truth*, and be true followers of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

In the spring of 1835, on my way to visit my parents, in Massachusetts, for the first time in four and a-half years, I attended the General Assembly, and there first made the acquaintance of the Rev. Albert Barnes, whose trial commenced in that body then, and resulted two years after in the sundering of that body, and the forming of the Old and New School General Assemblies. On my way north, by stage, from Pittsburgh, I came to Erie, and thence to Buffalo, and Rochester; there I was married to Miss Eliza Chappel, who had left Chicago some weeks before, having left her school to recover her health. After a short visit to my native place, and Andover, and Boston, and New York, with my wife, and making efforts to secure a pastor for my Chicago church, thinking, on account of its rapid growth, it ought to have the best minister in the land, I returned to Chicago, without success in finding a minister. I applied first to Edward Humphrey, now Rev. Dr. Humphrey, of Kentucky,—an older brother of the present pastor of the same church—meeting him at my father's, but he had already plans that retained him in Kentucky. After returning to Chicago, I wrote to Rev. E. N. Kirk, of Albany, New York, showing our need, but he was not sufficiently impressed with the great importance of the infant City to accept our call.

Although not succeeding in getting a successor, I felt it my duty, in the fall of 1835, to accept a call from the Main Street Church, Peoria, tendered me by my friend, Moses Pettengill, and his brother-in-law, Dr. Enoch Cross, two of a session that, afterwards, while I was their pastor, had in their number *Foshua* and *Aaron*—Deacons Aaron Russell, following me from Chicago, and

Joshua Aiken being then at Peoria. Such a session—as Moses, and Aaron, and Joshua, and Enoch, and Jeremiah as Moderator—should have had great power in that City in laying the foundation of many generations. Moses remains to this day a pillar in the church in the same city.

My church, after the close of my labors of two and a-half years, had increased to one hundred and nine members, had accumulated wealth, with the prospect of much temporal prosperity. In view of this, it had, December 29th, 1834, passed the following resolution:

“That we will relieve the American Home Missionary from further contributions for support of our pastor, Rev. Jeremiah Porter, from the 1st of June last; and, while we deeply feel our obligations for past assistance, we esteem it our duty and privilege to raise for him a competent support; and, to return, in due time, to its treasury, more than we have received from it.”

Only one year from its organization did the church receive aid from that society, and a single member of that earliest congregation has left, by will, to it, ten thousand dollars—the late Flavel Mosely.

The church corresponded with Rev. Dr. Adams, of Syracuse, and others, in vain, for two and a-half years, before securing a pastor. Dr. Hall, of Auburn Theological Seminary, informed me that he had such a call, and that Dr. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, receiving a like invitation, taking the letter to Judge Williams, of his church, said, “I’ve got a letter from some place out West, called Chickago, asking me to come their and preach. Can you tell me where it is?” Learning it was in a great swamp west of Lake Michigan, he concluded it was best to remain on the Connecticut. Dr. Deric Lansing, of Auburn, once visited the place, and rejoiced us by his eloquent sermons, but chose to remain in New York. At length, in 1838, the Rev. John Blatchford, father of E. W. Blatchford, now one of your most esteemed and successful Christian merchants, traveling from New York to Central Illinois, was providentially detained here, and was called, and became their happy and blessed pastor.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF CHICAGO.

In the first week of July, 1833, Dr. John T. Temple, and wife, and four children, arrived from Washington, D. C., with a contract from the Government to transport the mail from Chicago to Fort Howard, Green Bay. He was an intelligent physician, and a member of the Baptist Church. His wife was daughter of Rev. Dr. Stoughton, of Philadelphia, a distinguished minister of that church. They were happily disappointed to find regular religious

services at Chicago, as they had heard there were none of any denomination. Dr. Temple, supposing there was no minister at Chicago, had applied to the Baptist Missionary Society for one, and the week after his arrival, Dr. Temple informed me that a missionary had been commissioned for Chicago. Until his arrival, Dr. Temple and family attended our services in Fort Dearborn. Thinking it best that we should at once start out as separate churches, Dr. Temple started a subscription for a building, having the double purpose of school-house and place of worship. He started the subscription with one hundred dollars. In a few weeks it was built, on the corner lot on Franklin Street, near South Water Street. On the same the Dr. built his own dwelling. The building was two-storys, the upper for a school, and the lower for meetings. On the 18th of August, 1833, their minister arrived—the Rev. Allen B. Freeman, just from the Hamilton Theological Seminary, New York, having in the East a father and brothers Baptist ministers. He brought with him a young and devoted wife, ardently attached, like him, to their spiritual work. The first Sabbath after Mr. Freeman's arrival was my monthly appointment at Blackstone's Grove, twenty-eight miles south of town, and I was glad Brother Freeman could preach to my usual congregation at home in my absence. From the first we labored cordially together, he, as well as myself, preaching one Sabbath each month in the country. Our two congregations, uniting, heard the one remaining in town, until our own church was dedicated in the January following. So we helped each other, and labored cordially together, until it was written, "One was taken and the other left." His life in the ministry was, as we measure years, very brief; it was long, in view of the foundations laid here and in the surrounding country. At his death, in December, 1834, I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for a brother, in sympathy with his wife, and afflicted church.

By request of Mrs. Freeman, and the church, I preached his funeral sermon in our church, as it was twice as large as his, and all wished to honor the faithful pastor, who had so early finished his work. So large an audience for Christian worship had never been gathered in Chicago before. Four ministers took part in the services—Rev. J. W. Hallam, of the Episcopal Church; Rev. John Mitchell, of the Methodist; and Rev. Mr. Ambrose, of the Baptist, who was laboring with one of the churches that Brother Freeman had formed in the country. All wished to honor one whose work was so early and so well done. The sermon was soon published in Philadelphia, with extracts from Mr. Freeman's journals, and circulated widely, as a memorial of him. Among the facts in that obituary were these:

On the 19th of October, 1833, Mr. Freeman formed the First Baptist Church in Chicago, of eighteen members. The same month, he organized the church forty miles from town, of twelve members. Between his church in town and those in the country, he divided his time, until a brother minister, the Rev. Mr. Ambrose, came to take charge of the latter. At his death, his home church numbered *forty*. His last labors, which brought on his fatal sickness, were in connection with his forming a fifth church. It was at Long Grove, on the Fox River, fifty miles west of Chicago. He had greatly enjoyed looking up the scattered Christians that had come into the State during his short residence here, but this last proved a fatal labor; returning, his horse was taken sick about eighteen miles from town. For two nights, the merciful man watched with the suffering animal, and then, weighed down by his death, and over-exertion, walked home. He was soon seized with typhoid fever, and in ten days yielded up his spirit in death. Delightfully did he exemplify the power of faith in Christ to sustain one in leaving all that is dear to him on earth, and so fell asleep.

Rev. J. T. Mitchell, who had that year succeeded Father Walker in the Methodist Church, said to me, "I never saw the Christian and philosopher more happily exhibited in union, than in our deceased Brother, in that last sickness." It was my privilege to sit at his bedside, with Mrs. Freeman and the beloved Mrs. J. Wright, of my church—"It was quite on the verge of heaven." "Tell my father," said he to me, that night, "that I die with my harness on." His wife was calm, confiding, resigned to the Divine will, and he triumphant in the Lord, his rock.

Among the first baptisms in Chicago, by immersion, was the wife of Dr. J. T. Temple. The citizens gathered by the side of the river (then running south near a half mile), in front of what is now Michigan Avenue. Mrs. Temple came down to the beach in a stage-coach, (other candidates riding with her), the first that had ever been seen in Chicago. Brother Freeman pleasantly alluded to the baptism of the Treasurer of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, to whom Philip was sent, as he was prayerfully reading in his chariot, the 53d chapter of Isaiah. When Philip found true faith in Christ in this noble student of the word of God, and also, a desire to be baptized, when they came to a certain water, "He commanded the chariot to stand still, and they went down both of them into the water, and Philip baptized him." This first baptism in the waters of our noble lake was joyfully remembered.

The church, during Mr. Freeman's ministry, had been peculiarly

On the 19th of October 1815, Mr. Freeman joined the First Baptist Church in Chicago of eighty members. The same month, he organized the church forty miles from town, of twelve members. Between his church in town and those in the country, he divided his time until a brother minister, the Rev. Mr. Ann, came to take charge of the latter. At his death, his house church numbered forty. His last labor, which brought on his fatal sickness, was in connection with his forming a fifth church. It was at Long Grove, on the Fox River, fifty miles west of Chicago. He had greatly enjoyed looking upon the scattered Christians that had come into the State during his short residence here, but this last proved a fatal labor; returning, his horse was taken sick about eighteen miles from town. For two nights the tired man watched with the suffering animal, and then, weighed down by his death and over-exertion, walked home. He was soon seized with typhoid fever, and in two days yielded up his spirit in death. Delightfully did he exemplify the power of faith in Christ to sustain one in leaving all that is dear to him on earth, and so to attain eternal life.

Rev. J. T. Mitchell, who had that year succeeded Father Walker in the Methodist Church, and to me, "I never saw the Christian and philosopher more happily combined in nature than in our deceased brother in that last sickness." It was my privilege to sit at his bedside, with Mrs. Freeman and the beloved Mrs. J. Wright of my church—"It was mine on the verge of heaven." "Tell my father," said he to me that night, "that I die with my hands on." His wife was calm, composed, resigned to the Divine will, and he triumphant in the Lord, his rock. Among the first baptisms in Chicago by immersion, was the wife of the J. T. Temple. The citizens gathered by the side of the river (then running south near a half mile) in front of what is now Michigan Avenue. Mrs. Temple came down to the beach in a stagecoach, (other candidates riding with her) the first that had ever been seen in Chicago. Brother Freeman personally alluded to the baptism of the Treasurer of Canada (known of the Indians, to whom Philip was sent, as he was afterwards killed) in his church, the 5th chapter of Isaiah. When Philip found this faith in Christ in the noble student of the word of God, and also a desire to be baptized, when they came to a certain water, "He commanded the church to stand still, and they went down both of them into the water, and Philip baptized him." This first baptism in the waters of our noble lake was joyfully remembered.

The church, during Mr. Freeman's ministry, had been peculiarly

afflicted by deaths, as well as greatly strengthened by additions. Its only deacon—Mr. Harmon, brother of Dr. Harmon, still residing here—had died. Mr. Alden, a graduate of Brown University, who had come here as a classical teacher in Dr. Temple's school-house, died of the same fever as their pastor, in the same month, and Mrs. Ambrose, the wife of Rev. Mr. Ambrose. By death and removals to churches in the country, the Chicago Baptist Church was reduced to twenty members. But the two brothers, Dr. John T. and Peter Temple, and Mr. Abel Carpenter—brother of Philo, of my church—did not despair, though cast down, and soon secured the labors of the Rev. Isaac Taylor Hinton, of Richmond, Virginia, brother of the distinguished John Howard Hinton, of London. Mrs. Withe, an aunt of Mrs. J. T. Temple, had come to Dr. Temple's family, with her only daughter, from Philadelphia. They added much to the strength of the Baptist Church, of which they were members.

My friend, Mr. P. F. W. Peck, educated a Baptist, in Rhode Island, was naturally drawn towards Dr. Temple's family, and in affliction, on account of the death of his mother at home, sought sympathy among Christians, and Miss Wythe became his wife. Mr. Peck, and wife, and Madame Wythe are here this evening, with their sons. You know their magnificent home in Michigan Terrace. They survive to rejoice with us in the wonderful growth of our City, and in the prayers of the church of their birth, their education, and their choice. One of the daughters of Dr. Temple,—the wife of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. T. Hoynes—though a child at the time, is now here, and doubtless remembers her mother's baptism, and those infant days of our City. She was one of the earlier pupils of Miss Chappel.

RISE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CHICAGO.

It was about a year and a-half after my labors began in town, before the place was visited by an Episcopal clergyman. Mr. J. H. Kinzie, having returned from his Indian agency, at Port Winnebago, to look after the town he had laid out on his estate, had wished for Episcopal services. We had formed with them a very pleasant acquaintance. About the 10th of October, 1834, the Rev. Mr. Dyer, of the Episcopal Church, arrived in this town. Having passed a pleasant evening with him, and his Episcopal friends, I invited him to occupy my pulpit on the following Sabbath. He consented to do so, and on the 12th, so far as my knowledge goes, the first sermon preached in connection with the Episcopal services, was delivered in my church, near Lake Street. Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, Mrs. Helm, her sister-in-law, and Miss E. Chappel, distributed the prayer-books to the congrega-

tion. The sermon was excellent—in the morning from the words, (Matt. xviii: 3), "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;" another in the afternoon, from Isaiah xl: 8, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever." After the second service, Mr. Dyer administered the sacrament, the congregation remaining to witness the feast. Myself and many of my church partook of the emblems, with our Episcopal friends. Only four of that church communed on that occasion—three ladies, of Mr. Kinzie's family, and one gentleman only. Including my church, about thirty received the sacrament from the hands of Rev. Mr. Dyer. Mr. Dyer and his friends came and heard me preach at an evening service the same day. It was my constant custom to preach three times each Sabbath.

There was then but one Episcopal rector in the State of Illinois. Mr. Dyer passed on, thinking to find his field in Peoria or Galena; he subsequently went to Fort Snelling, at St. Peter's, as Chaplain, U. S. A.

The Rev. J. W. Hallam and wife, in company with E. K. Hubbard, and wife, now Mrs. Thomas Dyer, were on their way from Connecticut to Chicago. The following Sabbath, Mr. Hallam commenced his ministry in Chicago, preaching in the Baptist house of worship, Mr. Freeman being absent in the country, as usual, once a month. It was October 19, 1834. St. James', the first Episcopal Church, was then in building near the dwelling of Mr. J. H. Kinzie, on the North Side. On the 3d of November, the same year, a third Episcopal minister reached Chicago, and on the evening of the Sabbath officiated very acceptably in my church. He was a young man of excellent spirit, then on his way to Galena. St. James' Church was soon after consecrated, and Mr. Hallam had gathered a pleasant and increasing congregation and church when I left Chicago, about a year after his coming. Mr. and Mrs. E. K. Hubbard united with my congregation.

THE METHODIST SOCIETY.

A nucleus of this existed, before my arrival, in 1833. The house of Colonel Richard J. Hamilton, then Clerk of the County Court, was the home of the earlier preachers when in town, Mrs. Hamilton being a member and ornament of the church, and a friend to all, especially those having a Christian spirit; so I always found her. In the absence of Father Walker, it was my mournful privilege to visit and condole with her on the death of her brother, Hon. Mr. Buckner, member of Congress from Louisiana,

who, with his wife, and three servants, were suddenly cut off by cholera. With calm, Christian resignation she bore the terrible blow. After the death of this noble woman, Colonel Hamilton married a sister of Mr. Henry Hubbard, and with her united with the Presbyterian Church.

The first house of worship of the Methodists was a small framed building, erected near Colonel Hamilton's, on the North Side, and was used as a school-house by Mr. John Watkins, one of the earliest male teachers. His sympathies were with the Methodists. The immediate successor of Father Walker, and first Methodist minister residing in this City, was Rev. John T. Mitchell, a young man of strong mind, and devoted piety, a graduate (I think), of Illinois College, Jacksonville, which College had just begun to bring power from the mine of intellect in our State, and stamp it for useful circulation. One of its sons it soon after sent to the Second Presbyterian Church in this City, Rev. R. W. Patterson, who has now been its esteemed pastor for more than twenty years.

CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Colonel J. Baptiste Beaubien, post-trader of the American Fur Company, had his dwelling and store just south of Fort Dearborn, on the bank of the river; he and his family, and his nephew, Mark Beaubien and family, and Mr. Charles Taylor, were Catholics. These, with their dependents, made efforts, early after my going to Chicago, to build a chapel for their services. In August, 1833, a frame for a chapel was erected, a little distance south of Colonel Beaubien's; it was enclosed and used for worship in the autumn of that year. The same building now stands, in the rear of the Catholic Church on Madison Street, near Wabash Ave. It contrasts wonderfully now with the immense churches of brick and stone, which that Church has since erected in each quarter of the City. The first priest residing here was Father StCry, with whom I had some friendly interviews in my study, which I had built near my boarding-house, on the lot corner of Lake and LaSalle Streets, on which the Marine Bank now stands—a canal lot not in market then, but then valued at \$200, and now worth \$95,000. StCry presented me a little book, entitled a "Papist Represented and Misrepresented," which I still retain as a memento of those infant days of our churches. When I was called to sympathize with Mrs. Hamilton, on the death of her brother, Mr. Buckner, I found the priest had preceded me in attempts to comfort the mourner.

St. James', the Episcopal Church, built by Mr. Kinzie and his friends, was the only one built for permanency; that only was of

brick, and was graced with a tower, the others framed. Saint James' still stands, a monument of the zeal and energy of youthful Chicago.

THE DWELLINGS AND BUSINESS PLACES OF 1833.

The stores were all on South Water Street, except Beaubien's trading-post on the bank, just south of the Fort, now Michigan Avenue. The first store west of the Reservation, was a log one of John Wright's, by a bridge over a slough, corner of State and South Water Streets. There Miss Chappel opened her school for children of the Fort and town, when Mr. Wright vacated it to take possession of his new framed store, in the autumn of 1833. One-story log groceries, provision, and liquor stores lined South Water Street to Newberry & Dole's forwarding and commission store—this was *the* large warehouse; south of that, on Water Street, was the dwelling (log), of Mr. John K. Boyer, who, with his family, from Pennsylvania, arrived in Chicago a few months after my coming. Mulford, a jeweler, had near that house a store. The second framed store of the town was that of P. F. W. Peck, (two-story), corner of South Water and LaSalle Streets; south of it was the drug-store of Philo Carpenter. All these had been built within the year, and after the war. Below Mr. Carpenter's was the log post-office, kept by Mr. J. S. C. Hogan, who had come to Chicago from Mackinac. Nearer the Point, was the Sauganash Hotel, kept by Mark Beaubien. Over the bridge, was the other tavern, kept by W. W. Wattles. There I took my first dinner in Chicago, and on that day met my friend Mr. Wright, to my great joy. On the same side of the river, on what is now the corner of Canal and Madison Streets, stood the neat log-cottage of Mr. Charles Taylor. Mrs. Taylor was sister of General Orlando B. Wilcox, born in Detroit, and then a lad sometimes in our Sunday-school. Mr. Graves was then building a two-story dwelling, near the corner of State and Lake Streets. If my memory is right, Dr. J. T. Temple put up next his two-story dwelling on Franklin Street, just across the corner from the Post-Office. Mr. Carpenter, at the same time, was building *way out on the prairie*, on LaSalle Street, two blocks from Lake Street. In that house, after his marriage, I found a pleasant boarding-place.

In 1833, the lawyers in Chicago were Colonel R. J. Hamilton and R. E. Heacock, the latter lived on his farm, on the south branch of the river, four miles from town. During that, or the year 1834, there came and settled in town, Alexander N. Fullerton, Grant Goodrich, Hans Crocker, and Thomas Wright, Colonel Owen, and Colonel Taylor.

The physicians in 1833, were Dr. Maxwell, Surgeon U. S. A.,

in the Fort, Dr. Harmon, Dr. J. T. Temple, and Dr. Wm. Clark, brother-in-law of Mr. G. S. Hubbard. In the following year, came a brother of Dr. Temple, Dr. Peter Temple; Dr. Josiah Goodhue, son of Dr. Goodhue, first President of the Berkshire County Medical College, Pittsfield, Mass.; Dr. Wm. B. Egan, from Ireland; and Dr. Kimberly, of Troy, New York.

BUSINESS MEN IN 1833.

Besides those whose houses and places I have mentioned, were conspicuous Mr. John H. Kinzie, Mr. G. S. Hubbard, George W. Snow, Joseph Meeker, and his uncle, Jeremiah Price, Mr. Pierson, Robert Kinzie, and Major Handy, who came with Dr. Temple, Mr. John Calhoun, who published the first newspaper (and only for a time) in this place, and has now just passed from time. The brothers Morrison, in 1834, began to lay the foundations of their great fortunes. George and Charles Chapman, Mr. Henry Hubbard, Mr. Haddock, Mr. Botsford, George Davis, Charles Cleaver, and the sons of the venerable Mark Noble, came in the infancy of Chicago. Mr. Wm. Jones, and brothers, and Dr. John Foster, who was drawn hither by the fact that a brother of his, killed by a soldier, at Green Bay, had purchased land in Chicago. Mr. Walter Newberry was here, investing in lands; Mr. J. Wright, Mr. P. Carpenter, and Mr. Clybourn had each pre-empted quarter-sections of land, on which the City is now built, and had I followed their advice, I should have done the same, and then could not have sung—

“No foot of land do I possess;
No cottage in the wilderness.”

Mr. Caton—now Judge Caton—was a young man, studying law, in whom we felt a great interest. Mr. Clybourn's quarter was on the North Branch, through which Clybourn Avenue, named for him, probably passes.

INDIAN COUNCIL.

By proclamation, the President of the United States of America, called a Council of the Indians who had lived in Illinois and the Territory of Michigan—now State of Wisconsin—to be held in Chicago, on the 10th of September, 1833. On that day, Indians began to pour in by thousands, traders by scores, and hangers-on by hundreds. The Governor of Michigan, G. B. Porter, and others, composed our Government Councilors. The house for the business of the Council was on a little elevation of land, a short distance from the dwellings of Colonel Hamilton, and Mr. Kinzie. The Council being assembled, Governor Porter protested that our Government was only seeking the highest good of the Indians, eloquently plead with them to sell all their land on

this side of the Mississippi. To which argument they replied, "We are satisfied as we now are, and have no wish to sell our land." This was the 17th of September. They were requested to think the matter over, and give their answer to-morrow, to which they coolly replied, "We shall dance to-morrow." This they did, emphatically, and to the great satisfaction of the crowd. Almost fifty painted savages on horseback, followed some thirty naked Indians through town, as these danced, and whooped, and shouted from the Fort down South Water Street. This was a "begging dance;" they stopped before each door, to receive bread, tobacco, or whiskey. Stopping under my window, in Mr. Peck's store, I gave what I had—crackers, ardently wishing I could give them the bread of life. They appeared in their naked grimaces like the very incarnation of evil. It was not till the 24th that they could be brought together again in Council. Then in great crowds they lay or sat around the Council-house, in every variety of Indian costume, from the most tawdry to almost absolute nakedness, or the filthy, ragged blanket, many mounted on horseback, furiously riding outside the prostrate crowd. Day after day they refused to treat on the terms proposed; but, urged by Indian agents, and traders, at length one chief after another yielded, until, on the 25th of the month, they all had signed the treaty to leave Illinois, and the territory above it, this side the Great River. It was thought a very liberal treaty on the part of our Government; for four millions of acres of land, they were to receive five millions west of the Mississippi River; were to be removed at the expense of the United States; schools to be established, and sustained; farmers and mechanics to be supported among them. For these and schools, \$1,000,000 was promised them, this to be paid in annuities. \$200,000 in specie was given them to pay their outstanding debts to Indian traders. Mr. Robert Stuart, of Mackinac, and one of the American Fur Company, being here with the Commissioners, secured \$20,000 for that Company. As I was riding with Mr. Stuart, after the treaty, over the level prairie on which your City is now built, and planning for the future good of its population, an athletic Indian tried his own swiftness of foot with our strong carriage-horses, and out-trotted them, to the amusement of Mr. Stuart and myself.

On the 3d of October, the first annuity to these Indians was begun to be paid. It was \$90,000 in goods. The payment continued day after day, until all had been given out, then followed the payment of \$56,000 in silver half-dollars. Traders had their shanties built on each side of South Water Street, and the scattered silver soon found its way to their money tills. Of the mer-

chants, my friend Peck, and the members of my church almost alone, withstood the temptation to trade on the Sabbath, as the payment, against our remonstrance, continued on that day. The money and goods were paid to heads of families, according to the number of each household. The portion of some heads of families was four hundred half-dollars, this was thrown into the corner of their dirty blankets, and carried off in triumph. The scene during the payment was full of excitement, occasionally of horror. Thousands of human beings—some sitting, some standing, others lying on the grass in all imaginable positions, some riding, some fighting, and one bleeding to death, the main artery of his arm being cut off, while his murderer stood a prisoner, struggling in the arms of a female avenger of blood, on that sacred day! Christians deplored that desecration of that Sabbath, yet could do little to prevent it. They did retire to the house of worship, and prayed for those who feared not God nor regarded man. In the afternoon of that day, while the specie payment was going on, and such appalling scenes were witnessed in our streets, I preached to the little circle that revered the Lord's day, from the words, "And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, and when he had said this he fell asleep." One of the many Indians that gazed upon our assembly, stood in the door and played his jew's-harp, not conscious that he was disturbing our worship. In the evening of that dark Sunday, the cry of the whining, drunken savage, intermingled with wild shouts, and whoops, and yells, were heard continually. Mr. Freeman's first services in his new house for worship were on Sunday after the payment. Many Indians looked in at the windows and doors, curious to know what was meant by such a gathering.

PROVIDENTIAL INTERFERENCE.

The traders had ordered quantities of whiskey, expecting a golden harvest at this payment. One had fifteen barrels on the way. Happily for the Indians, though they may not have thought so at the time, a strong south wind prevailed for sixteen days, while the Indians were here, so that not a single vessel could come up the lake; there was but little previously on hand, and the vessels freighted with the poison were anxiously looked for. Temperance men, philanthropists, and Christians rejoiced that the fire-water did not come. In consequence of this Divine protection of the Indians, they went from the payment with a large sum of money. It was thought they took away \$30,000 in silver, which would have been wasted for whiskey, had not the strong wind kept it back. When the payment was over, a driving rain

sent the Indians to the AuxPlaines woods for shelter, and sobered by abstinence, and rich in their cash, they were wise enough to keep away from the town after the poison came, to the grief of the traders, and the joy of those who sought their highest good.

EARLIEST SCHOOLS.

A Mr. and Mrs. Forbes are said to have taught a school in the log school-house, in 1831—of it I know nothing more. Mr. John Watkins taught a school on the North Side, in a house near Col. Hamilton's; he taught in that neighborhood two or three years. Miss Eliza Chappel had been induced, by Robert Stuart, of Mackinac, to come to his family from Rochester, New York, in the summer of 1831, to teach his children. After two years, she came to Chicago, and was in the family of Major Wilcox, at the time of the payment and treaty, in 1833. Mr. Stuart, detained in September of that year, by the prevailing south wind, interested himself in starting a school for the children in the Fort and village. His friend, Miss Chappel, had wished to teach. Mr. Stuart met several officers who had children, and citizens, and proposed her as teacher, testifying to her great success at Mackinac. Much interest was awakened, a committee was appointed, and reported that sixty-seven dollars had been subscribed to sustain the school, and twenty-five scholars were promised who could pay tuition. Mr. Wright removing from his log-store, in the ravine, just outside the United States Reservation, to his frame store, the first was vacant, and used for the school. Associating with her, Miss Lucy Beach, who had just come in from Vermont with her parents, she took possession of the log-house, in which they lodged, and kept their school, the wife of Sergeant Adams, living near the bridge, cooking their meals, and bringing them to their cabin. This, if not the first school in Chicago, was the first on the South Side. Major Wilcox, Captain Baxby, and Dr. Maxwell were patrons. Dr. Maxwell had only an adopted daughter, and she was a mere child. The school prospered in this house, until it was transferred to the church in the following winter, as soon as it was finished; then Miss Chappel, and Miss Beach, and Miss Mary Barrows opened a boarding-house for scholars, on LaSalle Street, near Mr. Carpenter's dwelling, and received scholars from the country, from Blackstone's Grove, and DuPage. During the revival of that winter, many of the children of the school commenced a Christian life, and joined the First Church. A classical teacher, Mr. Grenville Temple Sproat, came the same year, and commenced his school, in Dr. Temple's room, on Franklin Street. He was a Baptist, and came, probably, at the Doctor's request. Another teacher for the same school came, and died the following

year, about the time of the death of Elder Freeman. Miss Chapel continued her school in the church, with her two assistants, until she was laid by on a bed of sickness in the winter of 1834-5.

SCHOOL SECTION SOLD.

Money was so abundant after the Indian payment, that it was thought advisable to sell our school lands—the 16th Section—which was in the heart of the business portion of Chicago; so, on the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th of October, 1833, our school section was sold at public auction. At the same time, other sections in the county were sold, and while other pre-empted lands sold from \$3.00 to \$5.50 per acre, those who had pre-empted in the school sections of other townships bought theirs at \$1.25 per acre. There were one hundred and forty-four blocks in the school section of Chicago; all but four of these blocks were at that time sold on credit of one, two, and three years. These one hundred and forty blocks brought \$38,865, at 10 per cent interest. The four remaining blocks are now worth \$700,000, and that which was sold, estimated at this time, at \$7,000,000.

Alas, our short-sightedness! But our citizens were filled with joy at their enormous school-fund! Almost \$40,000 permanent fund, and yearly interest of \$4000! What teachers we could secure with such an annual sum! There was intense excitement at that land sale. A French trader, from Mackinac, called on Mr. Stuart, who had been detained for want of a schooner going north for a time, and then by sickness, replied to Mr. Stuart's question, "What's the news?" "Oh, the wind is very high, and town lots are very high; it is terrible, terrible!" Such was the general feeling, because the original, large town lots were selling from \$75 to \$300 per lot! Most who bought and held those school lands, and town lots, have realized fortunes from the same. As "there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous," so there was but a step between myself and a fortune. I was blind to the future of my own pecuniary interests. Dr. Heman Humphrey, lodging in the Adams House, near Rush Street Bridge, on a lot he had once owned and sold for \$600, which was then worth \$45,000, said he "had had a marvelous escape from wealth;" I, more: I had just drawn a few hundred dollars, which I had deposited in a Detroit bank, and instead of buying me a lot, I invested it in a small building for a study, as my unfinished loft in Mr. Peck's store would not be comfortable during winter. I built on a canal lot, not then in market, on the corner of Lake and LaSalle Streets, valued then at \$210, now worth \$95,000. I had previously neglected the advice of my elders, Messrs. Wright and Carpenter, to *pre-empt*, as they had done, each a quarter-sec-

tion, in the town plot adjoining theirs. Theirs have made them very rich, as you well know. Mr. J. S. Wright invested for me in a quarter-section of wild prairie, afterwards. Mr. R. Stuart's example may have influenced me; instead of buying town lots, he invested in pine-timber land in Michigan, with the Rev. Mr. Wm. M. Ferry, of Mackinac, Michigan. Mr. Ferry then laid the foundation of the fortune from which he endowed Ferry Hall, at Lake Forrest. After my study was built, on the corner where the Marine Bank now stands, seeing how fortunes were growing from the purchase of town lots, I bought, in the school section in Joliet, four lots for \$50 each; these, taxes having been paid on them for a quarter century, are now valueless. Mr. John S. Wright, then a lad of eighteen years, was the first to give an impetus to the high price of town lots. A corner lot on South Water and Dearborn Streets had been sold, in 1834, for \$500; before the year closed, Wright paid for the same, \$1500. Many were astonished at the audacity of the young man; yet prices continued to advance from that point till the reverses of 1837. Young Mr. Wright, then worth \$200,000, proposed resting from money-making, and travel in Europe, but was persuaded to remain at home. That Water-Street lot of Mr. Wright's is now worth \$100,000.

AUGUSTUS GARRETT AND WIFE.

Among my earlier acquaintances in Chicago was Mr. A. Garrett. He came to my study to introduce himself. He told me he had come to Chicago a bankrupt, after being a successful auctioneer in both Cincinnati and New Orleans. He had now come to the new City to recover his lost fortune. His wife he had left with her parents, on the Hudson River, because he had not means to support her, but hoped, in time, to bring her here. He spoke of her as a decided Christian, who, if he could support her here, would be a good member of my church. He accompanied me to our prayer-meeting, and I introduced him to the praying men, who aided him to get into the auction business. He was again successful. Soon his wife joined him, and I found Mrs. Eliza Garrett a valuable accession to our circle of noble women, all that Mr. Garrett had represented her. In the following two years, Mr. Garrett, in a time of deep religious interest, professed religion in the Methodist Church, and Mrs. Garrett, that theirs might not be a divided house, joined the same. After accumulating a handsome property, Mr. Garrett died, leaving his estate to his wife, as they were childless. Mrs. Garrett did not survive her husband many years; and dying, left, by will, her large estate chiefly to an institution for theological education, at Evanston,

tion, in the town plot adjoining them. Thiers have made them very rich as you well know. Mr. J. S. Wright invested for me in a quarter section of wild prairie afterwards. Mr. R. Sumner's example may have influenced me; instead of buying town lots, he invested in pine-land in Michigan with the Rev. Mr. Wm. M. Ferry, of Macomb, Michigan. Mr. Ferry then sold the foundation of the farm on which he endowed Perry Hall, at Lake Forest. After my study was built on the corner with the Marine Bank now stands, seeing how fortunes were growing from the purchase of town lots, I bought, in the school section in Joliet, four lots for \$20 each; these, never having been paid on them for a quarter century, are now valuable. Mr. John S. Wright, then a lad of eighteen years, was the first to give an impulse to the high price of town lots. A corner lot on South Water and Dearborn streets had been sold, in 1834, for \$200; before the year closed Wright paid for the same \$1,000. Many were astonished at the audacity of the young man; yet prices continued to advance from that point till the reverse of 1837. Young Mr. Wright then worth \$200,000, proposed testing from money-making, and travel in Europe, but was persuaded to remain at home. That Water-street lot of Mr. Wright's is now worth \$100,000.

ANCIENTS GARNETT AND WIFE.

Among my earlier acquaintances in Chicago was Mr. A. Garnett. He came to my study to introduce himself. He told me he had come to Chicago a bankrupt, after being a successful success in both Cincinnati and New Orleans. He had now come to the new City to recruit his lost fortune. His wife he had left with her parents on the Hudson River, because he had not means to support her; but hoped, in time to bring her here. He spoke of her as a devoted Christian, who, if he could support her, would be a good member of my church. He recommended me to our paper meeting, and I introduced him to the praying men, who aided him to get into the auction business. He was again successful. Soon his wife joined him, and I found Mrs. Thiers Garnett a valuable accession to our circle of noble women. All that Mr. Garnett had represented her. In the following two years, Mr. Garnett, in a time of deep religious interest, professed religion in the Methodist Church, and Mrs. Garnett that their might not be a divided house, joined the same. After accumulating a handsome property, Mr. Garnett died, leaving his estate to his wife, as they were childless. Mrs. Garnett did not survive her husband many years; and dying left by her large estate, chiefly in an institution for theological education at Christian.

which is known now as the Garrett Biblical Institute, so that Eliza Garrett and Barbara Heck are now twin luminaries in the M. E. Church in America. They have their names immortalized in connection with the Northwestern University. Mrs. Garrett was one of the galaxy of noble women who encouraged me in laying foundations in infant Chicago. They gave tone and character to society, to say nothing of the "honorable women not a few" now living, who were first and foremost with the beloved mothers that have gone up to receive their crown of glory. Few places have had their infancy formed under more pure-minded and self-sacrificing women than the wives of Major John Fowle, Major D. Wilcox, and Major John Green, in Fort Dearborn, who found kindred minds in Mrs. John Wright, Mrs. Colonel Hamilton, Mrs. Alexander Fullerton, Mrs. Rev. A. B. Freeman, Mrs. John T. Temple, Mrs. Harmon, and Mrs. Rufus Brown, "mine hostess."

BRICK BUILDINGS.

Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, and his cousin or nephew, Mr. Henry Hubbard, partners, erected a large two-story brick warehouse, on the corner of South Water and LaSalle Streets, just east of Mr. Carpenter's drug-store. This was in 1834. It rivalled all other business houses in size and durability. Mr. Dexter Graves, that year finished his boarding-house, on Dearborn Street; it was two-story, but not of brick.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Though no such organization as the Home of the Friendless existed in Chicago, in those early days, the spirit of Jonathan Burr existed in some hearts, and orphans were sought out and comforted. One instance, illustrating this feeling, is this: Mrs. Helm, sister of Mr. John H. Kinzie, daily walked from her brother's house, on the North Side, a-half mile, to minister food and change of garments to a sick and poor family of strangers, who, but for such kindness, would, may be, have soon followed their deceased mother; a younger sister of this family became the ward of Miss Chappel. We were at first a community of strangers, and tried to obey the command, "Love ye therefore the strangers;" and, in consequence, has not the Divine blessing, promised to those who consider the poor, rested on this growing city. And shall we not, in our present great prosperity, be followers of those whose faith, and patience, and charity then so abounded. Though there was not then, either here or in the Eastern States, a Y. M. C. A., there were those here who deeply felt for and earnestly prayed for the young men, anxiously asking, "Is the young man safe?" They felt if the young men here were saved from vice and sin, Chicago would be saved. As an evi-

dence of this feeling, and that it was not always fully appreciated, I give you, verbatim, a notice I found, on opening my study-door one morning, that had been nailed to it the previous night:

“NOTICE”

Is hereby given that a distracted prayer-meeting will be held at the Chicago Nunnery, to-morrow evening, at early candle-light, to pray for the conversion of the young men of this place, all of whom are invited to attend. By order of the LADY ABBESS.

Chicago, Jan'y 16, 1835. JEREMIAH PORTER, *Secretary*.

Prayers offered that winter were answered in the apparent conversion of young men and women, some of whom continue to this day honored and devout members of your various churches, and some, having finished their work on earth, have entered the rest of heaven. In answer to prayer, and crowning earnest labors, a great change in public sentiment was effected with regard to the vices of dram-drinking and gambling. Young and ardent men were hastening to inevitable ruin, unless arrested by a strong hand extended for their safety. A meeting was called by our best young men, to look the evil in the face, and meet it by prevention. It was held in the Methodist Chapel. The house was full. After discussion, resolutions were introduced, and passed, and immediately executed. Two gambling-nests were at once broken up, and two gamblers sent to jail. One man, who had lost \$500 in one of these houses, entered complaint against it, and secured its breaking up. On the previous Sabbath, it had been a scene of disgusting profaneness and drunkenness; on the following one, it was peaceful and inviting. The lovers of truth and godliness rejoiced greatly, feeling that God had sent deliverance in the time of our greatest need.

THE CANAL.

A great impulse was given to the town's prosperity by the action of the Legislature of Illinois, in 1835, which passed the bill in both Houses for the Lake Michigan and Illinois Canal. When this long-desired fact was announced, an illumination of the town was at once determined on. The lights and joy were universal. The pealing of cannon declared the same. Hardly less enthusiastic was the joy when it was announced that the first Atlantic Cable had been laid. As a consequence, land rose to fabulous prices in town, and greatly increased in value throughout the State.

PUBLIC SCHOOL.

Mr. John S. Wright was so much interested in Miss Chappel's school that he built a school-house for it at his own expense.

dence of the feeling and that it was not always fully appreciated. I give you, therefore, a notice I found on opening my study-door one morning that had been nailed to it the previous night:

"NOTICE."

Is hereby given that a distracted prayer-meeting will be held at the Chicago Seminary, to-morrow evening at early candle-light to pray for the conversion of the young men of this place, all of whom are invited to attend. His order at the Last Advent.

Chicago, Jan'y 16, 1835. JACOBUS H. BARTON, Secretary.

Prayer offered that winter were answered in the apparent conversion of young men and women, some of whom continued this day honest and devout members of your church; but others, and some having finished their work on earth, have entered the test of heaven. In answer to prayer, and crowding earnest labor, a great change in public sentiment was effected with regard to the vices of drunken drinking and gambling. Young and ardent men were fastening to inevitable ruin unless arrested by a strong hand extended for their safety. A meeting was called by our best young men to look the evil in the face, and meet it by prevention. It was held in the Methodist Chapel. The houses were full. After discussion, resolutions were introduced, and passed, and immediately executed. Two gambling-houses were broken up, and two gamblers sent to jail. One man, who had lost \$200 in one of these houses, entered complaint against it, and secured its breaking up. On the previous Sabbath, it had been a scene of disgusting profligacy and drunkenness on the following day, it was peaceful and joyful. The tears of truth and goodness refused greatly, feeling that God had seen them, and in the time of our greatest need.

THE CASE.

A great impulse was given to the town's prosperity by the action of the Legislature of Illinois in 1835, which passed the bill in both Houses for the Lake Michigan and Illinois Canal. When this long-desired law was announced, an illumination of the town was at once determined on. The lights and joy were universal. The feeling of common interest the same. Hardly less enthusiastic was the joy when it was announced that the first Atlantic Cable had been laid. As a consequence, land rose to fabulous prices in town, and greatly increased in value throughout the State.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

Mr. John S. Wright was so much interested in Miss Chapman's school that he built a school-house for it at his own expense.

Miss Chappel's school was, after the sale of the school lands, in part sustained by the school fund. This was the beginning of the Chicago public schools. By her request, a lady was sent from Rochester, New York, to aid Miss Chappel in the school—Miss Ruth Leavenworth, who became Miss Chappel's successor, and opened her school in the house built by Mr. Wright.

Miss Chappel became Mrs. Jeremiah Porter; Miss Beach became Mrs. Gooding; Miss M. Barrows became Mrs. Dudley; Miss Leavenworth is now Mrs. Dunkley; Miss Warren married Mr. Abel Carpenter, brother of Philo. The most sanguine hopes of the early friends of Chicago are satisfied; the infant has attained a noble manhood. How much does it owe to its Christian founders? They honored God; they loved the Sabbath-day; every benevolent institution of the present hour had its ardent and judicious friends in those early days, and there were many adversaries. Your flourishing churches, your unrivalled public schools, your growing college, or your incipient theological seminaries, your labors for the poor, the down-trodden and enslaved, your world-embracing benevolence, are an answer of the prayers of those who prayed early and confidently for your spiritual prosperity. Yet we dared not hope to live to see what we do this day. God hath done great things for us, and made us glad. But I must close. The time would fail me to tell of the wondrous love of God to this City; what He hath wrought in the fourth of a century! What will He do in the next quarter? Cherish, my Christian friends, in your heart of hearts, that charity that glowed in the breasts of your fathers and mothers of infant Chicago. Stand up still more earnestly in the defence of the principles of the Gospel of Christ Jesus our Lord. Take no steps back from the noble stand you have taken in behalf of the enslaved, and the cause of temperance. Let the heathen feel the power of your beneficence. Encourage your free schools, and keep them ever free, till every child is educated. Strengthen your colleges. Multiply your spiritual churches. Remember the poor with more and more kindness, until there shall be no more need of Homes of the Friendless, "till every man in every face shall meet a brother and a friend;" until it shall be said, calling the cities daughters, "Many daughters have done wisely, but thou hast excelled them all."

When invited to return to your City, after twenty-three years, by some of my early friends, who had remained here while I had preached the Gospel to other cities, and engage again in pioneer labors in a destitute portion of this City, and finding so large a population so far distant from any Protestant church, though

called to other inviting fields, I dared not refuse to come again to you, praying, "If Thy presence go not with me, send me not up thence." I came, "and now my soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, in view of what he hath already done," and I hope yet to see greater things than these. May I be an humble instrument in uniting in closer bonds the Christian hearts in this City.

Never have I offered more fervently than now, the prayer that was among my first offered on this soil—the prayer of our divine Lord and Master, "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

NOTE.—For the words given as the text on page 59, read instead: Jeremiah, chap. i. verses 1-6.

EARLY HISTORY OF ILLINOIS,

BY WILLIAM H. BROWN.

A Lecture delivered before the Chicago Lyceum, December 8, 1840.

Reprinted from the *Chicago Daily American*, Dec. 22, 1840.

HE who writes of times long past and records the transactions of those who have distinguished themselves upon the theatre of life; who speaks of men as they were, whether as benefactors of their race, or as instruments of wrath in the hands of an Almighty power; whose scrutiny is directed as well to the motives which prompted, as to the actions which affected, the happiness or the misery of communities, may exercise a freedom which is denied me on the present occasion. In one case, the actors have long since departed—the curtain of life has descended—and the present generation are interested, rather, in the results of measures adopted by men of other times, than in the individuals themselves. The generation in which they lived have *also* passed away—and with it, those who, from friendship or interest, were willing to trumpet undeserved praises, or palliate or conceal unblushing crime.

I propose to speak of recent events, and of measures, the results of which in some cases have not been fully developed, and of others, where there is that variety of opinion incident to all free governments, leading some honestly to approve, and some as honestly to condemn. The influences which inclined the mind to either side, have, doubtless, had an end; but the pride of opinion remains: and though partially, nay wholly, convinced of the unsoundness of their principles, mankind in general can not repress their indignant feelings when their opinions are reviewed, and their former course of conduct condemned.

In pursuing the course I have marked out for myself, it will be my object to speak of individuals, as connected only with the measures they advocated, conscious that, whether I eulogize or condemn, I shall come in contact with those who were parties in the transactions of the past, and whose opinions of men and things have been influenced by that variety of passions which makes the whole of human nature.

At the formation of our State government, a very limited por-

tion of our territory was inhabited. Indeed, to a considerable part of it, the aboriginal title, that of possession, existed in its fullest extent. The farthest point to which the hardy and enterprising settler had pushed his conquest over a hitherto uncultivated country, was some sixty miles south of the present town of Springfield, our present seat of government, then embraced within the limits of the County of Bond. A large proportion of the citizens of Illinois consisted of emigrants from the States of Kentucky, North Carolina, and Georgia, who, opposed to Slavery, had sought an exemption from its evils by a removal to a free territory. They had principally settled in the counties of St. Clair and Madison, then by far the largest and most populous. The Salt-Springs, near the Ohio River, had drawn to the County of Gallatin a considerable population, causing it to stand number three in the rank of counties then formed. In the more southern counties, bordering upon the Ohio, and Mississippi, the population was made up of emigrants from the States before mentioned, and from Ohio, and Tennessee. At this time, the enterprise of the New Englanders, or Yankees, had not, to any extent, been directed to this fair portion of the country. It was rare to meet an individual who claimed a birthplace east of the mountains, and still more rare to find a family who had emigrated from the Eastern States. A few, however, there were, scattered probably in every county in the State, known and distinguished from their Western neighbors by their "Yankee notions and Yankee fixings."

Running parallel with the Mississippi River, from the mouth of the Kaskaskia to the present City of Alton, is a rich alluvial bottom, interspersed with woodland and prairie of most exceeding fertility, varying in width from two to seven miles. It was in this portion of the State, now known by the name of the "American Bottom," that the early French settlers from Canada located, forming, at the period of the adoption of the Constitution, near a-fourth part of the inhabitants of the State of Illinois. Their most northern village was Cahokia, a few miles south of St. Louis; Prairie du Pont, Fort Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia, the extreme southern settlements. These hardy adventurers were the descendants of a more enterprising race, who, long previous, had emigrated to Canada, and encountered all the hardships and toils incident to the settlement of a new country, in a climate so inauspicious. Separated from the society and refinement of Europe, their fathers had retained the manners and customs of the fifteenth century, and those manners and customs, almost unimpaired, with the persons of the emigrating

Canadians, were transferred from the ice bound shores of the St. Lawrence, to those of the almost ever-vegetating Mississippi. Averse to solitude, and existing only in society, the new-comers, unlike those of the present day who seek for the margin of large prairies, and extensive range, settled together in small, compact villages, in the centre of which, to their credit be it spoken, was the village church, as respectable an edifice as could be formed from the rude materials furnished by the country, and the ruder skill of a community where the arts and sciences were wholly unknown, and where agriculture was the only pursuit. They cultivated a common field, varying in its number of acres, according to the size of the village to which it was attached. That at Kaskaskia embraced 6,000 acres, with an exterior fence only. The allotments of each individual were distinctly marked by metes and bounds, and his possession was held sacred. By mutual regulations in their own exclusive day, and by legal ones after allotments were purchased by Americans, the inhabitants of the village, and owners of the field, were bound to keep the fences in good repair, expending labor thereon in proportion to the number of acres by them respectively owned. At a day named, the products of the field were to be entirely husbanded, and the great gate to be opened for the free ingress and egress of the cattle of the villagers. From a soil so very fertile, with the least degree of labor, ever so unskillfully bestowed, the original inhabitants of our State derived an abundant supply for all their wants. Their language had degenerated, and become so provincial, that a Parisian Frenchman could barely understand the leading ideas of their discourse. The little education they possessed by instruction at intervals from priests who officiated in their villages. It was, at best, very scanty, and I doubt if a moiety of the elders of the present generation can read, or a quarter of them write. Though they were some number of generations removed from their ancestors who broke off from the Grand Nation, they were essentially and entirely French. Disdaining to borrow care from to-morrow, they seized upon the enjoyment of the present, and, with light hearts and lighter heels, they danced through a life of comparative innocence, until, at mature old age, they slept with their fathers. Such were the inhabitants of the French villages when I became acquainted with them, twenty-two years since, and such, doubtless, were their fathers before them. The winter, with them as with us, was a season of gaiety. The carnival—for our villagers were universally Catholic—was a festival which did not fail to be strictly observed. Old and young engaged in its peculiar

duties, and the joyous party, and the giddy dance, followed in such quick succession, that almost the whole time was devoted to amusements. Dancing, of course, formed a conspicuous part, and as their manner of getting up their winter assemblies was entirely different from that practiced in our more refined community, it is worthy of narration, if not for its novelty, at least as illustrative of the simple manners of our early French inhabitants. It devolved upon the young ladies, in the early commencement of the season of festivity, to assemble themselves, and the young gentlemen of the village, in a social party. Plays of various kinds succeeded the introductory salutations of the company, and coffee and cakes formed their only refreshments. The hours passed unheeded away, while the tale of love, perhaps, was told, and listened to, and the forfeits declared, and redeemed. The company are about to separate, and yet the great object of the party is not accomplished. In the confusion of the moment, a young lady approaches a gentleman, and, after imprinting upon his lips a gentle kiss, proceeds to attach to the lapel of his coat, a little bouquet of tastefully-arranged artificial flowers. And to what office do you suppose the young gentleman attains by this simple operation? He is at once raised to regal dignity and power—a king as well *de jure* as *de facto*. The king-elect, as in duty bound, immediately proceeds to select his queen, delivering to her the aforesaid bouquet, the emblem of his power. The new queen crowns another king, and he selects his queen, as before, until four queens and kings, as odd as this may appear, reign in harmony in one small community. At a time designated, the king ball, attended by the whole village, from the old lady of eighty to the little miss of ten years, is opened, with some pomp and ceremony, by the four dignitaries and their partners, and its care and direction are confided wholly to them. At a proper interval in the dance, one of the reigning queens, as upon a former occasion, salutes a gentleman, and thus four kings and queens are again selected for the next regular ball—thus preserving, for the winter, a regular succession of reigning monarchs. If any one is curious to inquire into the privileges and immunities, appertaining to this kingly office, he will learn that, in addition to the honor conferred, the kings were permitted, jointly, to pay the whole expense of the entertainment, besides, individually, making such presents to his queen as her wants or his ability might demand or justify. Usually a dress was given, and it was a matter not uncommon, that the village belle, at the close of the carnival revels, found her wardrobe so replenished that she could safely trust it for the coming year. The character of the

king was not, however, compromised, if the present was less costly than the article indicated. A pair of shoes, stockings, gloves, or even a few yards of ribbon, were often given, and received in full quittance of queenly rights.

Another custom peculiar to these early settlers, was that of the charivari, which always took place when a widow or widower entered a second time into the estate matrimonial. Its conductors were usually the elders of the village, and the early part of the evening was the time selected by the populace to pay their respects to the newly-married couple. Armed and equipped with tin horns of all sizes and notes, and with every sort of kettle upon which a discordant noise could be made, the charivari party, after marching through the principal streets of the village, enlisting in their company the young and old, of all sizes and colors, drew up before the domicile of the happy pair. An old man, appointed for the purpose, sung, in recitative, a species of notice to the assemblage, that either the lady or gentleman had taken a second husband or wife, the chorus of which was sustained by the whoops and yells of those who had no instruments of music, by blasts long and loud upon the horns, accompanied by violent beating upon the tin pans, and kettles. Generally, a few such thrilling choruses would overcome the modesty of the fair one, and call out the happy pair to receive the congratulations of their friends. Upon such occasions, the serenading company was regaled with whiskey-punch, and the time fixed when the newly-married gentleman would give a ball, free, as upon other occasions, to the whole village. But woe to the stubborn bridegroom who faileth to comply with this custom! The luckless wight, whose bed is surrounded by all the pugnacious cats in the neighborhood, might woo with more hope of success, "Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep," than he who sets at naught the charivari. Has he patience? So have they, excelling, if it might be, that of Job, intent upon enforcing a custom honored by time out-of-mind, and implicitly yielded to by generations long since departed. No week is passed without a trial of the bridegroom's patience; and a repetition of the concert, until, tired of the attention paid him, of being the subject of the remarks of all, the evening is selected, the dance opened, continued, and finished. I once lived in the neighborhood of a refractory bridegroom, who, I was told, had withstood these attacks for two years before I came to the village. The third was commenced by a vigorous prosecution of the siege. During the season, the onsets were furious, and the clamors deafening.

It passed, however, as had former years, without bringing him to terms. In year the fourth, he yielded, and the only remark was, that his party was the largest, best attended, and most sumptuous, of any in the recollection of the oldest inhabitants.

The soil, which was once exclusively their own, is now, in many cases, possessed by men, whose pursuits and feelings are wholly different from its original cultivators. The hospitable Virginian, the chivalrous and noble-spirited Kentuckian, and the prudent and industrious Yankee, have settled in their midst, and, to a great degree, rooted out those customs which for so many years had been sacredly observed: and the indigenous Frenchman finds himself imperceptibly undergoing a change, and approximating the manners and views of his new neighbors.

By an Act of Congress, at the session of 1817-18, the inhabitants of the then Territory of Illinois, were authorized to form a State government, if it should appear that there were 40,000 inhabitants in the bounds of the proposed State. In the summer of 1818, therefore, a census was taken, making the population a fraction over the required amount. The census was, at the time, deemed apocryphal, and, no doubt, the numbers were exaggerated. The true population might have been a little rising of 30,000. But so anxious were the inhabitants to emerge from a Territorial to a State government, that acts of the Marshal, and the Deputies, were countenanced approval, which illy comported with their official oaths. One plan, among others adopted, it was said, was to place the census-taker upon the largest thoroughfares, so that explorers of the country, and movers, whether to the State or elsewhere, might be counted, to swell the number of inhabitants. Thus, families were counted upon their entrance into the State, and again and again, as they passed through the different counties on their route, and, probably, before they had arrived at the place of their destination, or passed entirely through the State, a family of ten were made to figure, at least, sixty, in the Marshal's returns. The census having been completed, showing, upon paper, the required number, delegates to form a State Constitution were chosen, and assembled at Kaskaskia, the then seat of government, in the early part of August, and on the 26th of that month, affixed their names to the Constitution under which we now live. Of this Convention, I have only time to say, that, for the most part, it was composed of substantial farmers, men of limited education, but of sound judgment. The bar was represented but by three of its members: Mr. J. B. Thomas, Sr., the President; Mr. E. K. Kane, afterwards a Senator in Congress; and Mr. A.

F. Hubbard, subsequently Lieutenant-Governor, the two latter now deceased. To Mr. Kane must be awarded the merit of the arrangement and details of the proceedings of this Convention, and, doubtless, the composition, wherever original, of the instrument itself. The sixth article of the Constitution, declaring that Slavery, or involuntary servitude, should not, hereafter, be introduced into the State, was the subject of warm debate, and the only exciting topic during the session.

This audience is well aware, that by the ordinance of 1787, Slavery was excluded from the Territory out of which this State was formed. But long before the passage of this ordinance, Slavery had been introduced into Illinois by the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley, and did, of course, exist when the ordinance of 1787 became the organic law of the Northwest Territory. During the existence of the Illinois Territorial Government, a law had been passed by the Legislature, known as the Indenturing Law, by which a kind of quasi-slavery had been legalized. By this Act, a slave-holder, in Kentucky or elsewhere, could bring his slaves into the Territory, taking them, within a certain time, before the Clerk of the Circuit Court; here the slaves, by their own free will and accord, *as was presumed*, consented to serve their late masters 70, 80, or 90 years, taking special care to add such a number of years as would cover the life of the indented person. The children of the indentured servants were to be registered, upon their birth, in the County Clerk's office, and were called "registered servants," to be free, the males at thirty-three, and the females at twenty-seven years old, the descendants of the registered servants to be free at twenty-one and seventeen years old. Thus, it will be perceived, that the subject of Slavery, in all its varieties, as it then existed, was calculated to excite a deep interest when it was supposed that, by Acts of the Convention, it was to be upheld, or wholly swept away. Its advocates were anxious to insert into the Constitution a saving clause, by which their supposed rights would be confirmed, while the ultras of the opposite party were ready to overturn the whole fabric. The Convention took a middle course, leaving the right to the French slaves, and their descendants, to be adjudicated by the Courts of the country, and declaring that those who had been bound to service by indenture or contract, in conformity with the Territorial Law, without *fraud* or *collusion*, should be held to a specific performance of their contract, and also, that those who had been registered, should serve out the time appointed by law. The anti-slavery men were contented

with the saving clause contained in the words "without fraud or collusion," as they contended that in *all* cases of indentured servants, there was both the one and the other. To a great extent, they were, no doubt, correct, for cases were not uncommon, where the unfortunate servant, before going to the Clerk's office, was whipped into a proper state of mind, "*freely and voluntarily*" to enter into contract with his master. But, in all cases, it was well understood, that if this consent were not given, the slave would be immediately removed to a slave-holding State, to remain in bondage, in the hands of some one, perhaps, less kind than his present possessor.

Provision having been made in the Constitution for the election of State officers, elections were held soon after the adjournment of the Convention, when Shadrack Bond was elected Governor, and Pierre Menard, Lieutenant-Governor, without opposition. Governor Bond was a native of Maryland, and had removed with his parents, when quite young, into the then Indiana Territory. He was, to a considerable degree, destitute of the advantages of education, but, possessing a strong mind, and a popular address, was successful in the administration of the duties of his office. His State papers were usually attributed to his Secretary of State. As a politician, Governor Bond was decided, confining his appointments strictly to his friends, personal and political, but courteous and polite to his opponents. As an officer, he was generally popular and conscientious in the discharge of his duties; and, as a man, upright and honest. He died, lamented by all, in 1827. The Lieutenant-Governor, Col. Menard, was a French citizen of Kaskaskia, where he still resides. In politics, he was in opposition to Governor Bond, and it was somewhat remarkable that both should have been run on the same ticket. At the close of the Convention, it was determined that Colonel Menard should be run for that office, but he had been rendered ineligible by the 13th Sec. of the 3d Art of the Constitution, which provides that the Governor, and Lieut.-Governor, shall be, at least, thirty years of age, and have been a citizen of the United States thirty years, and a resident of this State two years. To remove this difficulty—for Col. Menard had not been a citizen of the United States thirty years—the last section in the schedule was added, making any one eligible to the office of Lieut.-Governor, who was over thirty years of age, and who had resided within the limits of the State for two years next preceding his election.

Upon the approval by the National Legislature, of the new

Constitution, Governor Bond issued his proclamation, convening the Legislature on the first Monday of December. With few exceptions, the first Legislature was composed of the delegates of the late Convention. Mr. John Messenger, one of the makers of the late map of this State, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. The General Assembly immediately proceeded to form a code of laws adapted to the wants of the new State. Having adopted, for the most part, the Common Law of England, a system the most perfect ever yet devised, they drew largely upon the then existing statute laws of Kentucky, copying, almost verbatim, the general laws of that State. Mr. Kane, then Secretary of State, having been appointed Clerk to the Committee on the Judiciary, was the author and compiler of most of the general Acts of this Legislature. In the course of this session, an Act was passed, changing the seat of government from Kaskaskia, to the late Capital, Vandalia. That this measure was unwise, and inexpedient, has been demonstrated by the experience of late years. It grew out of that speculating spirit which was but latterly so rife in this community, and which sometimes overlooks the public, in the advancement of individual interests. Kaskaskia was the focus of influence, and, by the least exertion, it would have retained its superiority. Its principal citizens were, however, interested in commanding points north of it, and, should a change be made, it was confidently anticipated that those individual points would be chosen. Commissioners were appointed to select the future site, north of the base line, and east of the third principal meridian. In the summer of 1819, the 16th Sec. in T. 6, N. 1, E., was chosen by the Commissioners, a town laid out, and the name of Vandalia given to it. It may be here added, that the speculations of the Kaskaskia gentlemen were not realized, the selection being made from the lands of the Government. It is said that the three Commissioners cast lots for the honor of conferring a name upon the new town, and that the lot fell to one who had learned from history, that, while the Vandals were the most warlike, they were, also, the most civilized and refined of former nations. It therefore seemed right to him, that their memory should be perpetuated, and that the State would be honored, in calling its seat of government after the principal town of those renowned people. Vandalia was, at that time, north of any settlement. The nearest commencement of the cultivation of the soil, was at least twenty miles from the town. But such was the idea entertained of its future greatness, that lots sold at from \$300 to \$700. Subse-

quently, they were bought for one-tenth part of those sums. A plain two-story wooden building was erected for the accommodation of the Legislature, which was completed in season for the session of 1820-21. Mr. John McLean, afterwards a Senator in Congress, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The most important Act of this Legislature, was that of incorporating the Old State Bank of Illinois. It is necessary here to say, that the effects of overtrading, and the want of stable currency, which occasioned the bankruptcy of thousands at the East in 1816-17, were not experienced in the West until the commencement of 1820. In 1818, the State of Kentucky had at one session of the Legislature, incorporated a litter of fifty banks, whose paper flooded the country, giving a fictitious value to property, and inducing the most extravagant speculations. The fall of 1819 witnessed the explosion of these bubbles, leaving the country destitute of a circulating medium, and the people indebted to the Government for lands, under the credit system, and to each other, in sums far beyond their means to liquidate. The Legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee had adopted relief measures, as they were called, creating State Banks, issuing a fictitious currency, and postponing, by law, the collection of debts. This State unwisely followed their example, and created a State Bank, with a nominal capital of half a million, authorizing but \$300,000 to be issued, without one cent of specie capital, pledging the faith and revenues of the State for the redemption of its bills. The principal bank was located at the seat of government, with branches at Edwardsville, Shawneetown, Edwards County, and Brownsville. Sums not exceeding \$100 were to be loaned upon personal security, larger amounts were to be secured by mortgage upon unincumbered real estate, payable one-tenth part annually, with interest. It was also provided in this law, that if the plaintiff in execution should fail to endorse on that writ, that the paper of the State Bank of Illinois would be received in payment, the defendant should have the right to replevy or postpone the collection of the debt for three years. The policy of this measure was very much doubted by the better-informed portion of the Legislature, and its passage through the Houses met with much opposition. In the Senate, the fate of the bill was for a long time a matter of doubt. It passed that body by a very small majority. It was returned by the Council of Revision with their objections, the most important of which was its unconstitutionality, but it was again passed by the requisite majority. Some few days after, a Senator introduced a resolution,

requiring our delegation in Congress to make the necessary efforts with the Treasury Department to secure the receipt of the new money in the land-offices of this State. After some debate, the question upon this resolution was demanded. Col. Menard, the presiding officer of the Senate, who had, through all its stages, manifested the most bitter hostility to the establishment of the bank, had listened to the debate with evident symptoms of uneasiness, and, having no faith himself in this proposed currency, and thinking, with some propriety, that the Senate evinced no wisdom in asking for what no man in his senses would grant, rose to put the question. "Gentlemen," said he, in his broken English, "I put the question—suppose I must—I bet you fifty dollar Congree no make him Land-Office money." The resolution was, however, carried, and the worthy Lieut.-Governor would have won his money, had any Senator ventured to have accepted his proposition.

With all possible speed, the State prepared to loan her credit (for it was nothing more,) to her citizens, in the sum of \$300,000, and Murray, Draper & Fairman furnished as finely-engraved bills as now generally meet the eye, in denominations of \$1, \$3, \$5, \$10, and \$20, bearing an interest of two per cent. The branches were put into operation, each having a President, Cashier, and Board of Directors; and the money was speedily loaned. Upon its first appearance, it was at a discount of thirty-three per cent; it soon fell in value to fifty cents on the dollar, then forty, thirty, and even as low as twenty-five cents. During the years 1823, 1824, and a part of 1825, its nominal value was thirty cents, and, as silver change was wholly banished from circulation, and the Legislature, by a severe statute, had prevented the issuing of shill-plasters, the people would have experienced no little inconvenience for change, had not the plan of tearing these bills been adopted. If you had a demand of twenty-five cents to liquidate, it would, of course, require a full State paper dollar. To pay fifty cents, you divided a \$3 bill, giving your creditor one-half, right hand or left, and putting the other half in your pocket. The half of a \$5 bill would pay seventy-five cents, and a whole, \$1.50. So, it will be perceived, that we had no fractional parts of a dollar. Yet we managed without difficulty, with this species of currency. In the fall of 1825, the paper rose to forty cents, and, from that time, gradually, until, by an Act of the Legislature of 1831, the Governor was authorized to make a loan of \$100,000, for the purpose of withdrawing the remaining portion of this currency from circulation. The State, in this effort to relieve the citizens,

lost at least one-third of the sum issued, without effecting the purpose proposed. Industry and economy produced more relief in the three succeeding years, than could have been expected from ten such banks. The general Government, too, by its wise and liberal policy in permitting its debtors to relinquish quarter-sections upon which \$80 had been paid, and to apply that sum to another tract, encouraged effort, and secured confidence.

At this session, the first measures in relation to our Canal were proposed. A bill passed the Senate, making an appropriation to defray the expense of an examination of the country, and to ascertain if the work was practicable. The bill was, however, lost in the House of Representatives.

In August, 1822, a general election for State officers was held. The candidates for Governor were the Hon. Jos. Philips, the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court; Thos. C. Browne, then and now an Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court; Ed. Coles, then Register of the Land-Office at Edwardsville, and Gen. J. B. Moore, then and now a citizen of the County of Monroe. As there were no political principles involved in this election, it turned wholly on individual preferences. Messrs. Philips and Browne were well known to the entire community, as well from their long residence as the important offices which they held. Gen. Moore, too, was an old resident, and stood deservedly high with the electors. Mr. Coles was little known beyond his own and a few adjoining counties. In 1819, he had emigrated from Virginia, a decided advocate of the immediate emancipation of the African race. He was not merely a preacher of the doctrine, but a doer of the word. He brought to the country with him, his own slaves, inherited from his father, and not only set them free, but provided for, and deeded to them, comfortable farms, with stock, and utensils for husbandry. Among those who professed to understand the politics of this country, it was supposed the contest would be between Messrs. Philips and Browne. Contrary to the expectation of all, Mr. Coles received the largest number of votes, and was consequently elected Governor. The election, between the three largest on the list of candidates, was a close one. Mr. Coles received 2,810; Judge Philips, 2,760; Judge Browne, 2,534, and Gen. Moore, 735.

The session of the Legislature, which followed this election, will long be remembered by those who then took an interest in public affairs. It was characterized by the most extraordinary legislative proceedings, and marked with the bitterest spirit of party animosity. Gov. Coles, in his opening message, decidedly

lost at least one-third of the sum loaned without effecting the purpose proposed. Industry and economy produced more wheat in the three succeeding years than could have been expected from ten such banks. The General Government too by its wise and liberal policy in permitting its debtors to relinquish portions upon which \$50 had been paid, and to apply that sum to another tract, encouraged effort, and secured confidence.

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In August 1812 a general election for State officers was held. The candidates for Governor were the Hon. Jos. Livingston the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Thos. C. Browne then and now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Ed. Cotes then Register of the Land Office at Falmouth, and Gen. J. B. Moore then and now a citizen of the County of Hancock. There were no political principles involved in this election. It turned wholly on individual preferences. Messrs Phillips and Browne were well known to the entire community, as well from their long residence as the important offices which they held. Gen. Moore too was an old resident, and stood deservedly high with the electors. Mr. Cotes was little known beyond his own and a few adjoining counties. In 1812 he had contested them Virginia, a decided advocate of the immediate emancipation of the African race. He was not merely a preacher of the doctrine, but a doer of the word. He brought to the country with him his own slaves inherited from his father, and not only set them free but provided for and directed to them comfortable farms with stock and utensils for husbandry. Among those who proved to understand the politics of this country it was supposed the contest would be between Messrs Phillips and Browne. Contrary to the expectation of all Mr. Cotes received the largest number of votes, and was consequently elected Governor. The election between the three largest in the list of candidates was a close one. Mr. Cotes received 2,180; Judge Phillips 2,750; Judge Browne 2,524 and Gen. Moore 712.

The session of the Legislature which followed this election will long be remembered by those who then took an interest in public affairs. It was characterized by the most extraordinary legislative proceedings, and marked with the highest spirit of party animosity. Gov. Cotes in his opening message, decidedly

condemned the Act of the previous session, establishing the State Bank, and called upon the Legislature to make a rigid examination into the proceedings of that institution, and urged the restoration, if possible, of a sound currency. He warmly advocated the immediate commencement of a system of internal improvement. Speaking of our Canal, he said: "Nature has bountifully provided Illinois with two channels of communication between the waters of the Mississippi and those of the great lakes, neither of which requires much labor to make navigable. The Illinois River, which falls directly into the great Father of Waters, and from its uniform depth of water, and general current, affords the best navigation of all its tributaries, approaches within a few miles of Lake Michigan, and, as the intervening surface is unusually level, and the earth of a light and friable texture, a canal could be excavated at a small expense." Of the means which the State then possessed to prosecute this work, he observed, that "the salines granted to this State by the General Government, are more productive than those granted to any other State, and the 3,000,000 acres of land granted to the soldiers of the late war as military bounties, though they may, for a certain time, impede the settlement and prosperity of the State, from the circumstance of their being chiefly owned in large quantities by non-resident proprietors, will have the same immediate effect of increasing the revenue from taxable lands. As these two sources of revenue are more than fall to the lot of other new States, there seems to be a great propriety of appropriating them to the great work of internal improvement, leaving the ordinary expenditures of the civil administration of the State to be met, as in other States, by ordinary taxation." He concludes this branch of the subject by the recommending the formation of a fund, to be appropriated exclusively to works of internal improvement, consisting of the revenue received into the treasury, from the taxes on the Military Bounty Lands, from the salines, and from fines, and forfeitures. In strict accordance with his views on the subject of Slavery, he called the attention of the Legislature to the evils then existing, arguing its illegality, from the terms of the deed of cession of Virginia to the United States, and the ordinance of 1787, and earnestly recommended, that just and equitable provision should be made for its abrogation in the State.

This message, though correct, in the main, in all its views, was most unfortunate in the effect produced, in both branches of the Legislature. The relief men, or advocates of a new currency,

were directly attacked, their favorite institution assailed, and their previous measures condemned. The friends of Slavery, always constituting a large minority in the early Legislatures, were indignant at the temerity of the Governor for approaching a subject then, as now, held to be exempted from discussion. A union of those two sections was consummated, and the Governor found a large majority in both Houses in opposition to most of his views, and all of his appointments.

Upon the subject of internal improvement, the Governor and Legislature harmonized, and on the first day of the session, Mr. Field, now Secretary of State, introduced into the House of Representatives, the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the Committee on Internal Improvements be instructed to enquire into the practicability of making a canal connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, and that they report to this House the propriety of adopting measures preparatory to the execution of that work. *Resolved*, That said Committee enquire into the expediency of authorizing the Governor of this State, to employ one or more practical engineers to examine the portage between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River; and also, for them to ascertain the probable sum it would take to excavate a canal connecting the same; and also, that said Committee report to this House, a bill making appropriations sufficient for this State to carry into execution the above resolutions." The resolutions were committed to a committee of the whole, and from them originated a bill "to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of this State," which, early in the month of January, passed the House of Representatives, with but six votes in the negative. In the Senate, this bill met with the most violent opposition, and it was somewhat singular, that, as it had for its object improvement of the western side of this State, it should have been so warmly advocated by eastern, and opposed by western Senators. Judge Smith, who then represented the County of Madison, in the Senate, was the leader of the friends of this measure, and Governor Kinney, of those in opposition. During the progress of the Canal bill in the Senate, Mr. Kinney, professing to be a decided advocate of the system of Internal Improvement, introduced a bill to drain certain lakes, which he alleged was of greater importance than the Canal measure, inasmuch, by this improvement, not only much good land would be reclaimed, but the health of the country materially benefited. His object, as supposed, was to enlist Senators in local works, and to apply, to this purpose, the slender means of the State.

were directly attacked, their favorite institutions assailed, and their previous measures condemned. The friends of slavery, always constituting a large minority in the early legislatures, were indignant at the tenacity of the Governor for approaching a subject then as new, held to be exempted from discussion. A union of those two sections was contemplated, and the Governor found a large majority in both Houses in opposition to most of his views, and all of his appointments.

Upon the subject of internal improvement, the Governor and Legislature harmonized, and on the first day of the session, Mr. Field, now Secretary of State, introduced into the House a Resolution, the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Committee on Internal Improvements be instructed to prepare a report on the expediency of making a canal connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, and that they report on this House the propriety of adopting measures preparatory to the execution of that work." Answered, That said Committee, in reply to the expediency of authorizing the Governor of this State, to employ one or more practical engineers to examine the route between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River; and also for them to ascertain the probable sum it would take to excavate a canal connecting the same; and also that said Committee report to this House, a bill making appropriations sufficient for the State to carry into execution the above resolution. The resolution was committed to a committee of the whole, and from them originated a bill "to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of this State," which, early in the month of January, passed the House of Representatives, with but six votes in the negative. In the Senate, this bill met with the most violent opposition, and it was somewhat singular that, as it had for its object improvement of the western side of the State, it should have been so warmly advocated by eastern, and opposed by western Senators. Judge Smith, who then represented the County of Madison, in the Senate, was the leader of the friends of this measure, and Governor Kinney, of those in opposition. During the progress of the Canal bill in the Senate, Mr. Kinney, professing to be a decided advocate of the system of lateral improvement, introduced a bill to amend certain laws which he alleged was of greater importance than the Canal measure, and would be beneficial to the health of the country generally, and would be of great importance to the health of the country generally, and would be of great importance to the health of the country generally. His object, as supposed, was to enlist Senators in local works, and to apply to this purpose, the slender means of the State.

This, and the Canal bill, were both referred to the committee of the whole, on the same day. Upon its consideration, each member seemed anxious to add, not only to the number of lakes to be drained, but to the amount to be appropriated for the object. Amendment after amendment was made, and adopted, when one member moved an additional section, proposing to drain Lake Michigan, which was also carried by a large majority, and the sum of \$94,000 was appropriated to carry the provisions of the bill into effect. "Fortunately for the country lying south-west of the lake," says the Editor of the State paper of that day, "its inundation was prevented by a motion to read the bill, in committee of the whole, on the 4th day of July, which prevailed, by nine votes in the affirmative, and six in the negative." On a subsequent day, the Canal bill passed the Senate, Messrs. Beaird, Grammer, and Kinney, only, voting in the negative. This Act constituted five individuals a Board of Commissioners, to consider, advise, and adopt such measures as might be requisite, to effect the communication, by canal and locks, between the navigable waters of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan, authorizing them to employ an engineer, and others, to make the necessary survey, levels, etc., to determine the route of the Canal, and to make the necessary estimates of the work; all which was to be reported to the next session of the Legislature. The sum of \$600 was appropriated to carry the provisions of the bill into execution.

The next engrossing subject, was a resolution, authorizing the electors to vote, at the subsequent general election, for, or against, a Convention to amend the Constitution. This resolution was in pursuance of the 7th Article of our Constitution, which provides that, whenever two-thirds of the General Assembly shall think it necessary to alter or amend that instrument, "they shall recommend to the electors, at the next election of members to the General Assembly, to vote for, or against, a Convention, and if it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of the State, voting for representatives, have voted for a Convention, the General Assembly shall, at their next session, call a Convention, for the purpose of revising, altering, or amending this Constitution." The progress of this resolution enlisted the feelings of all men, and produced an excitement which has no parallel in the history of our State. The friends of Slavery were impressed with the belief, that the time was now come when, by an effort, a change in our domestic institutions might be produced, and they exerted every nerve to effect their purpose. Their oppo-

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The next engrossing subject, was a resolution, authorizing the electors to vote at the subsequent general election, for or against a Convention to amend the Constitution. This resolution was in pursuance of the 5th Article of our Constitution, which provides that whenever two-thirds of the General Assembly shall think it necessary to alter or amend that instrument, "they shall recommend to the electors, at the next election of members to the General Assembly, to vote for or against a Convention; and if it shall appear that a majority of all the electors of the State voting for representatives have voted for a Convention, the General Assembly shall, at their next session, call a Convention for the purpose of revising, altering or amending the Constitution." The progress of this resolution evinced the feelings of the mass, and produced an excitement which has no parallel in the history of our State. The friends of Slavery were impressed with the belief that the time was now come when, by an effort, a change in our domestic institutions might be produced, and they exerted every nerve to effect their purpose. Their oppo-

nents were alarmed at the prospect of the success of the measure, which, an untoward combination of circumstances rendered more than probable. They looked forward to a desperate struggle, in the settlement of the question, at the polls, which should call out the worst feelings of our natures, and array, in opposition, men, who, otherwise, would remain united. They foresaw, during the pendency of the question, all immigration into the State would cease—that all enterprize would be checked—and that the more substantial citizens, instead of extending their improvements, would be shaping their arrangements so as to leave the State, in the event of the success of the Convention-party; that all in favor of the Convention-resolution were really anxious to introduce Slavery, if, indeed, it was practicable, is not asserted; but, unquestionably, a large majority of the party were influenced alone by this consideration. Some of its advocates avowed their object to be the abolishing of the Council of Revision, and others, to provide for an annual meeting of the Legislature, and others, still, the removal of the seat of Government.

In the Senate, there was obtained, without much difficulty, a Constitutional majority of two-thirds, but it was otherwise in the House of Representatives. The first vote, in the latter body, was twenty-two to fourteen, leaving a Constitutional majority of two votes. Immediately, the action of the Legislature was so directed as to AFFECT these two votes. Local measures, in which no interest was taken, except by those immediately concerned, if proposed by one of the fourteen, were voted down. Mobs paraded, at nights, before the houses of the minority, saluting them with groans and hisses; and instructions were gotten up at Vandalia, and sent, for signatures, into the counties of the anti-Conventionists. These efforts were not without success—and two members were induced to come over to the dominate party. Having now all things arranged, and sure of success, the resolutions were again called up; and upon this vote, Mr. Hansen, a representative from Pike County, who had, before, voted with the Conventionists, now voted against the resolution, and it was, a second time, defeated. Great was the excitement upon Mr. Hansen's defection—and the majority determined that, at all hazzards, they would carry their point—and they resorted to this expedient to effect their object. At the commencement of the session, Mr. Hansen's seat had been contested by a Mr. Shaw. The papers and documents had been referred to the Committee on Elections, who reported in

ments were planned at the prospect of the success of a measure which an universal combination of circumstances rendered more than probable. They looked forward to a great struggle in the settlement of the question at the polls which should call out the worst feelings of our nature and array in opposition men who otherwise would remain unopposed. They foresaw during the progress of the question all the excitement into the State would cause—that all enterprises would be checked—and that the more substantial citizens instead of extending their improvements would be slipping their arrangements as to leave the State in the event of the success of the Liberty party; that all in favor of the Convention-resolution were really anxious to introduce slavery; it indeed it was particularly is not asserted; but unquestionably a large majority of it party were influenced alone by this consideration. Some of its advocates avowed their object to be the abolition of the Council of Revision, and others to provide for an annual meeting of the Legislature, and others still, the removal of the seat of Government.

In the Senate, there was obtained without much difficulty a Constitutional majority of two-thirds, but it was otherwise in the House of Representatives. The first vote, in the latter body, was twenty-two to fourteen, leaving a Constitutional majority of two votes. Immediately the action of the Legislature was so directed as to attract these two votes. Local measures, which no interest was taken except by those immediately concerned, if proposed by one of the fourteen were voted down. Those introduced at night, before the houses of the minority, excluding them with groans and hisses; and instructions were gotten up at Vandalia and sent for signatures into the counties of the anti-conventionists. These efforts were not without success—and two members were induced to come over to the homestead party. Having now all things arranged, and one success, the resolutions were again called up; and upon this vote Mr. Hanson, a representative from Pike County, who had before voted with the Conventionists, now voted against the resolution, and it was a second time defeated. Great was the excitement upon Mr. Hanson's defection—and the majority determined that at all hazards they would carry their point, and they resorted to the expedient to effect their object. At the commencement of the session, Mr. Hanson's name had been contacted by a Mr. Shaw. The papers and documents had been referred to the Committee on Elections, who reported

favor of Hansen, in which report the House had concurred. Hansen was, therefore, permitted to retain his seat unquestioned, from the first days of the session to near the close of it, a period of some ten weeks. Mr. Shaw, after his unsuccessful contest, had returned to his home. A special messenger was sent to request his attendance at the seat of Government. Upon his arrival, a motion was made to reconsider the former vote of the House, declaring Hansen re-elected. This was carried by a vote of twenty-two to thirteen. Mr. Shaw was then declared, by resolution, to be a member of the House, and Mr. Hansen, consequently, excluded. The House, as thus constituted, concurred with the Senate, and the resolution, by the aid of Mr. Shaw's vote, was declared, by the Speaker, to be adopted.

Immediately after the session, presses were secured upon either side, and the great question underwent the closest scrutiny, and the most particular investigation. Facts were collected and embodied, showing that the interests, as well as the happiness, of the people, required them to sustain their free institutions. For a time the Conventionists seemed to carry with them the people, as they had, before, the Legislature. But as light was poured in upon the question, and the newspapers and tracts, everywhere industriously circulated, produced their legitimate effect, it was soon perceived that a great change in public opinion had taken place. At a later period, that party entertained but faint hopes of success—and at the polls they were defeated by an overwhelming majority of voters—and thus, was forever put to rest the question of Slavery, as to its existence in Illinois.

In conclusion, I shall briefly advert to a few topics, which could not well be connected with the preceding remarks. And, first, the administration of justice. Though there was an efficient organization of the courts, yet, from the extent of the territory and the sparseness of the population, justice did not always overtake the evil-doer. The spring terms of the courts were often interrupted, and sometimes, wholly prevented by high waters cutting off all communication with the different portions of the State—for, with the exception of the United States road leading from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, I am not aware that a stream was bridged over which the roads of the country ran. Swimming creeks was so much of a matter of course and necessity, that horses were selected with a view to this object—and an animal that took the water fearlessly and swam so high as not to immerse his rider, was held in great esteem. The want of sufficient jails, or, in

view of Hansen in which report the House had concurred. Hansen was, therefore, permitted to retain his seat undisturbed from the last day of the session to near the close of it, a period of some ten weeks. Mr. Shaw, after his unsuccessful contest, had returned to his home. A special messenger was sent to request his attendance at the seat of Government. Upon his arrival a motion was made to reconsider the former vote of the House, declaring Hansen re-elected. This was carried by a vote of twenty-two to thirteen. Mr. Shaw was then declared in resolution to be a member of the House, and Mr. Hansen, consequently, excluded. The House, as thus constituted, concurred with the Senate, and the resolution by the aid of Mr. Shaw's vote, was defeated by the Speaker to be adopted.

Immediately after the session papers were secured upon either side, and the great question underwent the closest scrutiny, and the most particular investigation. Facts were collected and embodied, showing that the majority as well as the happiness of the people, required them to sustain their free institutions. For a time the Conservatives seemed to waver with them; but as they had before the Legislature, that as light was poured in upon the question, and the newspaper and tract everywhere industriously circulated, produced their legitimate effect, it was soon perceived that a great change in public opinion had taken place. At a later period that party withdrew but from hope of success—and at the polls they were defeated by an overwhelming majority of voters—and they were forever put to rest the question of Slavery, as to its existence in Illinois.

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most counties, of *any* jails, was a great evil. If an offender was taken, and his guilt ever so apparent, unless the Court was near at hand, he was sure to escape. For the first ten years of the State government, I do not recollect of but one jail that would hold a criminal, and that one was at Belleville, in the county of St. Clair. In 1825, a man was condemned for murder in the county of Sangamon. Attending the Court of that county, I arrived at Springfield the day before his execution; with one of the members of the Bar, I went to visit him. He was confined in a pen of logs, perhaps ten feet square, and as many high, without a roof. In one corner was the wretched criminal, chained to the logs, with a temporary roof, constructed of clap-boards, over his head, sufficient only to protect him from the rays of the sun and damps of the night. The difficulty and expense of detaining culprits until the regular session of Court, gave rise, in the early days of the territorial government, to the companies of "Regulators," which were organized in almost every county, and existed at the formation of our State government, and for a few years afterward. The "Regulators" were generally composed of the more enterprising and respectable class of the inhabitants. The captain acted as commander and judge. Their vigilance and energies were directed principally against horse-thieves and passers of counterfeit money, with which the country abounded. Upon a successful foray, the company, with the delinquent, retired to the woods, when a court was duly opened, the prisoner examined, and the witnesses sworn. Perhaps few escaped by the technicalities of the law, and but very few were punished who did not richly deserve it. A majority of voices acquitted or condemned, and fixed the quantum of punishment. From thirty to one hundred stripes upon the bare back, was the common sentence, with an admonition from the presiding officer that should the offender be found within their limits after a given time, he would again be taken up and repunished. A word to the wise, in this case, was always sufficient. As soon as necessary arrangements could be made, if the offender was a resident, he transferred his person and effects to a country of larger liberty, and where the police were less vigilant and attentive. Though acting without law, and, indeed, directly in defiance of it, this system of jurisprudence was approved and sustained by public opinion, and was, unquestionably, productive of much good.

In a country so new and so recently settled, it could not be expected that any considerable effort should have been made in the cause of education. Common schools were generally found

most counties of my jail was a great evil. It is an oft-told story, and his guilt ever so apparent, unless the Court was at hand he was sure to escape. For the last ten years of State government I do not recollect of but one jail that was held a criminal, and that one was at Belleville, in the county of St. Clair. In 1835 a man was condemned for murder, arrived at Springfield the day before his execution, with an attorney of the Bar, I went to visit him. He was confined in a pen of logs perhaps ten feet square, and as many high as four or five. In one corner was the wretched criminal, chained to the logs with a temporary rod, constructed of chip-boards, his head, sufficient only to protect him from the rays of the sun and damp of the night. The difficulty and expense of obtaining the regular session of Court, gave rise, in the early days of the territorial government, to the company of "Kiddlers," which were organized in almost every county, and at the formation of our State government, and for a few years afterward. The "Kiddlers" were generally composed of more enterprising and respectable class of the inhabitants, who acted as commander and judge. Their vigilance was directed principally against horse-thieves, and they were directed to keep the country around them of constant money with which the country around them was successful, the company, with the delinquents, upon a successful day, the company was duly opened, the prisoners to the woods, when a court was duly opened, the prisoners examined, and the witnesses sworn. Perhaps few escaped the technicalities of the law, and but very few were punished or did not richly deserve it. A majority of voters acquainted with the demands, and heard the demands of punishment. First thing one hundred stripes upon the bare back was the common sentence, with an admonition from the presiding officer that should the offender be found within their limits after a given time, would again be taken up and punished. A word to the warden, this case was always sufficient. As soon as necessary means could be made if the offender was a resident, he was forced his person and effects to a county of larger liberty, where the police were less vigilant and attentive. Though without law, and rendered directly in defiance of it, this system of jurisprudence was approved and sustained by public opinion, and was unquestionably productive of much good. In a country so new and so recently settled it could not be expected that any considerable effort should have been made for the cause of education. Common schools were generally for

in neighborhoods large enough to sustain them. They were, however, but very common schools, in which even the first rudiments were but imperfectly taught. In that day, and at later periods, a bitter hostility was manifested to colleges and seminaries of learning. No effort was made for their establishment until a day subsequent to the time I have embraced in this lecture.

In regard to morals and religion, it may be said, that either there has been, since the commencement of our State government, a progression from bad to worse; or that our early inhabitants were far superior to those who are usually the pioneers of future population. The caning, dirking, and shooting, now so common in new settlements, were almost unknown in this State. In the religious community, the Methodists clearly took the lead. They were early on the ground, and the good they have done, has been seen and realized. The Baptists, in their various sects, as they still exist at the South, were second in their efforts to do good. To the Rev. Mr. Peck, of this church, this State is more indebted than to any other one religious teacher. At an early day he put into operation, in almost every settlement, the machinery of Sunday-schools and Bible Societies, and for years sustained it by his own untiring and unaided exertions. At the formation of the government, I am not aware that there was, within our limits, a minister of the Episcopal or Presbyterian order. A few churches of the latter persuasion had been formed in the country adjacent to the Ohio River, which were occasionally visited by ministers from Kentucky. It was not until the summer of 1819, that the first Presbyterian Missionary came among us. The Covenanters of the old Scotch church had made a settlement, formed a church, and had a regular officiating minister in 1817. At the Convention, this sect presented their petition praying that an article might be inserted in our State Constitution, recognizing Jehovah as God, and the Bible as a revelation of His will to mankind. As their desired object was not effected, they refused thereafter to perform the duties of citizens, except in the payment of taxes, as voters, militia-men, or jurors.

The political divisions, as they then existed, I can only attribute to the question of Slavery. It is readily perceived that those who emigrated from slave-States to avoid its evils, would unite, in their new homes, in opposition to it. Others there were, who, tempted by the rich virgin soil of Illinois, and the future prospects of the State, which were then seen in the perspective, had removed here, if not in favor of Slavery, at least with no

in neighborhoods large enough to sustain them. They were, however, but very common schools in which even the first rudiments were but imperfectly taught. In that day, and at later periods, a direct hostility was manifested to colleges and seminaries of learning. No effort was made for their establishment until a day subsequent to the time I have embraced in this lecture.

In regard to morals and religion it may be said that either there has been, since the commencement of our State Government, a progression from bad to worse; or that our early inhabitants were far superior to those who are usually the pioneers of future population. The eating, drinking, and shooting now so common in new settlements, were almost unknown in the State. In the religious community, the Methodists clearly took the lead. They were early on the ground, and the good they have done has been seen and testified. The Baptists, in their various sects, as they still exist at the South, were second in their efforts to do good. To the Rev. Mr. Peck of this church, this State is more indebted than to any other one religious teacher. At an early day he put into operation in almost every settlement, the machinery of Sunday-schools and Bible Societies, and for years sustained it by his own untiring and unaided exertions. At the formation of the government, I am not aware that there was within our limits a minister of the Episcopal or Presbyterian order. A few churches of the latter persuasion had been founded in the country adjacent to the Ohio River, which were occasionally visited by ministers from Kentucky. It was not until the summer of 1802, that the first Presbyterian missionary came among us. The Covenanters of the old Scotch church had made a settlement founded a church, and had a regular officiating minister in 1807. At the Convention, this sect presented their petition praying that an article might be inserted in our State Constitution, recognising Jehovah as God, and the Bible as a revelation of His will to mankind. As their desired object was not effected, they refused thereafter to perform the duties of citizens, except in the payment of taxes, as voters, judges, or jurors.

The political divisions as they then existed, I can only attribute to the question of Slavery. It is readily perceived that those who emigrated from slave States to avoid its evils, would unite in their new homes in opposition to it. Others there were, who, tempted by the rich virgin soil of Illinois, and the future prospects of the State, which were then seen in the perspective, had removed hither, not in favor of Slavery, at least with no

objection to it. A union of this class, with a large floating population in the vicinity of the salt-works, engaged in the manufacture of salt, and the native French citizens, who were generally slave-holders, formed a party equal, if not superior, to their opponents. The anti-slavery men rallied around Governor Edwards, then Territorial Governor, and the others supported and sustained Governor Bond. That there was no difference in principle in these two gentlemen, I infer from the fact that they both held slaves to the day of their death. Their influence, however, was exerted in favor of their respective parties—probably more from necessity than from choice. At the first election, when Governor Bond ran without opposition, the parties were rallied upon the choice for Representative for Congress, Mr. Cook running as an Edwards man, and Mr. John McLean in opposition. The contest was a severe one, and the result elected McLean by less than one hundred votes, to the portion of the session then unexpired when the State came into the Union. The next year the contest for the same office was renewed between the same candidates, when Mr. Cook was elected by several hundred majority. Two years subsequent, Mr. Kane, the official adviser and political friend of Governor Bond, took the field in opposition to Mr. Cook, and was almost distanced. Later still, the array of parties upon the Convention question, with few exceptions upon both sides, discovered the same political divisions. To the same principle of anti-slavery, I attribute the election of Governor Coles. While the majority of the old parties divided upon the other candidates, the ultra anti-slavery men, without concert or consultation, naturally united in the support of this gentleman, and secured his election, as we have seen, by a few votes, as unexpectedly to themselves as to the friends of the other candidates. I have spoken of Governor Bond. Let me say of Governor Edwards—for he, too, has passed “that bourne from which no traveler returns”—that he was a man possessed of talents of a very high order, justly ranking him among the first in the Senate, during the second term of Mr. Monroe’s administration. While Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, he was appointed Governor of the Illinois Territory, when formed, and continued in that office until superseded by the formation of the State Constitution. He was a bold, rather than a prudent, politician—unwavering and untiring in the pursuit of his object. From an intimate acquaintance, I can say, that in the main, his views were honest, and that he desired the best interests of the people. His personal appearance (for he was a gentleman of the

objection to it. A group of this class, with a large footing upon the plantation in the vicinity of the salt-works, engaged in the manufacture of salt and the native French citizens who were generally slaveholders formed a party equal if not superior to their opponents. The anti-slavery men rallied around Governor Edwards, then Territorial Governor, and the others appeared and sustained the Governor's Board. That there was no difference in principle between these two gentlemen I infer from the fact that they both held slaves to the day of their death. Their influence, however, was exerted in favor of their respective parties—probably more from necessity than from choice. At the next election, when Governor Bond ran without opposition, the parties were rallied upon the choice for Representative for Congress, Mr. Cook running as an Edwards man, and Mr. John McCain in opposition. The contest was a severe one, and the result elected McCain by less than one hundred votes, to the portion of the session then unexpired, when the State came into the Union. The next year the contest for the same office was renewed between the same candidates, when Mr. Cook was elected by several hundred majority. Two years subsequent Mr. Kane, the official adviser and political friend of Governor Bond, took the field in opposition to Mr. Cook, and was almost defeated. I never will the story of parties upon the Convention question, with few exceptions upon both sides, discovered the same political divisions. To the same principle of anti-slavery I attribute the election of Governor Coles. While the majority of the old parties divided upon the other candidates, the anti-slavery men, without concert or consultation, naturally united in the support of this gentleman, and secured his election, as we have seen by a few votes, as unexpectedly to themselves as to the friends of the other candidates. I have spoken of Governor Bond. Let me say of Governor Edwards—for his too, has passed "that hour when which no traveler returns"—that he was a man possessed of talents of a very high order, justly ranking him among the first in the Senate during the second term of Mr. Monroe's administration. While Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, he was appointed Governor of the Illinois Territory, when formed, and continued in that office until superseded by the formation of the State Constitution. He was a bold, rather than a prudent politician—unwavering and untiring in the pursuit of his object. From an intimate acquaintance I can say that in the main his views were honest and that he desired the best interests of the people. His personal appearance (for he was a gentleman of the

old school) was remarkably prepossessing, his manners polished, and his address attractive. In private life he was an enterprising citizen, an honest man, and kind and attentive to the poor and deserving. He fell a victim to his philanthropy, in efforts to lessen the evils of that dreadful scourge, the cholera. Attentive to those under his influence, he took the disease himself, and suddenly and unexpectedly closed a life of enterprise and usefulness in the summer of 1835.

May I trespass a few moments longer upon your attention to pay a tribute of respect to one of my earliest and best friends—I allude to Daniel P. Cook, from whom this county was named.

Mr. Cook, who, for seven years, ably represented this State in Congress, was a native of Kentucky, and departed this life in 1827. For nearly the whole of his brilliant Congressional career, his friends more hoped for than expected a continuance of his useful life, owing to the feeble state of his health. His death was, doubtless, accelerated by his laborious public duties, during the last session he occupied a seat in Congress. As Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, his feeble constitution gave way under the discharge of his high responsibilities, and he returned to his constituents to find an early grave. He had not the advantages of classical acquirements; all that he derived from schools were the simple rudiments of an English education. But possessing a mind of no common order, etherial and elastic, it relied upon itself, forming its own combination of principles, and rendering its possession far superior to those who only used the knowledge of others. Generous to a fault, he often gave judiciously, preferring to be imposed upon himself, than suffer the needy to leave without aid.

His popularity was solid and substantial, won by merit, and secured by an entire devotion to the interests of his constituents. As a statesman, he stood deservedly high—there were but few of his contemporaries that ranked before him. He was among the few speakers, whose talents could command a full House of members and spectators.—This evidence was frequently given, when great national questions were before the House of Representatives, in the debate of which he was expected to participate. Illinois has been honored by him—she has cause to be proud of her representation—for he was of her own growth; a distinguished and able man of his own making.

I have thus traced a few of the principal events of our early history. Connected, as I have been with these events, and with the State of my adoption, from my early life, I look back

old school was remarkably possessing his manners polished and his address elegant. In private life he was an entertaining citizen, an honest man, and kind and attentive to the poor and deserving. He fell a victim to his philology, in efforts to lessen the evils of that dreadful scourge, the cholera. Attentive to those under his influence, he took the disease himself, and suddenly and unexpectedly closed a life of enterprise and usefulness in the summer of 1832.

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His popularity was solid and substantial, won by merit, and secured by an entire devotion to the interests of his constituents. As a statesman, he stood characteristically high—there were but few of his contemporaries that ranked before him. He was among the few speakers whose talents could command a full House of members and spectators. Thus evidence was repeatedly given, when great national questions were before the House of Representatives, in the debate of which he was expected to participate. Honour has been bestowed by him—who has cause to be proud of her representation—for he was of her own growth; a shining gem and able man of his own making.

I have thus traced a few of the principal events of our early history. Connected, as I have been with these events, and with the State of my adoption from my early life, I look back

with interest upon these years "numbered with the flood." Comparing our present situation with the past, I am filled with astonishment at the rapidity of our march of improvement. It has certainly surprised the expectations of the most sanguine of our early inhabitants. Speaking for myself, and those with whom I was conversant, the twenty-second year of our State government finds us at a point, which we could not reasonably have hoped to have attained in our fortieth year. What is in reserve for us, we know not. Judging, however, from the past, with the blessing of kind Providence, the time is not far distant when our own Illinois will stand first in the ranks of the American Confederacy, in point of number, wealth, and influence. The materials of greatness are in our midst; it depends upon the men of this generation, whether these materials shall be used, and the vast resources of our State developed. The light cloud,* which now partially obscures our political sun, and casts a shade upon our future prospects, with our united efforts, may be easily dissipated, as the light mists from our own clear lake before the genial breeze of summer. Let there, hereafter, be unity of purpose, and union of effort. Let party names be obliterated, and party feuds be forgotten, and let the rivalry be, who can do the most for the future prosperity of Illinois.

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EARLY SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

BY ROBERT W. PATTERSON, D.D.

An Address read before the Chicago Historical Society, Tuesday, October 19, 1880

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

At the risk of failing to contribute anything, not embraced in the documents and volumes already in the possession of this Association, I have ventured to promise a paper, on the Early Society of Southern Illinois. I now proceed to present to you some of my own recollections, and the results of some reading and inquiry in regard to this subject. Two valuable papers, recently read here, pertaining to the French population in Kaskaskia and its neighborhood, and the early political, and other public men of this State, have satisfactorily covered a part of the territory, which I might have traversed; and yet, I shall be pardoned, if I take a somewhat wide range, in treating of Society, as it was in the older section of this State, from forty to fifty or sixty years ago. And I trust, I shall be excused, if I refer somewhat frequently, to my own recollection of facts, running back to 1821 or 1822, my father having removed into this State, near the close of the year 1821. The period which I shall contemplate in the statements of this paper, may be considered as beginning with the year 1815, and extending forward fifteen or twenty years, although I shall have occasion to refer to social conditions, some of which are traceable to the first settlements of the Illinois Territory, and some of which still have many living illustrations in the southern portion of our yet comparatively new State.

The territory, which was chiefly occupied by the people of this State, down to the year 1830, if not longer, lies south of a line running east and west across the State, and touching the northern boundary of Sangamon County.

The counties organized before 1820, were comparatively few, being, I think, in all only eighteen. Of these, the most populous in 1820, were St. Clair, formed in 1794, Randolph, next in age,

EARLY SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

BY ROBERT W. PATTERSON, D.D.

An Address read before the Chicago Historical Society, Tuesday, October 29, 1890.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

At the risk of falling to contribute anything not embraced in the documents and volumes already in the possession of this Association, I have ventured to prepare a paper on the Early Society of Southern Illinois. I now proceed to present to you some of my own recollections, and the results of some readings and inquiries in regard to this subject. Two valuable papers, recently read here, pertaining to the French population in Kaskaskia and its neighborhood, and the early political and other public men of this State, have eminently covered a part of the territory which I might have traversed; and yet, I shall be pardoned if I take a somewhat wide range, in tracing of Southern Illinois, as it was in the older section of the State, from forty to fifty or sixty years ago. And I trust I shall be excused, if I refer somewhat frequently, to my own recollection of facts, more or less back to 1821 or 1822, my father having removed into this State, near the close of the year 1821. The period which I shall contemplate in the statements of this paper, may be considered as beginning with the year 1812, and extending forward fifteen or twenty years, although I shall have occasion to refer to social conditions some of which are traceable to the first settlements of the Illinois Territory, and some of which still have many living illustrations in the northern portion of our present comparatively new State.

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The counties organized before 1820, were comparatively few, being I think, in all only eighteen. Of these, the most populous in 1820, were St. Clair, founded in 1794, Randolph, next in age,

Madison, organized in 1812, Gallatin, same age, Bond, organized in 1817, and Franklin and Union Counties formed in 1818. These may perhaps be regarded as the mother counties of the State, in respect to the earlier population. But another list of counties, either set off from the older ones, or organized on more northern territory, came into the sisterhood, and embraced a good proportion of our people, before the close of the year 1825. Among these may be named Fayette, Clinton, Greene, Marion, Montgomery, Pike, Sangamon, and Schuyler. But the Society of which I am to speak took its shaping before the year 1825, and was mainly located in the counties organized before 1820. The entire white population of the State in 1800, was a fraction over 2,000; in 1810, upwards of 12,000; in 1820, more than 55,000; in 1830, 161,000.

The earlier population of Southern Illinois (leaving altogether out of view the aborigines of the country), consisted almost entirely of French, Pennsylvania Dutch, and native Americans. For there were very few Irish, Scotch, or German people, in the State, until the more recent wave of immigration from Great Britain and the continent of Europe began to roll in upon us. The French, who were of the Canadian type, were partly mixed with Indian blood, and resembled very closely their descendants of to-day. They occupied the portions of Randolph and St. Clair Counties, in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia and the American Bottom, and extended north of the line of Madison County, between the Mississippi River and the east bluff. Many of them may still be found in that region. They have always been distinguished for their simple and primitive modes of life, dress, and manners, their illiteracy, their indifference to all kinds of improvement, and their unquestioning adherence to the customs and religion of their fathers. After the interesting accounts, which we have had in former papers, of the origin and history of the French Colony at Kaskaskia, I need not further speak of this peculiar class of the first settlers in Illinois.

Of the earlier population, there was one small colony of Germans, and there were some settlements of those Germans, usually called Pennsylvania Dutch. They were an industrious, though not enterprising people, usually farmers of moderate means, who lived comfortably, and kept their associations mainly among themselves. The chief elements of the population were Americans, who emigrated, within the first quarter of the present century, from the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, with a small infusion of families from New

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The earlier population of Southern Illinois (leaving altogether out of view the aborigines of the country) consisted almost entirely of French, Pennsylvania Dutch, and native Americans. For there were very few Irish, Scotch, or German people in the State, until the more recent wave of immigration from Great Britain and the continent of Europe began to roll in upon us. The French, who were of the Canadian type, were partly mixed with Indian blood, and resembled very closely their descendants at today. They occupied the portions of Randolph and St. Clair Counties in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia and the American Bottom, and extended north of the line of Madison County between the Mississippi River and the vast plain. Many of them may still be found in that region. They have always been distinguished for their simple and primitive modes of life, dress, and manners, their illiteracy, their indifference to all kinds of improvement, and their unquestioning adherence to the customs and religion of their fathers. After the interesting accounts which we have had in former papers of the origin and history of the French Colony at Kaskaskia, I need not further speak of this peculiar class of the first settlers in Illinois.

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Jersey, New York, and the New England States. The great majority of the earlier inhabitants were from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. The immigrants from Pennsylvania, New York, and the New England States, have increased in relative proportions, after 1820, onward to the present time. The sectional feeling among the people, before 1825 or 1830, was, in many cases, intense, especially on the part of the natives of the Southern States, toward the emigrants from New York and New England. The term "Yankee," was, in many communities, one of reproach, and the unfortunate person who bore it, was watched with suspicion, and deemed hardly fit for association with those who thought themselves in some sort the rightful proprietors of the country. These prejudices were, however, less inveterate in the villages, where the people were from many different States, than in the rural districts, where the South-western element prevailed. And the New Englanders and New Yorkers, being generally enterprising, were usually settled in the thriving towns, and engaged in mechanical or mercantile pursuits. The families in the country, were generally of Southern origin, many of them having come originally from Virginia and the Carolinas to Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, and thence to Illinois. These immigrants from the South and South-west, were generally influenced to move into the territory, afterwards the State, of Illinois, by two considerations—the first was, a desire to find a still newer country; for many of them were adventurers who had always lived in frontier regions; and, secondly, most of these people, being comparatively poor, and uncomfortable in communities where they had no real estate, and were compelled to labor alongside of slaves, were attracted by the prospect of becoming owners of fertile lands, and of escaping from the humiliation of being reckoned among the "white trash" of the slave-holding States. There were, however, a considerable number of what were deemed the better classes, who came to this State, either directly, from the South-west, or indirectly, through the State of Ohio. We see, at this point, the working of the ordinance of 1787, which caused a sifting of immigrants to Illinois, as well as other North-western States, both from the Southern and Middle States; from the Southern States, by keeping back those who owned slaves and defended the institution of Slavery, and from the Middle States, by introducing only those settlers who desired to improve their fortunes in a country where Slavery was forever forbidden by law. We shall have occasion to refer to this complexion of our early population in another connection.

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We come now to notice the pursuits and modes of life that characterized the early inhabitants of Southern Illinois. I have already intimated, that there were two general classes of the first immigrants to our State, the one consisting of floating people, who always live in frontier settlements, and the other, which was much the larger, composed of those who came to be permanent residents.

As to pursuits, these two classes were widely different, but as to manners and style of living, they often resembled each other very closely. The floating class were mainly from the mountainous regions of the South-west, and depended chiefly upon hunting and fishing, for the means of living for themselves and their families. And, of course, as the country became more densely settled, they emigrated again to other frontier regions, further west. There was, however, a considerable proportion of the more stable population, who, at an early day, like the genuine frontiers-men, devoted themselves, a great part of the time, to the hunting of wild game, bee-hunting, trapping, and fishing. There were many inducements to this kind of life, when the country was very new. For deer, bears, turkeys, grouse or prairie chickens, and other fowl, were abundant in the woods and prairies, and, at first, even elk and buffaloes were numerous, and bees were found in all the forests. Bears were depended upon, by many in the less settled regions, for salt meat, instead of pork, until these animals, in a few years, disappeared from the country. Sometimes, a hunting company, of a few men, would kill as many as forty bears in a single expedition. This was especially true in the extreme southern part of the State. Deer and bees continued very plentiful for many years, a single gunner often killing eight or ten deer in a day, and a little band of skilful bee-hunters, going into an uninhabited section of woods, and finding, in a few days, in the autumn, bee-trees enough to supply their families with honey for the following year. Some amusing anecdotes were told of the early bee-hunters. I myself was acquainted with an illiterate minister, of a peculiar faith, of whom it was reported, and believed, that after preaching on a certain Sabbath, he gave notice that he would preach there again the next Sunday, if it should ~~not~~ be a good bee-day; intimating, that if the weather on the next Sunday should be favorable for bee-hunting, he would be otherwise occupied, and could not preach. Fishing, and some kinds of hunting, are still, more or less profitable in many sections of the State; but wild bees, and the larger wild animals, have so far disappeared, that very few

We came now to notice the permanent and nomadic life that characterized the early inhabitants of Southern Illinois. I have already intimated that there were two general classes of the first immigrants to our State: the one consisting of nomadic people, who always live in transient settlements, and the other, which was much the larger, composed of those who came to be permanent residents.

As to nomads, these two classes were widely different but as to manners and style of living they often resembled each other very closely. The nomadic class were mainly from the mountain regions of the South-west and depended chiefly upon hunting and fishing for the means of living for themselves and their families. And at times, as the country became more densely settled, they migrated again to other frontier regions rather west. There was, however, a considerable proportion of the more stable population, who, at an early date like the frontier men, devoted themselves a great part of the time to the hunting of wild game, bee-hunting, trapping, and fishing. There were many indications to this kind of life, when the country was very new. For deer, bears, wolves, grouse or prairie chickens, and other land and water-birds were abundant in the woods and prairie, and at first, even elk and bison were numerous. Bears were found in all the forests. There were deer upon by many in the less settled regions for all most kinds of food until these animals, in a few years, disappeared from the country. Sometimes a hunting company of a few men would kill as many as forty bears in a single expedition. This was especially true in the extreme southern part of the State. Then and here continued very plentiful for many years a single hunter killed deer, or even deer in a day, and a little band of skilled bee-hunters going into an unexplored section of woods and finding in a few days in the summer, bees-wax enough to supply their families with honey for the following year. Some amazing anecdotes were told of the early bee-hunters. I myself was acquainted with an Illinois minister of a peculiar faith, of whom it was reported and believed that after passing on a certain Sabbath he gave notice that he would preach there again the next Sunday. It is thought not to be a good story; but that if the weather on the next Sunday should be favorable for bee-hunting, he would be otherwise occupied and could not preach. Fishing and some kinds of hunting are still more or less profitable in many sections of the State; but wild game and the larger wild animals have so far disappeared that very few

persons make the pursuit of them anything like a regular occupation. From the earliest settlement of the country, however, onward to 1830 or '35, there were many men, who did nothing else but hunt and fish, and many others, who cultivated a few acres of ground, for raising corn and potatoes, and after their products were secured in the fall, joined the regular hunters until the next spring. It was, therefore, very common to find the walls of the cabins of the early settlers hung around with the skins of animals, which were, afterwards, either dressed for family wear, or taken to the distant markets to be sold for furs. But the great majority of the people were industrious, plain farmers, small merchants, and unenterprising manufacturers, some of whom divided their time between two or three different occupations, such as cooperage, tanning, and shoemaking.

The farmers, at first, took possession of lands and made improvements, without any title to the places which they occupied, and were hence called "squatters." Afterwards, the pre-emption of lands by the first actual settlers upon them was provided for by law, which gave the occupants a prior claim over others, and enabled them to procure small farms, on easy terms, when the lands came into market. Later, all purchasers could obtain lands at Congress price, *i. e.*; one dollar and a-quarter per acre.

Villages were founded at this early day, by single owners of eligible tracts of land on principal roads, which were divided up into lots and sold, as is now done by owners on our railroads and elsewhere. Serious difficulties frequently occurred between "squatters" on lands, who made no efforts to buy, when the lands came into market, and actual purchasers, who were obliged to resort to legal measures to gain possession of their property. The squatters, in such cases, almost invariably had the sympathies of their neighbors, and could not be dispossessed by the purchasers, without risk of incurring personal violence, unless, after paying well for the poor improvements that had been made.

The fences were made of rails, split from the trunks of trees, and laid up, in what was called the "worm" or "Virginia" style, *i. e.*, in alternating diagonal panels. For many years, such a thing as a straight board fence was seldom seen in Southern Illinois.

Houses, especially in the country, were usually built of logs, either hewn or unhewn, notched together at the corners, the crevices between the logs being filled with clay-mortar, which was, more or less, smoothed off by the hands, or by a paddle or a trowel, and sometimes covered on the outside with lime-mortar.

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The farmers at first took possession of lands and made improvements, without any title to the parcels which they occupied, and were known as "squatters," "pre-emptors," the pre-emption law, which gave the occupants a prior claim over others for the land, which gave the occupants a prior claim over others and enabled them to procure small tracts of land on easy terms, when the lands came into market. Every all purchases could obtain such at Congress price \$1.25 per acre and a quarter per acre.

Tracts were located at this early day, by single owners or slight tracts of land on principal roads which were divided up into lots and sold as is now done by owners or not retained and otherwise. Serious difficulties frequently occurred between "squatters" on lands who made no claim to pay, when the lands came into market, and actual purchasers, who were obliged to resort to legal measures to gain possession of their property. The squatters in such cases almost invariably had the sympathy of their neighbors and could not be dispossessed by the law, without without risk of inciting personal violence unless after paying well for the poor negroes who then had been made.

The fences were made of rails, split from the trunks of trees and laid up in what was called the "worm" or "Tyrone" style, and in alternating diagonal paths. For many years such a line as a straight board fence was seldom seen in Southern Illinois.

Houses especially in the country were usually built of logs, either hewn or unhewn, notched together at the corners, the spaces between the logs being filled with clay-mud, which was more or less smoothed off by the hands of the people or a shovel and sometimes covered on the outside with lime-wash.

In many cases, the projecting ends of the logs were left at the corners, in their original ragged condition. The roofs were often composed of split boards, held together by halves of split poles laid upon them.

Many houses had no second stories, but the attics were formed by clap-boards laid upon rough joists, and were sometimes high enough to be occupied by beds for the younger members of the family. These attics were reached by ladders, from the inside or the outside of the house. The doors were frequently constructed of rough boards, nailed or pinned together, and hung on rude wooden hinges. The windows, if there were any, were often either left entirely open, or closed with white or printed paper, instead of glass, and saturated with oil, so as to admit a portion of the light from without.

The floors were usually made of slab-like portions of trees, hewn on one side, and laid together on sills, without any nails or pins to fasten them down. These floors, after a while, became quite smooth from use, being hardly ever covered with carpets.

It was rare to find, in these primitive cabins, more than two rooms, except where the houses consisted of two parts, divided by a covered but open passage-way between them. In very many cabins there was but a single apartment, which served the manifold purposes of parlor, dining-room, kitchen, and bed-rooms, for a large family.

Of course, there were, here and there, houses of frame, and in the villages many respectable residences of wood and brick. But the earlier settlers, in the rural districts, for the most part, occupied such cabins as I have described.

The kindly feelings of neighbors toward one another, were habitually shown in what were called house-raising, which brought together as many men, as could work to good advantage, who usually put up the walls of a log-house in a single day, which was frequently occupied by the family the same night. A similar interchange of friendly offices was customary in log-rollings, corn-huskings, etc., the latter of which were commonly held in turn, through a whole-neighborhood, on successive evenings, and were always followed by a well-prepared and abundant supper.

The personal property of the citizens ordinarily consisted of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, domestic fowls, wagons, often constructed entirely of wood, and extremely noisy when in motion, a few farming implements, and the plainest kind of household furniture, embracing tables made of boards, often put together

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The personal property of the settlers ordinarily consisted of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, domestic fowls, wagons, often constructed entirely of wood, and extremely noisy when in motion, a few farming implements, and the poorest kind of household furniture, including tables made of boards, often put together

with wooden pins, tin and pewter table-ware, and two or three cooking utensils.

Many of the farmers raised large numbers of cattle, hogs, and horses, which, in Southern Illinois, it was necessary to feed only during the winter months. And for feeding the stock, provision was made by the abundant crops of corn that were easily produced on the farms, and by hay obtained from the prairie grass, which was cut and cured in the summer or fall. Sheep were not kept in large numbers, because of the wolves, which destroyed them if they were not closely watched in the daytime, and protected under cover at night.

There were no such inducements in the first quarter of the century, as there have been since, for multiplying stock and making butter and cheese for the markets, for the reason that there were no good markets accessible until after 1820 to 1825. The villages were generally very small, numbering not more than from 20 or 30 to 100 or 200 people, and the roads to St. Louis, which was the largest town within reach, were so nearly impassable, that but little traffic with that place was attempted. No steam-boat ever visited St. Louis before 1817, and, consequently, the commerce of that town was carried on overland with *Sante Fé*, or by flat-boats with New Orleans, both of which were tedious, expensive, and comparatively unprofitable. Goods of domestic manufacture were first imported into Illinois in 1818, from which fact it will readily be seen that prior to that time there could have been but small sales for the productions of the country, and very little money among the people.

It is true that, after the close of the war with England in 1814, there was for a few years a considerably-increased prosperity, even among the people of the frontier settlements; but after the wretched banking policy that followed the war had brought about its natural fruits in 1819-21, there was hardly such a thing as money to be found in Illinois. Many a family lived a whole year without the possession or use of fifty dollars in cash. Personal property, therefore, during many years, consisted almost exclusively of the products of the farm and of articles manufactured by the citizens at their own homes. The farms, in those days, were worked chiefly by the use of oxen, horses being employed mainly for riding, and for ploughing after the corn came up in the spring. Even wagons and carts were generally drawn by oxen, not only for the hauling of corn, hay, wood, rails, etc., but for church-going and traveling. The productions of the farms were very few, such as a little fall or spring wheat, oats, Indian corn, cotton,

with wooden pins, tin and pewter tableware, and two or three smoking stoves.

Many of the farmers raised large numbers of cattle, hogs and horses, which, in Southern Illinois, it was necessary to feed only during the winter months. And for feeding the stock, pasture was made by the abundant crops of corn that were easily grazed on the farms, and by hay obtained from the prairie grass, which was cut and cured in the summer or fall. Sheep were kept in large numbers because of the wolves which destroyed them if they were not closely watched in the daytime, and protected under cover at night.

There were no such inducements in the first quarter of the century, as there have been since, for multiplying stock and making butter and cheese for the market, for the reason that there were no good markets accessible until after 1825 in 1827. The villages were generally very small, numbering not more than from 20 to 30 to 100 or 200 people, and the roads to St. Louis, which was the largest town within reach, were so nearly impassable that but little traffic with that place was attempted. No steamboat ever visited St. Louis before 1817, and consequently the commerce of that town was carried on overland with teams led, or by handcarts with New Orleans boats of which were several, expensive, and comparatively unreliable. Goods of domestic manufacture were not imported into Illinois in 1818, from which fact it will readily be seen that prior to that time there could have been but small sales for the productions of the country, and very little money among the people.

It is true that after the close of the war with England in 1814, there was for a few years a considerably increased prosperity even among the people of the frontier settlements; but after the war had ended, the policy that followed the war had brought about its natural result in 1819-21, they were hardly such a thing as money to be found in Illinois. Many a family lived a whole year without the possession or use of any dollars in cash. Personal property, including during many years, consisted almost exclusively of the products of the farm and of articles manufactured by the citizens at their own homes. The farms in those days were worked entirely by the use of oxen, hogs being employed mainly for manure, and for ploughing after the corn came up in the spring. Even wagons and carts were generally drawn by oxen, not only for the hauling of corn, hay, wood, rails, etc., but for churches, going and traveling. The productions of the lands were very low, such as a little fall or spring wheat, corn, Indian corn, cotton,

flax, in some cases castor-beans, and as to fruits, scarcely anything but apples and some peaches. But wild plums and grapes, of good quality, were produced in large quantities in the timbered districts, especially at the edges of the prairies. There was no machinery used on the farms before 1835 or 1840. There were no corn-planters, no reaping or threshing machines, or fanning-mills. Corn was planted by hand, wheat, oats, and grass were cut with sickles or scythes by hand, cotton was gathered and picked by hand, flax was broken and scutched by hand, cotton and wool were carded into rolls by hand, and spinning and weaving were done by hand. Grain was trodden out by horses or beaten out with flails, and winnowed by the breezes or with sheets used like so many great fans. The only articles employed by the farmers that could properly be called machines, were flax-breaks, hackles, looms, hand-mills, and possibly an occasional cider-mill. There were, however, at intervals of ten or twenty miles, water-mills and horse-mills for grinding corn, wheat, rye, and barley; and from the earliest settlement of the country there were not wanting distilleries for the manufacture of whiskey, to minister to the cravings of the thirsty people, who claimed that they could not keep warm in winter or cool in summer, or perform their hard work without fainting, unless they could be assisted by the free-use of the "good creature." But there were no breweries to be found, unless among the few Germans.

The clothing of the people, especially in the first settlement of the country, consisted almost wholly of materials prepared by the several families for themselves. The most frequent exception to this remark was found in the leather used for shoes, which was often tanned and dressed by some one man in a neighborhood, who gave a part of his time to a small tannery, of which he was the proprietor. But many were at once tanners, shoe-makers, and farmers; and their wives and daughters manufactured the flax and cotton, raised by them, into garments for the family. For during the first quarter of the century, cotton as well as flax was produced on many farms, and spinning-wheels were manufactured in almost every neighborhood for the use of the families, which were purchased from the makers by an exchange of various productions from the farms around. As lately as eleven or twelve years ago, I found, on visiting Bond County, an old wheel-wright still devoted to his former work, making spinning-wheels, both large and small, not to sell as curiosities, but to supply an actual demand from families that yet preferred to manufacture their own clothes as in former times. Not only were the materials and the

fix in some cases faster-bound, and as to kind scarcely any thing but apples and some peaches. But wild plums and grapes of good quality were produced in large quantities in the timbered districts, especially at the edges of the prairie. There was no machinery used on the farms before 1825 or 1830. There were no cotton-gins, no reaping or threshing machines, or saw-mills. Grain was gleaned by hand, wheat, oats and grass were cut with sickles or scythes by hand, cotton was ginned and ginned by hand, flax was broken and washed by hand, cotton and wool were carded into rolls by hand, and spinning and weaving were done by hand. Grain was trodden out by horses or beaten out with flails, and winnowed by the breeze or with sheets run like so many great fans. The only articles employed by the farmers that could properly be called machines were flax-wheels, pickles, looms, hand-mills, and possibly an occasional cider-mill. There were, however, at intervals of ten or twenty miles, water-mills and saw-mills for grinding corn, wheat, rye and barley, and from the earliest settlement of the country there was no wanting facilities for the manufacture of whiskey, to minister to the cravings of the thirsty people, who claimed that they could not keep warm in winter or cool in summer, or perform their hard work without drinking, unless they could be assisted by the free use of the "good element." But there were no brewers to be found, unless among the few Germans.

The clothing of the people, especially in the first settlement of the country, consisted almost wholly of materials prepared by the several families in themselves. The most frequent exception to this remark was found in the leather used for shoes, which was often tanned and dressed by some one man in a neighborhood who gave a part of his time to a small tannery, of which he was the proprietor. But many were at once tanners, shoemakers, and farmers; and their wives and daughters manufactured the flax and cotton, raised by them, into garments for the family. For during the first quarter of the century, cotton as well as flax was produced on many farms, and spinning-wheels were found in almost every neighborhood for the use of the families, which were purchased from the makers by an exchange of various productions from the farms around. As early as eleven or twelve years ago I found on a small farm, an old wheelwright still devoted to his former work making spinning-wheels, both large and small, not to call as curiousities, but to supply an actual demand from families that yet preferred to manufacture their own clothes as in former times. Not only were the materials and the

cloth prepared, but the dyeing was done in the family; the bark of trees, especially of the butter-nut, and indigo raised on the farm, being used for this purpose. And then the mother made up the clothing for the household. In many cases, deer-skins were dressed by the men, and made into hunting-shirts, pantaloons, and moccasins by the women, all in the same family. The hunting-shirts were frequently ornamented with a fringe on the lower edge of the cape and at the bottom of the garment, which presented a not unpleasing appearance. Shoes were often confined, except in cold weather, to the adult females; the men and children going barefoot in spring, summer, and fall, unless they had occasion to appear in a public assembly. I have many a time seen even young women carry their shoes in their hands until they came near to church, and then put them on before coming to the door and entering. The men's hats for the summer were commonly made of wheat straw, rudely platted and sewed together by the women. Winter hats, usually of wool, were, of necessity, purchased from a manufacturer, who could almost always be found in some village not far distant. The clothes of the women, like those of the men, were almost entirely of home manufacture, except in the older villages. Their bonnets were occasionally purchased from the stores, but more commonly they were of the simple Virginia style, made of domestic materials, and kept in place either by pasteboard or wooden ribs.

From the villages, however, the use of imported materials for women's wear, gradually, extended into the country, and young ladies especially, before 1825, began to appear in calicoes or richer goods imported from the distant markets. But for many years, most of the men continued to wear only home-made clothing, except in case of marriage or travel into older sections of the country. I remember well an old gentleman, an officer in the church, who used to appear on special occasions in a broad-cloth coat, which he had purchased forty years before at his first marriage. This was one of the few cloth coats to be seen in the community during its earlier history. Of course, the like condition of things did not exist in the villages after they grew in population to the number of one or two hundred. But even in the smaller villages, families were accustomed to live in very simple style, until commercial intercourse with the older communities of the land was made easy by the opening of roads and the increase of other facilities of travel and exchange.

The food of the people was of the simplest kind, though usually abundant. For a long time, wheat-bread was a rarity in the rural

cloth prepared, but the dyeing was done in the family; the part of these especially of the better kind and indeed used as the best being used for the purpose. And then the women made up the clothing for the household. In many cases, dresses were dressed by the men and made into bonnets, hats, gaiters, and accessories by the women, all in the same family. The hunting shirts were frequently ornamented with a fringe on the lower edge of the cape and at the bottom of the garment, which presented a not unpleasing appearance. Shoes were often decorated with designs in cold weather, to the whole family; the men and children going barefoot in spring, summer, and fall, and wearing and over-shoes to appear in a public assembly. I have many a time seen even young women carry their shoes in their hands until they came near to church and then put them on before coming to the school and church. The men's hair for the summer was combed and curled. The men's hair was pulled and sewed together nearly round of a head, usually of wool, wool, or necessary, by the women. When last, usually of wool, wool, or necessary, purchased from a manufacturer who could almost always be found in some village not far distant. The clothes of the women, like those of the men, were almost entirely of home manufacture, except in the older villages. Their boots were occasionally purchased from the store, but more commonly they were of the simple Virginia style, made of domestic materials, and kept in place either by pasteboards or wooden ribs.

From the village, however, the use of imported materials for women's wear gradually extended into the country, and young ladies especially, before 1815, began to appear in calicoes or richer goods imported from the distant market. But the many years most of the men continued to wear only home-made clothing, except in case of marriage or travel into older sections of the country. I remember well an old gentleman, an officer in the church, who used to appear on special occasions in a black cloth coat, which he had purchased forty years before at the first marriage. This was one of the few cloth coats to be seen in the community during its early history. Of course the life wood-lot of things did not exist in the village after they grew in population to the number of one or two hundred. But even in the smaller villages, families were accustomed to live in very simple style, with commercial intercourse with the older communities of the land was made easy by the opening of roads and the increase in what facilities of travel and exchange.

The food of the people was of the simplest kind, though plentiful. For a long time, wheat bread was a rarity in the rural

districts, corn-bread or mush being the staple, meal being often prepared, in the early fall, by grating the green corn on rude graters made of tin, perforated by driving a nail through it in numerous places, and fastened to a smooth board. The meats were venison, squirrels, rabbits, wild turkeys, prairie chickens, quails, domestic fowls, beef, pork and bacon, which were cooked in a skillet or frying-pan in cool weather, at the same fire around which the waiting family were sitting. Coffee and imported tea were for years hard to be obtained, and, instead of them, teas were often made from garden herbs, spice-wood, sassafras-roots, or other shrubs, taken from the thickets. Milk and butter were, of course, at hand, and were freely used; and vegetables and fruits, such as potatoes, turnips, and apples were seldom wanting. In many families, table-cloths were spread on the tables only on special occasions. But, in spite of their plain living, the people were generally happy and contented, except in those cases, not very infrequent, where families newly come into the country were, for a time, scarcely able to command the necessaries of life; and, in such cases, there were almost always kind neighbors, who cheerfully and delicately sent the articles of food that were most needed.

At the risk of seeming tedious, I have thought it well to go a little into these details, which may be in themselves uninteresting, that it may be seen how primitive was the daily life of our early citizens, among whom there were, of course, here and there, notable exceptions. But before referring to the more strictly social and the broader general characteristics of the first settlers in our State, let me allude for a moment to their peculiar circumstances during most of the years from 1800 to 1820. They were not only scattered occupants of homes in a wilderness, but they were exposed to incursions from the Indians, of whom there were in the State, as late as 1814, not less, probably, than 30,000 or 40,000, and a large number down to 1820 or 1825. The early settlers were several times attacked by these savages, and therefore found it necessary to be prepared to repel their assaults. Hence, the men usually carried their guns with them when they went from home, and the practice of military drill was maintained with regularity as late as 1830 or 1835. It is not strange that in such a condition of things there was a feeling of bitter hostility toward the Indians, and that a somewhat warlike spirit was kept alive, at least till 1820 or 1825, or even later; and this spirit was greatly quickened and strengthened by events connected with the War of 1812-'14. The tendency of all this was to make the

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citizens more resolute in the assertion and defence of what they deemed their individual rights than they might otherwise have been; while, on the other hand, they were compelled to regard all their neighbors, far and near, as bound together by the ties of a common interest for self-protection in the presence of common dangers.

We are now prepared to notice, in the next place, the characteristic hospitality of our people in the early years of the State. The families from the Southern States gave character to the social habits of the people, and Southern communities have always been noted for their hospitality. Anything savoring of narrowness or meanness in this direction was frowned upon among our early citizens. It was not uncommon for entire strangers to find entertainment in families for a night, or even for whole weeks, without charge. Hence traveling through the new settlements was usually attended with but little expense, for charges when made were hardly more than merely nominal. If, however, a wayfaring man was suspected of being a speculator, he was not so kindly treated, though never misused, unless guilty of reprehensible conduct. From 1820, or earlier, to 1830, the country was traversed by clock-peddlers, who sometimes resorted to ingenious devices to induce families to purchase their clocks. They were accustomed to set up their clocks in houses, and leave them there, with the request that they should be kept running until they should call for them, which was often two or three or four weeks afterward. On the return of the pedler, the family having become accustomed to the use of the timepiece, felt hardly willing to spare it, and could be induced to pay a high price for it rather than let it go. Hence, it frequently occurred that a note was given for \$25 or \$30, payable two or three or even six months after date, for a clock the original cost of which was probably less than \$10. But it should be said that those wooden-clocks were exceedingly durable, some of them lasting twenty or thirty years. The pedler himself seldom called for the collection of his notes, but commonly sent some one else for the purpose, who never knew anything about any partial promises made by the original seller, and did not fail to enforce payment at the time specified in the paper. It is not strange that these clock-peddlers became extremely unpopular, and that, being generally from New England, they contributed largely to the prejudice of the people against Yankees. But another and more potent cause of this prejudice consisted in the different habits of the Eastern people from those of the South and West in regard to what was deemed the cardinal

citizens more resolute in the assertion and defence of what they deemed their individual rights than they might otherwise have been; while on the other hand, they were compelled to regard all their neighbors, far and near, as bound together by the ties of a common interest for self-protection in the presence of common dangers.

We are now prepared to notice, in the next place, the characteristics of our people in the early years of the State. The families from the Southern States give character to the social habits of the people, and Southern communities have always been noted for their inequality. A striking example of narrowness or meanness in this direction was shown upon among our early citizens. It was not uncommon for entire attempts to find entertainment in families for a night, or even for whole weeks, without charge. Hence traveling through the new settlements was usually attended with but little expense for charges when made with hardly more than merely nominal. If however a wayward man was suspected of being a speculator, he was not so kindly treated, though never injured, unless guilty of reprehensible conduct. From 1820, or earlier, to 1840, the country was traversed by clock-peddlers, who sometimes resorted to ingenious devices to induce families to purchase their clocks. They were accustomed to set up their clocks in houses, and leave them there with the request that they should be kept running until they should call for them, which was often two or three or four weeks afterward. On the return of the peddler the family having become accustomed to the use of the timepiece, felt hardly willing to spare it, and could be induced to pay a high price for it rather than let it go. Hence it frequently occurred that a note was given for \$25 or \$30, payable two or three or even six months after date, for a clock the original cost of which was probably less than \$10. But it should be said that these wooden clocks were exceedingly durable, some of them lasting twenty or thirty years. The peddler himself seldom called for the collection of his notes, but commonly sent some one else for the purpose, who never bore any thing about any partial promises made by the original seller, and did not fail to secure payment at the time specified in the paper. It is not strange that these clock-peddlers became extremely unpopular, and that being generally from New England, they contributed largely to the prejudice of the people against Yankees. But another and more potent cause of this prejudice consisted in the different habits of the Eastern people from those of the South and West in regard to what was deemed the cardinal

virtue of hospitality. It was, unfortunately, true that some New-England families, scattered here and there through the country, created the impression of penuriousness and heartlessness in their treatment of neighbors and strangers, while in fact they were upright and benevolent in heart and conduct, but were more reserved than their neighbors in respect to the free and open-handed reception of all comers on whatever occasion.

An illustration of this came to my knowledge in the county where many of my early years were spent. A neighbor happened one day at the house of an old gentleman, called a "Yankee," just as the family were sitting down to dinner. The old gentleman said to the neighbor that he would be glad to ask him to partake with them, but they had not made preparation for more than the members of their own household. A little while after this, the "Yankee" called at the house of the neighbor, and although it was not nearly dinner-time, he was urged beyond measure to remain and dine with him. The old gentleman took the hint, and apologized for his own apparent discourtesy. This incident was noised abroad all over the county, to the disparagement of the "Yankees." But the gentleman who was so severely censured for his want of hospitality was in after years acknowledged to be deserving of the highest regard, both as a good and kind neighbor and a trustworthy citizen. By degrees, the Eastern people became more frank and open in their manners, and the Western people somewhat more reserved in their intercourse with comparative strangers. The influx of miscellaneous immigration into any community, on the one hand gradually wears out the extreme hospitality that may have abounded at first, and, on the other hand, moderates the excessive reserve that may have been maintained on the part of those who have come from long and thickly-settled districts of the country.

The social habits of the early inhabitants of our State were in some respects peculiar. It is not strange that, in settlements where there was little general culture among the people, there should have been but few tokens of what we regard as refinement of manners. It would be deemed extreme rudeness in our cities for gentlemen to appear in the presence of ladies or at table without coat, vest, or cravat, whereas nothing was more common in the early society of the West. And yet, under all this roughness of exterior, there was a native politeness and considerateness of others of every class, that would put to shame the unreasonable exclusiveness of many aristocratic ladies and gentlemen of our refined social circles. Especially was this manifested in the

virtue of hospitality. It was unfortunately, true that some New England families scattered here and there through the country created the impression of penuriousness and heartlessness in their treatment of neighbors and strangers, while in fact they were upright and benevolent in heart and conduct, but were more reserved than their neighbors in respect to the free and open-handed reception of all comers on whatever occasion.

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real though unrefined courtesy of gentlemen and ladies towards each other. It is true there was a freedom of manners in the relations of men and women that would be deemed among us unsuitable, if not intolerable; but with all this disregard of what are established conventionalities in cultivated society, there was nothing apparent that argued the absence of true refinement of feeling; and any intentional breach of what was deemed social propriety was as severely censured as in the most elevated circles of our older communities. Of course, there might have been found here and there a neighborhood where the plainest rules of decorum were often violated without much rebuke. But the mass of the people observed assiduously a set of conventionalities that were based on true ideas of social fitness and that enforced the laws of social morality with inexorable authority.

After what has been said, it will be inferred that there was but little of ceremony among the early settlers of the West. Even marriages were celebrated in the simplest manner, a justice of the peace frequently performing the ceremony in the fewest words in the presence of the friends and neighbors of the parties united. Funerals were almost always attended by large numbers of the acquaintances of the deceased; and religious services were seldom omitted on such occasions, although in many cases no minister could be obtained to officiate, and, of course, the services were conducted by laymen. The cemeteries, which were usually near places of public worship, were commonly enclosed with palings, but overgrown with weeds and grass; and the graves were, except in a few cases, marked only by wooden boards or stakes, without names or letters to indicate the humble occupants. It has thus occurred that the burial-places of many persons of considerable distinction have been lost beyond recovery, after the removal of their friends from the neighborhood in which they died. But it ought to be said that, notwithstanding such tokens of neglect, it would be difficult to find more of social sympathy and genuine kindness to the afflicted in any communities than was habitually manifested among the early settlers of Southern Illinois; and, I may add, that the occasions for such sympathetic attentions were greatly multiplied by the prevailing sickness and frequent deaths that occurred among the first settlers of the country.

The moral character and principles of the people in those days, differed widely, of course, in different communities. In some villages and neighborhoods, where education and religion were more advanced than in other places, the moral ideas of

real though unbroken continuity of gentleness and justice towards each other. It is true there was a freedom of intimacy in the relations of men and women that would be deemed strange in our established conventionalities in cultured society; there was nothing apparent that argued the absence of the refinement in feeling; and any intentional breach of what was deemed social propriety was as severely censured as in the most exacting circles of our other communities. Of course there might have been found here and there a neighborhood where the primary moral decorum was often violated without much rebuke. But the more the people observed assiduously a set of conventionalities that were based on true ideas of social fitness and that enforced the laws of social morality with inexorable authority.

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The moral character and principles of the people in those days differed widely of course in different communities. In some villages and neighborhoods where education and religion were more advanced than in other places, the moral ideas of

individuals, and of society in general, were not far behind those of the present time. In the portions of the country where the writer spent most of the years of his childhood and youth, it was exceptional to meet with a profane swearer, a drunkard, or a notoriously false or dishonest man; and breaches of social purity were seldom known. Occasional examples of such vices appeared, but they were frowned upon by all respectable citizens. These were communities in which strong religious influences prevailed, and where, as it now seems to me, vices and crimes of every kind were even more rare than they are at this day in the most elevated and refined communities of the land. This I attribute to the fact that society in Southern Illinois was, in large measure, locally assorted into classes for many years after the first settlement of the country. While there were quite a number of such neighborhoods as I have spoken of, there were others, perhaps equally numerous, in which there were no churches, and intemperance, Sabbath breaking, dishonesty, and profanity abounded; and here and there a settlement might have been found, in which fidelity to the marriage-vow and social purity were sadly disregarded. In almost every county, there were settlements that embraced emigrants of the lower class from the Southern States, who were notorious for fighting, drinking, swearing, and dissolute conduct. But the worst of these families, at an early day, moved further west, having for generations lived on the outskirts of civilization. Many of the same class are now residing in Southern Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, some of them having fled from justice, and more, from the growth of a moral sentiment in general society, which they could not endure.

I have now in mind one community, that might have been styled a nest of immoralities, which was entered, we may say invaded, by a zealous minister of the Presbyterian Church, now living. After a year or two of his faithful and telling labors, a large number of the people were converted, and the whole neighborhood was revolutionized, becoming, in the main, as free from prevailing vices as it had before been distinguished for social and civil offences. In other places, like reformations were wrought through the instrumentality of Christian evangelists, temperance workers, and Sabbath-Schools, before the years 1830-35. It has been a common impression, that the illiterate and imperfect ministrations of the early preachers in Illinois could not have produced much effect upon the morals of the citizens. But this is a great mistake. Wherever there were churches, or preaching stations, in those times, the moral conduct of the people was

individuals and of society in general were not far behind those of the present time. In the portions of the country where the writer spent most of the years of his childhood and youth it was exceptional to meet with a husband sweeter, a husband on a notoriety false or dishonest man; and breaches of social propriety were seldom known. Occasional examples of such transgressions but they were frowned upon by all respectable citizens. There were communities in which strong religious influences prevailed, and where, as it now seems to me, vice and crime of every kind were even more rare than they are at this day in the most elevated and refined communities of the land. This I attribute to the fact that society in Southern Illinois was, in large measure, locally assorted and classed for many years after the first settlement of the country. While there were quite a number of such neighborhoods as I have spoken of, there were others, perhaps equally numerous, in which there were no churches, and where, perhaps, Sabbath breaking, dishonesty, and profanity abounded; and here and there a settlement might have been found in which fidelity to the marriage-vow and social propriety were early inculcated. In almost every county there were settlements that embraced emigrants of the lower class from the Southern States who were notorious for fighting, drinking, swearing, and dissolute conduct. But the worst of these families, at an early day, moved further west, having for generations lived on the outskirts of civilization. Many of the same class are now residing in Southwestern Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, some of them having fled from justice, and more from the growth of a moral sentiment in general society, which they could not endure.

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sensibly improved, showing clearly that the religion of the early settlers was something better than mere fanaticism. Even among the French Catholics of Kaskaskia, and the American Bottom, as Gov. Reynolds tells us, honesty and chastity were distinguishing virtues; and the same was true, as many living witnesses can attest, where the least-educated preachers of Protestant denominations gathered churches, and inculcated the teachings of the New Testament. The moral sentiments of the people, in the early years of our State, were conflicting, very much as they are now. On the subject of temperance, the progress was in the wrong direction until after the year 1825. Intoxicating liquors were freely used, not only in families, but in the harvest-fields, and at house-raising, and corn-huskings. And it must be admitted, that the nearest approaches to drunkenness were witnessed on some of these occasions.

When the doctrine of total abstinence was first broached in Bond County, where a temperance society was founded in 1826 or '28, it was earnestly opposed by many of the most exemplary Christians. And, for many years, the endeavors of such noble men as John M. Peck, of Rock-Spring, to advance the temperance reformation on the principle of total abstinence, were vigorously resisted, even by some of their fellow-ministers. But when this doctrine was once accepted by the leading men in the churches, a surprising change was wrought almost in a year. throughout the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, and those of the Baptist denomination, that favored an educated ministry. Within a very short period, the ordinary use of intoxicating drinks disappeared from almost all Christian families, and was banished from the social and neighborhood gatherings almost as widely, as the people professed to be governed by conscience and the rules of moral obligation.

Of course, liquors were still sold in all the villages, and were extensively used among certain classes of society; but they were no longer an everywhere present temptation to the young, as they had been in former years.

There were not then, as now, many large towns, and there were few foreigners, and no great cities, to withstand the growth of temperance principles, as in these days, when so large a pecuniary interest is enlisted on the side of intemperance, and of the appliances by which it is still supported, and holds its leading place among the great destroyers of social and public peace. Hence it may be justly said that there was probably less drinking in this State, in proportion to the population, in 1835, than there is to-day.

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When the doctrine of total abstinence was first preached in Bond County, where a temperance society was founded in 1826 or '27, it was earnestly opposed by many of the most exemplary Christians. And for many years the endeavors of such noble men as John M. Peck, of Rock-Spring, to advance the temperance reformation on the principle of total abstinence, were vigorously resisted, even by some of their fellow-ministers. But when this doctrine was once accepted by the leading men in a sect, a surprising change was wrought almost in a year throughout the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, and those of the Baptist denomination that favored an educated ministry. Within a very short period the ordinary use of intoxicating drinks disappeared from almost all Christian families, and was banished from the social and neighborhood gatherings almost as widely, as the people professed to be governed by conscience and the rules of moral obligation.

Of course, liquors were still sold in all the villages, and were extensively used among certain classes of society; but they were no longer an everywhere present temptation to the young, as they had been in former years.

There were not then, as now, many large towns, and there were few foreigners, and no great cities, to withdraw the growth of temperance principles, as in these days, when so large a portion of the population is rooted on the side of intemperance, and of the appliances by which it is still supported, and holds its leading place among the great destroyers of social and public peace. Hence it may be justly said that there was probably less drinking in this State, in proportion to the population, in 1825, than there is to-day.

In regard to the rights of man, the sentiments of the early settlers were greatly divided, as they have been ever since, at least down to the close of the late rebellion. As already intimated, the immigrants from the New England and Middle States, and from Ohio, and the Scotch and Scotch-Irish families from the South, were generally opposed to Slavery, on principle. But the most influential families from the Southern States, and many of the poorer immigrants from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, were hostile to anti-Slavery doctrines, although some of them were averse to the introduction of Slavery into this State.

The politicians, being mostly Southern, were very zealous for the Convention, proposed to be called in 1824, for the formation of a new Constitution, providing for the normal existence of Slavery in Illinois. Hence two-thirds of the Legislature, by which this measure was brought forward and submitted to the people, were induced to vote for it, notwithstanding the perpetual exclusion of Slavery from this Territory by the ordinance of 1787. But, fortunately, the final decision of this momentous question was to be made by the people, who, by a decisive vote, placed the final veto of the State upon this artfully devised scheme, which, had it been successful, might have hastened our terrible war, and have determined the issues against the cause of liberty and the unity of the nation.

The names of the men who figured most conspicuously, in this great struggle between the forces of freedom and slavery, deserve to be specially mentioned in this connection. The leading advocates of a Convention for the introduction of Slavery were, Governor Bond, A. P. Field, Kane, McLean, Joseph A. Beard, Judge Phillips, Robison, T. W. Smith, Kenney, West, R. M. Young, and Gov. Reynolds. The leaders on the Anti-Slavery side were, Gov. Coles, Daniel P. Cook, Samuel D. Lockwood, Rev. J. M. Peck, Thos. Lippincott, Judge Pope, Gov. Edwards, David Blackwell, the late Wm. H. Brown, of our City, then of Vandalia, Hooper Warren, George Forquar, George Churchill, Henry Eddy, and others.

The two-thirds vote of the Legislature, for the calling of a Convention, was obtained by excluding a member of the House who had been previously admitted, but was found to be opposed to Slavery, and was therefore unseated to make room for a Pro-Slavery man, who had, at first, contested the seat of his competitor, and been rejected; an act not unlike some events in legislative bodies of more recent date. The canvas was conducted with unprecedented zeal on both sides.

In regard to the rights of man, the sentiment in the early settlers were greatly divided as they have been ever since at least down to the close of the late rebellion. As already mentioned, the immigrants from the New England and Middle States, and from Ohio and the Scotch and Scotch-Irish families from the South, were generally opposed to slavery, or at least to the most influential families from the Southern States and many of the poorer immigrants from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, were hostile to anti-slavery doctrine, although some of them were averse to the introduction of slavery into the State.

The political feeling among Southern, were very various for the Convention proposed to be called in 1827, for the formation of a new Constitution, providing for the gradual extinction of slavery in Illinois. Hence two-thirds of the Legislature, by which this measure was brought forward and submitted to the people, were inclined to vote for it notwithstanding the perpetual extension of slavery from this Territory by the ordinance of 1787. But fortunately the final decision of this important question was to be made by the people, who by a decisive vote placed the final veto of the State upon this unwise and cruel scheme, which had it been successful might have hastened our terrible war, and have determined the issues against the cause of liberty and the unity of the nation.

The names of the men who figured most conspicuously in this great struggle between the forces of freedom and slavery, deserve to be especially mentioned in this connection. The leading advocates of a Convention for the introduction of slavery were Governor Bond, A. B. Field, E. M. McLean, Joseph A. Bond, Judge Philip Robinson, T. W. Smith, Kenner, West, H. M. Young, and Gov. Reynolds. The leaders on the free slavery side were Gov. Coles, Daniel B. Cook, Samuel H. Jackson, Rev. J. Mc Peck, Thos. Lippincott, Judge Pope, Gov. Edwards, David H. Wells, the late Wm. H. Jackson, of our City, then of Vandalia, Hopper Warren, George Fortson, George Chubbuck, Henry Hunt, and others.

The two-thirds vote of the Legislature for the calling of a Convention, was obtained by excluding a member of the House who had been previously admitted, but was denied to be qualified to sit, and was therefore announced to make room for a free-slavery man, who had at first contested the seat of his opponent, and been rejected; he sat not under some name in legislative bodies at recent recent date. The canvas was conducted with unprecedented zeal on both sides.

Three weekly papers were enlisted against the Convention, one at Shawneetown, one at Edwardsville, and the third at Vandalia, where our former fellow-citizen, Wm. H. Brown, then resided, and performed efficient service for the Anti-Slavery cause. Two papers were conducted by Convention men, one at Edwardsville, and the other at Kaskaskia.

The conflict was both political and moral. The hard times had something to do with it, for it was observed that many emigrants from Virginia and Kentucky passed through Illinois and settled in Missouri, because they could not retain their slaves in this State. This fact was urged by the advocates of Slavery, as a reason for introducing the institution into Illinois. Besides, the immigrants from the South felt that the exclusion of Slavery from the State, implied a reflection upon the communities in which they had been born and educated; and this feeling grew bitter, when it appeared that the hated "Yankees" were almost universally against the institution. On the other hand, the moral sentiment of the Christian people was, for the most part, Anti-Slavery. Many churches combined together to resist the political movement for the establishment of Slavery.

Under the lead of the Rev. Dr. Peck, an Anti-Slavery organization was founded in St. Clair County, with which fourteen other societies in as many different counties became affiliated; and these societies exerted a powerful influence against the proposed Convention.

Many ministers preached against the movement. And Dr. Peck, who was at that time, an agent of the American Bible Society, in Illinois, took advantage of his extended travel and acquaintance for the dissemination of Anti-Slavery documents and principles, and thus probably exerted a more powerful influence than any other five men, against the Pro-Slavery project.

The controversy raged with intense passion on both sides, until the vote was taken in 1824, and it was found that the party of freedom had a majority of about 1800 in the State, which settled the general character of this mighty Commonwealth, and threw its immense weight into the scale of liberty and progress, for all coming time.

It is worthy of mention here, that when the question was under consideration in regard to the northern boundary of our State, which at first ran as far south as the northern point of Indiana, Judge Pope earnestly advocated the removal of the line northward, so as to include the site of Chicago in Illinois, and this on the ground that a great city would one day grow up here, and it

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It is worthy of mention here that when the question was under consideration in regard to the northern boundary of our State, which at that time ran far south as the northern point of Indiana, Judge Pope emphatically advocated the removal of the line southward, so as to include the site of Chicago in Illinois, and the ex-pression of his mind was that a great city would one day grow up here, and it

was exceedingly desirable that this large northern population should be made to counterbalance the southern and more Pro-Slavery portion of the State, in case of a general conflict between the Northern and Southern States. How wise this policy and forecast of Judge Pope's really was, appeared most conspicuously in the history of our State, in its relations to the late rebellion, in which, but for the northern tiers of counties, Illinois might have been carried out of the Union, and with it Kentucky and Missouri.

Returning for a moment to the early strife between Anti-Slavery and pro-slavery parties in this State, it may be added that for years after the Convention question was settled, and before the later Abolition excitement arose, there were many bitter controversies, especially in St. Clair, Madison, and Bond Counties, over the cases of fugitive slaves, who were even then, aided by humane families, in their efforts to elude the grasp of their pursuing masters; so inevitable was it, that the moral sense of many good men and women would rebel against the requirements of the Fugitive-Slave Laws, which were deemed contrary to the laws of God. In Bond County, neighborhoods were divided into fiercely contending parties in relation to this question, long before Wm. Lloyd Garrison was heard of. On the one side, were the old supporters of Slavery, and on the other side, the enemies of oppression, and the conscientious defenders of man's natural rights. Before leaving this subject, I venture to make record, I believe for the first time, of an amusing incident that was related to me by the Rev. Dr. Peck, not long before his death.

During the conflict, before the vote on the proposed Convention in 1824, Dr. Peck fell in company with a young lawyer just from Kentucky, in the village of Carmi. The lawyer finding that he had traveled extensively in the State, though not aware of his calling, asked him what he thought as to the prospects of the vote on the proposed Convention. Dr. Peck replied that he believed the majority would be against the Convention. The lawyer, in a very pretentious and overbearing manner, demanded on what ground he based his opinion. He answered that the moral sentiment of the people was opposed to Slavery, and he did not believe they would consent to have the State cursed by its introduction. The lawyer proceeded, in a very positive style, to recite arguments, that have often been repeated since, in defence of the right of every citizen to carry his property wherever he chose in the common territory of the United States. Dr. Peck, perceiving that his friend was not very well posted in

law, retorted upon him by professing to quote from Justinian, Coke, and Blackstone, the most overwhelming declarations against the doctrines advanced by the lawyer, manufacturing his quotations as he went. The lawyer was utterly confounded, and confessed that he had not fully studied those authorities in relation to this question. A few months later, Dr. Peck, one day stepped into a lawyer's office in Edwardsville, where he found his Carmi friend, and was introduced to him as the Rev. Mr. Peck. The young lawyer seemed astonished, for he had not before heard his name, and asked him if he had not previously seen him at Carmi, a few months since. Mr. Peck said very likely he had. The young lawyer then stepped out, when the lawyers in the office burst out in a loud laugh, and apologized to Dr. Peck, telling him that their friend, who had just left, had informed them of having fallen in at Carmi, with the most astonishing lawyer he had ever encountered in his life—a man who had every authority in ancient and modern law at his tongue's end, and was perfectly at home on every legal question that could be suggested.

Passing now from morals to education, I must travel more rapidly, if the remaining ground is to be traversed within reasonable limits. It is inevitable in every new country that the educational advantages will be comparatively few and very insufficient. But it is difficult for those who have spent their lives in communities, where public schools have been long in operation, to imagine the low state of mental culture, and the absence of means for the instruction of the young and of the people at large, where there have never been any legal provisions for the establishment and support of educational institutions.

During the early history of Illinois, schools were almost unknown in some neighborhoods, and in the most favored districts they were kept up solely by subscription, and only in the winter season, each subscriber agreeing to pay for one or more scholar, or stipulating to pay for his children *pro rata* for the number of days they should be in attendance. The teacher usually drew up articles of agreement, which stipulated that the school should commence when a specified number of scholars should be subscribed, at the rate of \$2, \$2.50, or \$3 per scholar for the quarter. In these written articles he bound himself to teach spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, as far as the double rule of three. Occasionally a teacher would venture to include English grammar. But in the earlier years of my youth, I knew of no teacher who attempted to give instruction in grammar

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or geography. And such branches as history, natural philosophy, or astronomy, were not thought of. Many parents were unwilling that their children should study arithmetic, contending that it was quite unnecessary for farmers. And what was the use of grammar to a person who could talk so as to be understood by everybody? I studied English grammar, and all the latter rules of arithmetic, when about twelve years old, without the aid of a teacher, and geography at a later age, after I had begun to prepare for college.

The mode of conducting schools was peculiar. All the pupils studied their lessons, by spelling or reading aloud simultaneously, while the teacher usually heard each scholar recite alone; although, in the opening of the school, a chapter of the Bible was read by the older scholars by verses, in turn, and at the close in the evening, the whole school, except the beginners, stood up and spelled words in turn, as given out by the master.

I have heard the practice of reading in school defended, as necessary to prepare the scholars for studying in the midst of noise and confusion, for example, in a saw-mill, or where they might be surrounded by persons engaged in conversation. For a long time I had not been in what was called a loud or noisy school, until I went into one conducted on this method, among the Arabs in Jerusalem, some thirteen years ago. The practice there, seemed quite fitting. It is singular that it obtained for so many years in the pioneer communities of the West.

After these statements, it will not be surprising that many teachers were quite illiterate, one I remember, pronouncing "panegyric," "paneguric," and Niagara, Niagāra. The only persons of respectable education in the villages, were physicians, lawyers, ministers, and teachers. And the ministers were often unable to read the Bible without making gross blunders. Many of the anti-mission Baptist ministers could not speak three sentences together, without violating the most familiar rules of grammar. Even the most popular politicians were in some cases scarcely able to read intelligibly. One Lieut.-Governor was taught to read by his wife.

In those times, it was customary for candidates for office to circulate handbills before election, by way of presenting their respective claims, or exposing the shortcomings of their opponents. For not many newspapers were in circulation, and the number of people who read the papers was very small. Hence the great majority, were dependant for their political information on the handbills and stump-speeches of the candidates.

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It was a notorious fact, that one politician used always to write and print the first person singular, with a small dotted *i*. On one occasion, so it was said, Gov. Reynolds rallied him about the use of the dotted "*i*," to which he cleverly responded that Reynolds had used up all the large *I*'s, and only the small ones were left for him.

It is related, as has, I think, been mentioned here before, that when the capitol of the State was about to be moved from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, a Committee of the Legislature was appointed to report upon a name for the new capitol, and that a waggish man, of considerable knowledge, whom the Committee consulted, advised them to borrow a name from an extinct tribe of Indians, who, as he told them, were called Vandals. Accordingly they recommended the name Vandalia, which the Legislature adopted.

It was stated by my teacher in geography, in the preparatory department of Illinois College, as a proof of the value of geographical knowledge, that a distinguished representative to Congress, from Southern Illinois, set out for Washington by a wrong route, which took him across the Okaw river, entirely out of the proper course, and that the stream being high at the time, he came near losing life in attempting to ford it on horseback.

In those days, it was rare to find more than five to ten books in one family. But those few books, it should be said, were very thoroughly read, and others were borrowed from neighbors, by persons fond of reading. Among the school-books most used were Webster's spelling book, the English reader, and Pike's or Dabold's arithmetic.

In the year 1829, the lands, donated by the State for school purposes, began to be sold, and the avails used for the establishment of public schools. But the taxation of the citizens for the support of schools was earnestly opposed for a long time, even by comparatively intelligent people, on the grounds, (1.) that many citizens had already paid for the schooling of their own children, and it was unjust to tax them solely for the benefit of other families; and (2.) that there were men of property who had no children, and therefore ought not to pay for the instruction of other people's children. It was difficult to convince such objectors, that every citizen was so much interested in the general welfare of society and the State, which popular education was designed and adapted to promote, as to warrant the taxing of his property for this purpose.

It was amusing to persons of education to listen to the pretentious but erroneous use of language, that was sometimes

indulged in by men who were ambitious of being thought more learned than their neighbors.

One gentleman, in speaking of a young man who had gone from his neighborhood to a college lately opened further north; remarked that he could not judge how well the young man might succeed as a speaker, but there could be no doubt that he would make a "superficial" scholar.

It was remarkable that the people of all our early communities were extremely sensitive in regard to any slighting remarks that might be made by the more intelligent citizens, respecting the ignorance of their neighbors, or of western society in general. It was deemed an unpardonable sin to publish anything derogatory to the character of the people in point of intelligence; and for an imprudence of this kind, some of the early missionaries were severely denounced as proud and self-sufficient pretenders, who regarded their neighbors as no better than heathen. It was very common to hear men speak of their settlement, as one of uncommon intelligence, even in the most benighted districts.

I may as well refer here as anywhere, to the ignorant prejudice of many, in regard to the proposed construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. This question was earnestly discussed at an early day, and the opening of the canal was opposed on two grounds, (1.) because it would be the means of flooding the State with Yankees, who would be introduced by thousands, through this line of communication; and (2.) because there was danger that by the pressure of the lake, when once the canal was dug, the channel would be enlarged more and more, so as at last to sweep away the State.

But in spite of the prejudices and illiteracy of many of our early citizens, they were by no means an unthinking people, their minds were stimulated by the necessity of invention imposed upon them by their peculiar circumstances; by the political discussions in which they became interested from one election to another; by the moral questions that were debated among them; and, above all, by the religious discourses to which they often listened, and the contróversies between the adherents of different sects, in which almost everybody sympathized with one party or another. It was surprising to find men and women of little or no reading, ready to defend their opinions on almost every subject, with plausible, and sometimes exceedingly forcible, reasons. Women, especially, were even more accustomed than now to discuss grave questions which required thought and provoked earnest reflection. Often a woman of unpromising appear-

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ance and manners would prove more than a match for a well-educated man in a religious dispute. In one sense the people were intelligent, while they had little of such knowledge as readers usually derive from books. Their intelligence consisted mainly in the results of reflection, and conversations one with another, and in varied information derived from their ancestors by tradition. In respect to knowledge of human nature and judgments upon the characters of men, they were far in advance of many who were learned in literature, science, art, and history; and, accordingly, many men of inferior education in those days competed successfully with rivals who had enjoyed the best early advantages. This was often witnessed in the political conflicts of the times, and in the ministerial, legal, and medical professions.

The literature of our Commonwealth, it will have been already inferred, was very limited, and, for the most part, deficient in polish, until the higher institutions of learning began to be planted, of which the earliest were McKendree College, at Lebanon (Methodist); Rock Spring Seminary, and Shurtleff College, Alton (Baptist); Illinois College (Presbyterian and Congregational). But, as has been intimated, there were five or six weekly newspapers established before 1825, and several men of respectable attainments became known as authors. Among these, the earliest was Morris Birbeck, who explored the country and wrote sketches of it in 1815 to 1817 or 1818. His articles were published in the journals of the times. Next was Dr. Lewis P. Beck, of St. Louis, who wrote a gazetteer of Missouri and Illinois, which was published in 1823; in 1819 or 1820, James Hall, of Shawneetown, afterward of Vandalia; the late Judge Sidney Breeze, of Carlisle; Prof. John Russell, of Bluffdale, Greene County, and the Rev. John M. Peck, of Rock Spring, St. Clair County, came into the State. All these men were soon known in the literary departments, Judge Hall as the editor of a newspaper and of the *Western Monthly Magazine*; Judge Breeze, as the editor of different journals; Professor Russell, as a fine classical scholar and a writer, some of whose articles have been republished and widely circulated in Europe; and Dr. Peck, as the author of the "Emigrants' Guide," the "Gazetteer of Illinois," and other works of note. Of these writers, Judge Hall was, perhaps, the most accomplished in general literature, and Dr. Peck was by far the most telling and widely influential. He was not a classical scholar; but he was a man of keen observation, a careful reader, a bold and independent thinker, amazingly industrious and enterprising, and a pioneer in the advocacy of liberty, temperance, education, Sunday-schools,

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The literature of our Commonwealth it will have been already indicated was very limited, and for the most part, devoted to politics, and the higher institutions of learning began to be planted, of which the earliest were Alton College, Alton (Methodist); Rock Spring Seminary, and Edward College, Alton (Baptist); Illinois College (Presbyterian and Congregationalist). But as has been intimated, there were five or six weekly newspapers established before 1825, and several men of respectable attainments became known as authors. Among these, the earliest was Abner Hibbs, who explored the country and wrote of cities of it in 1815 to 1817 or 1818. His articles were published in the journals of the time. Next was Dr Lewis N. Beck of St. Louis, who wrote a gazetteer of Missouri and Illinois, which was published in 1823; in 1819 or 1820, James Hall of Shawnee wrote an account of Vandalia; the late Judge Sidney Brown of Cahokia; Joel John Russell of Randolph, Lincoln County, and the Rev. John M. Beck of Rock Spring, or Clair County, came into the scene. All these men were soon known in the history of the State. Judge Hall as the editor of a newspaper and of the *Western Messenger*; Judge Brown as the editor of the *Western Journal*; Frederick Russell as a fine classical scholar and a writer, some of whose articles have been republished and which are cited in Europe; and Dr. Beck as the author of the "Gazetteer of the State," the "Gazetteer of Illinois," and other works of note. Of these writers, Judge Hall was perhaps the most accomplished in general history, and Dr. Beck was by far the most telling and widely influential. He was not a classical scholar; but he was a man of keen observation, a careful reader, a bold and independent thinker, amazingly industrious and enterprising, and a pioneer in the advocacy of liberty, temperance, education, Sunday schools,

and evangelical Christianity. Our State probably owes more to him than to any other one man.

It remained that I should add a few paragraphs in regard to the religious characteristics of the early citizens of Illinois. Soon after the first settlement of the country by white people, churches were organized in connection with the Roman Catholic, the Methodist, the Baptist, and the Presbyterian denominations; and, before 1825, the Lutherans, Episcopalians, and Cumberland Presbyterians established themselves in several counties. A little later, the Campbellites, or Disciples, and the Universalists, began to be known in several communities. But before 1830, few, if any, Unitarian, and no Congregational churches, were organized; and families of other faiths that are now strongly represented in the State were seldom heard of. The Methodists and Baptists were prosperous in nearly all the counties, and the Presbyterians formed influential societies in many parts of the country, but especially in St. Clair, Madison, Bond, and Fayette counties. The ministers, in those early days, of the Methodist and Baptist denominations, were generally illiterate, the Presbyterian Church alone among the Protestant sects requiring that its ministers should be classically educated. The Cumberland Presbyterians agreed with the Methodists and Baptists in admitting men to the sacred office who were very deficient in point of general learning. Of course, the Lutherans and Episcopalians of a later time maintained an educated ministry. I remember hearing a preacher of respectable natural talents discuss in one of his sermons the importance of "and" as a copulative conjunction, while many of his hearers evidently set him down as a man of great learning. A minister in one of our Southern counties was said to have preached for months from a few leaves of an old Bible which he had gotten hold of. Some person afterward gave him a whole Bible. One minister, who was fond of controversy, being unable to read correctly, requested the writer to read his proof-texts for him, and followed the reading with his comments and arguments, which proved a somewhat tedious process to both parties. Another minister preached on one occasion from the text in Revelation respecting the man "who had a pair of *balances* in his hand," and read it, "the *man* who had a pair of '*belloroses*' in his hand," with which he said the wicked would finally be blown into perdition. Of course, such grotesque exhibitions in the pulpit have long since disappeared, and the religious denominations that once most violently opposed "college-bred" ministers are now the zealous friends of education, excepting

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It remained that I should add a few paragraphs in regard to the religious characteristics of the early citizens of Illinois. From after the first settlement of the country by white people churches were organized in cooperation with the Roman Catholic, the Methodist, the Baptist and the Presbyterian denominations; and before 1835 the Lutheran, Episcopalian and Unitarian Presbyterians established themselves in several counties. A little later the Calvinistic or Episcopal and the Unitarian began to be known in several communities. But before 1830, few, if any, Unitarian, and no Congregational churches were organized; and families of other faiths that are now strongly represented in the State were seldom heard of. The Methodists and Baptists were predominant in nearly all the counties, and the Presbyterians formed substantial societies in many parts of the country, but especially in St. Clair, Madison, Bond and Fayette counties. The ministers in those early days of the Methodist and Baptist denominations were generally illiterate; the Presbyterian Church alone among the Protestant sects reported that its ministers should be classically educated. The Unitarian Presbyterians agreed with the Methodists and Baptists in advancing men to the sacred office who were very deficient in point of general learning. Of course the Lutheran and Episcopalian of a later time maintained an educated ministry. I remember hearing a preacher of respectable natural talents deliver in one of his sermons the importance of "and" as a copulative conjunction, while many of his hearers evidently set him down as a man of great learning. A minister in one of our Southern counties was said to have preached for months from a few leaves of an old Bible which he had gotten hold of. Some person afterward gave him a whole Bible. One minister who was fond of controversy, being unable to read correctly, requested the writer to read his proof texts for him, and followed the reading with his comments and arguments which proved a somewhat tedious process to both parties. Another minister preached on one occasion from the text in Revelation regarding the man "who had a part of Adam's" his soul, and read it, "the man who had a part of Adam's" in his hand, with which he said the wicked would finally be blown into perdition. Of course, such grotesque exhibitions in the pulpit have long since disappeared, and the religious denominations that once most violently opposed "religious" ministers are now the ardent friends of education, carrying

the few remaining churches of what are styled the "iron-side" or "hard-shell" Baptists.

In regard to calls to the ministry, the most singular fancies used to be sometimes put forward. In one case, as was reported to me at the time by creditable witnesses, a minister stated to his congregation that he knew he was called to the ministry, from the fact that on a certain occasion he dreamed that he had swallowed a wagon, and the tongue projected out of his mouth, which he took as an indication that he was to use his tongue in preaching the Gospel. This story, in substance, was published a few years ago in *Harper's Magazine*.

The style of preaching on the part of uneducated ministers was remarkable. Their voices were raised to the highest pitch, and often a monotonous sing-song was kept up from the beginning to the end of the discourse. But many of these pioneer preachers were men of sound sense, and were very effective speakers. Some of them were at times highly eloquent, and nearly all of them commanded the respect and confidence of the people as men of earnest and exemplary piety. The few educated ministers were all missionaries; for many years not a settled pastor of this class was known in Illinois, for a long time after the first churches were organized. The quiet manner of the educated preachers exposed them to the ridicule of many illiterate people, who could not believe that a speaker was in earnest unless he declaimed before his hearers in the most violent manner. Gradually, however, a great change took place in respect to this whole subject. In public and social worship, singing was a powerful auxiliary in all the early religious assemblies, as it is now. But the character of the music and hymns was often ludicrous. Most of the tunes were in the minor key, and many of the hymns were extremely repetitious, and had a singular refrain at the close of each verse, and sometimes after each line. Thus the words, "Glory, Hallelujah," or some like interjection, would occur twenty or thirty times in one singing. The music of those days, with only a few exceptions, now only lingers in the memories of a few elderly persons. Teachers of music came in and changed the tastes of the people. But for many years, only what were called square or patent notes were used in the tune-books. In camp-meetings and other devotional gatherings, it was customary for all the Christian people to pray audibly together, in the loudest tones possible. Sometimes the noise of a whole congregation thus screaming at the top of their voices was heard at the distance of three or four miles. I remember once a friend of mine and a man of some

the few remaining churches of what are called the "hard-shells" or "hard-shells" Baptists.

In regard to calls to the ministry, the most singular instance used to be something not far from it. In one case, as was reported to me at the time by credible witnesses, a minister called to his congregation that he knew he was called to the ministry, from the fact that on a certain occasion he dreamed that he had swallowed a wagon, and the tongue projected out of his mouth, which he took as an indication that he was to see his tongue in preaching the Gospel. This story, in substance, was published a few years ago in *Whitney's Magazine*.

The style of preaching on the part of uneducated ministers was remarkable. Their voices were raised to the highest pitch, and often a monotonous singing was kept up from the beginning to the end of the discourse. But many of these poorest preachers were men of sound sense, and were very effective speakers. Some of them were at times highly eloquent, and nearly all of them commanded the respect and confidence of the people as men of earnest and exemplary piety. The few educated ministers were all missionaries for many years not a settled pastor of this class was known in Illinois for a long time after the first churches were organized. The quiet manner of the educated preachers excited them to the indignity of many illiterate people, who could not believe that a speaker was in earnest unless he declaimed before his hearers in the most violent manner. Gradually, however, a great change took place in respect to the whole subject. In public and social worship, singing was a powerful auxiliary to all the early religious assemblies, as it is now. But the character of the music and hymns was often defective. Most of the tunes were in the minor key, and many of the hymns were entirely repetitious, and had a singular refrain at the close of each verse, and sometimes after each line. Thus the words, "Glory, glory, hallelujah," or some like interjection, would occur barely or hardly times in one singing. The music of those days with only a few exceptions, now only lingers in the memories of a few elderly persons. Teachers of music came in and changed the taste of the people. But for many years only what were called square or pattern notes were used in the churches. In consequence, and other devotional gatherings, it was customary for all the Christian people to sing nothing regarded in the lowest tones possible. Sometimes the notes of a whole congregation, thus sustained at the top of their voices, was heard at the distance of three or four miles. I remembered once a friend of mine and a pair of women

intelligence, said to me at a camp-meeting while some were singing, others exhorting, and others praying aloud, "I suppose this seems to you like confusion, but to me it seems the height of order."

Frequently, in times of revival, not only at camp-meetings, but in churches and at weekly prayer meetings, many persons would be seized with paroxysms of jerking, and women would spring up and dance, till at last they would fall exhausted and seem to be in a sort of swoon for several minutes. This bodily exercise, which occurred among Presbyterians as well as Methodists and Baptists, was usually attributed to the direct agency of the Holy Spirit, and to express a doubt of its supernatural origin was deemed a mark of infidelity, or at least of singular depravity, as the writer sometimes found to his cost. Sudden thoughts or impressions in the minds of persons at such times were regarded as the work of the spirit, and hence men and women were exercised to do the most absurd things; on some occasions, to get married, which it was a sin for either party to resist. This last extravagance, however, though it frequently occurred in Tennessee, never, so far as I know, took place in Illinois. In the examination of persons for admission as members of churches, strange experiences were sometimes related. The writer once heard a woman state as an evidence of her conversion, that she dreamed she was going up a steep hill, and became very tired and thirsty, and that when she reached the top of the hill, a man presented her with a cup of water, which she drank, and she thought it was the best water she had ever tasted. On awaking, she concluded the man who gave her the water was Jesus Christ, and that she had received from Him the water of life. She was at once voted into the church by the brethren and sisters present. This, however, was an unusual case. Church members were then as exemplary as they are now, and this notwithstanding the fact that many churches had no preaching for months together, and depended largely for their public religious privileges upon prayer meetings, class-meetings, and the exhortations of laymen, or the reading of sermons by laymen on the Sabbath. It was stated by Dr. Peck, in his "Gazetteer, or Emigrants' Guide," that the number of church members, as early as 1835, was equal to one-seventh or one-eighth of the citizens, a proportion about as large as that in the older States at the same time. Before 1825, but few congregations owned houses of worship, their public services being held in barns or private residences. This condition of things, and the small size of the church edifices after they were more generally erected,

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afforded a good reason for the institution and continuance of camp-meetings, which were annually held by almost all denominations, and which drew together the people of a wide district of the surrounding country, and were a means of greatly extending religious influences where there were no churches.

This is, perhaps, as fit a place as any other for a reference to the eccentric but celebrated Lorenzo Dow, whom it was my fortune to see and hear at a camp-meeting in the year 1826 or 1827. He regarded it as his personal duty to preach the Gospel, as far as possible, to every creature; and, hence, he traveled in Asia, Africa, Europe, and America, preaching everywhere as he went. He made his appointment to be in the southern part of Montgomery Co., on the Sunday when I heard him, seven years before, which he fulfilled to the letter. His sermon was a rambling talk, but abounded in happy hits and impressive anecdotes. After the close of the service, he retired to a tent to take dinner, when several young men, attracted by curiosity, came in. He asked them if they had come to see him. They replied that they had. "Well, then," he said, "you've seen me, so you can go." In those days, the name of Lorenzo Dow was known throughout the entire United States. He published several peculiar works, which may still be found in many families.

Between 1825 and 1830, a number of churches in Southern Illinois were aroused to earnest interest in the education of their young men for the Gospel ministry. This was especially true in Bond County, where the writer resided. In that county, one single country church, beginning with about the year 1828, have raised up fifteen or sixteen ministers, nearly all of whom took a full collegiate and theological course of preparation. As has been intimated already, there were no settled pastors in the earlier history of the State. But from 1830 onward, a great change in this respect took place in most of the older denominations; and, as in New England, the school and the settled pastor began to be twin institutions of the religious communities.

I ought not to dismiss our general subject without the mention of several names that deserve honor in the history of the moral and religious development of society in Fayette, Bond, Montgomery, and Madison counties, within the circle of my own acquaintance. In Fayette County were such men as David Blackwell, Joseph T. Eccles, and W. H. Brown, at a later period a citizen of Chicago. Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Brown have been referred to as active in opposition to the introduction of Slavery into the State. Mr. Eccles was associated with the other two

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gentlemen in efforts to promote the social and moral welfare of the people in many directions, and he and Mr. Brown were pillars in the Presbyterian Church of Vandalia. In Montgomery County, at Hillsborough, the county-seat, John Tillson, Jr., was a leading friend and patron of religious and educational institutions from 1820 to 1844, when he removed to Quincy. Among the other prominent men of the county were Thomas Sturtevant, of Hillsborough, and the Swards, who were energetic farmers residing north of Hillsborough. Madison County, as I have already said, was the home of many useful and distinguished men, such as Benjamin Godfrey, of Alton, the founder of Monticello Female Seminary; Thomas Lippincott, Winthrop S. Gilman, Dr. B. F. Edwards, and Cyrus Edwards, Rev. John Barber, Patten McKee, Hail Mason, and Joseph Gillespie, who recently read an interesting paper before this Society. Rev. Mr. Lippincott was for many years the editor of a weekly paper at Edwardsville, and exerted a wide influence as the friend of education, temperance, liberty, and religion.

In Bond County, where my knowledge of the citizens was more intimate and special, among the earlier men of character and influence were the Waits, the Blanchards, Drs. Perrine, Foster, afterwards of this City, and Newhall, later of Galena, John Russell, a pure-minded politician of the Whig party, the Donnels, Hugh McReynolds, the Laughlins, and the Stewarts, and the McCords, Dixons, Davises, and Douglasses. Some of them were men of not much culture or education, but they were men of thought and principle, and were uniformly found on the right side of every social and moral question. I venture to name particularly Robert McCord, Sr., from Tennessee, who was for many years a sort of lay-pastor in his church, and whose religious efforts were signally successful. He would now be called illiterate. Certainly he was not scientific, for he long resisted the doctrine that the earth revolves on its axis once in twenty-four hours, on the ground that if this were so, we should all fall off it, and go nobody knows where. But in spite of his early prejudices, he favored education, and was a champion of good morals, and especially of human liberty. To many such pioneers in our State, unknown to fame, we owe the right decision of the vital questions that were so earnestly debated, and were determined when Illinois, now the great giant of the West, was in its childhood. To no one, however, are we so much indebted, as to Dr. Peck, of St. Clair County, the Baptist minister, of whose wonderful efficiency in the advocacy of every good cause, I have already repeatedly spoken.

A great improvement has been wrought in the condition and habits of the people of Southern Illinois since 1829, when the school funds began to be used for the furtherance of popular education. Three causes have united in hastening this comprehensive result: public schools, railroads, and the influx of enlightened and cultivated Eastern emigrants. The germs of progress were already present in the early population itself, which embraced many excellent families, and thousands of enterprising men from all sections of the Union. But social advancement must have been slow for half a century, at least, without the three quickening elements to which I have referred. As it *is*, there are still portions of Southern Illinois in which few tokens of social progress have appeared, down to the present hour. There are places where the traveler may see the old style of houses and living, and encounter the same prejudices against Northern people, that were so rife almost everywhere before 1825. But the limits of such neighborhoods are growing narrower year by year, as education and thrift advance; and the infusion of immigrants from the Northern States continually leavens the most backward settlements, and tends to make our whole people homogeneous, and conscious of social, moral, and religious unity.

Our State has advanced from a population of about 55,000 in 1820, to more than 3,000,000 in 1880. Our system of public schools is hardly surpassed in any State of the Union. Our colleges and professional schools are, perhaps, too numerous. Our humane institutions are ample. Our churches are equal to the wants of the population, except in a few communities. Our State Government is well administered. The wealth and general culture of our people are unsurpassed by those of any other State so lately organized. Our villages and smaller cities compare well with those of the older Commonwealths of New York and Pennsylvania, while our great City is already fourth in the Union in the point of population and commerce, and bids fair, at no very distant day, to equal the first in everything, save the items of wealth and the heavier foreign trade. In this wonderful development of our State, the Northern portion has clearly taken the lead. But the Southern portion is following on with increasing life and energy; and it remains to be seen, whether ours is not to be, ere many decades have elapsed, the most powerful and influential Commonwealth among the great sisterhood of States that are to constitute ours by far the grandest NATION under the sun.

REMINISCENCES OF THE ILLINOIS-BAR FORTY YEARS AGO:

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AS ORATORS AND LAWYERS.

BY HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

Read before "The Bar Association of the State of Illinois," Springfield, January 7, 1881.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN:

WHEN Sir Walter Scott published "Waverly, or 'tis sixty years ago," he gave a more accurate and vivid picture of the social life of the period described than is to be found in any history. I wish I had some of Sir Walter's genius, so that I could reproduce to-day the Bar of Illinois as it existed forty or fifty years ago. I wish, with some of his graphic power, I could call up a picture of the United States Circuit Court, and the Supreme Court of Illinois, and the lawyers then practising before them, as they were in 1839, and on during the following years. If we could, in fancy, enter the United States Circuit Court-Room in this City, in June, 1839, we should be impressed with the majestic figure, imposing presence, and dignified bearing of the presiding judge, John McLean, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. His person and face were often compared to Washington's—whom he is said to have strikingly resembled.

Nathaniel Pope, the District Judge, was shorter and stouter in person, more blunt and sturdy in manner, and not so familiar with the law-books, the cases, and literature of the law, but of a most clear, vigorous, and logical mind. If we enter their Court, then held, if I am not mistaken, in one of the churches in this City, we should find Ferris Foreman, then United States District Attorney, prosecuting the case of 'The United States v. Gratiot,' then a historic name in Missouri and the North-West, in a case arising under a lease, by the Government, of a portion of the lead mines of Galena. We should hear the late Judge Breese making a very learned argument for the defence. If we lingered

until the next case was called, we should hear the sharp, clear, ringing voice of Stephen T. Logan, opening his case. If we remained until the trial ended, we should concur in the remark, that this small, red-haired man, inferior in person, but with an eye whose keenness indicated his sharp and incisive intellect, this little man, take him all in all, was then the best *nisi prius* lawyer in the State, and it would be difficult to find his superior anywhere.

Among the leading practitioners in this Court, held in Springfield, for the first time in June, 1839, were Logan, Lincoln, Baker, Trumbull, Butterfield & Collins, Spring & Goodrich, Cowles & Krum, Davis, Harden, Browning, and Archy Williams. At the June Term, 1840, I am proud to find my own humble name on the record among these great lawyers and advocates. The June Term, 1840, was held amidst the turmoil and excitement of the 'Hard-Cider' and 'Log-Cabin' campaign, that resulted in the election of General Harrison. In all the Presidential elections, which have occurred within my recollection, I have never known any to compare with that. Log-cabins for political meetings, with the traditional gourd, for cider-drinking, hanging on one side of the door, and the coon-skins nailed to the logs on the other, sprang up like magic, not only on the frontier, but in all the cities and towns, and in every village and hamlet.

A great Whig Convention was held in this City during Court, and the people came in throngs from every part of the State. Chicago sent a large delegation, at the head of which were John H. Kinzie, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Geo. W. Dole, and others, and, as the representatives of the commercial capital of the State, they brought with them a full-rigged ship on wheels. It was the first full-rigged ship that many of the natives of the interior of Illinois had ever seen, and it was, of course, a great curiosity. The delegation were supplied with tents and provisions; with plenty of good cider, and camped out at night upon the prairies. Their camp-fires illuminated the groves, and they made the air vocal with their campaign songs, all the way from Lake Michigan to the Illinois and Sangamon. The excitement of patriotism, of music, and cider, and eloquent speeches, and stirring ballads, spread over the whole country. A good singer of campaign-songs was as much in demand as a good stump speaker.

VanBuren, the Democratic candidate, was literally sung out of power. "Van, Van" was the worst "used up man" that ever ran for the Presidency. I voted for VanBuren, but being at

Court, I attended the great Mass Meeting at Springfield, and heard, for the first time, stump-speeches from Lincoln, Harden, Baker, and others, but the palm of eloquence was conceded to a young Chicago lawyer, S. Lisle Smith. There was a charm, a fascination, in his speaking, a beauty of language and expression, a poetry of sentiment and of imagery, which, in its way, surpassed everything I have ever heard. His voice was music, and his action studied and graceful. I have heard Webster, and Choate, and Crittenden, and Bates, of Missouri; they were all greatly his superiors in power, and vigor, and in their various departments of excellence, but for an after-dinner speech, a short eulogy, or a commemorative address, or upon any occasion when the speech was a part of the pageant, I never heard the equal of Lisle Smith. His verbal memory was marvellous. I went with him to church, one Sunday, to hear the Rev. Dr. Blatchford. On returning to his house to dine, he stepped into an adjoining room, and directly I heard what seemed the voice of Dr. Blatchford, going over the morning services; the prayer, the reading of a chapter in the Bible, the hymn, the text, and a part of the sermon—not varying, so far as I could detect, a single word from what I had heard in church. Smith had heard all this once only, and repeated it verbatim. But, surely, he must have been more attentive than hearers usually are in these days.

THE CASE OF JO. SMITH, THE MORMON PROPHET.

In December, 1842, Governor Ford, on the application of the executive of Missouri, issued a warrant for the arrest of Joseph Smith, the Apostle of Mormonism, then residing at Nauvoo, in this State, as a fugitive from justice. He was charged with having instigated the attempt, by some Mormons, to assassinate Governor Boggs, of Missouri. Mr. Butterfield, in behalf of Smith, sued out, from Judge Pope, a writ of *habeas corpus*, and Smith was brought before the United States District Court. On the hearing, it clearly appeared that he had not been in Missouri, nor out of Illinois, within the time in which the crime had been committed, and if he had any connection with the offence, the acts were done in Illinois. Was he, then, a fugitive from justice? It was pretty clear, that if allowed to be taken into Missouri, means would have been found to condemn and execute him. The Attorney-General of Illinois, Mr. Lamborn, appeared to sustain the warrant: Mr. Butterfield, aided by B. F. Edwards, appeared for Smith, and moved for his discharge. The Prophet (so called) was attended by his twelve Apostles, and a large number of his followers, and the case attracted great

interest. The Court-Room was thronged with prominent members of the bar, and public men. Judge Pope was a gallant gentleman of the old school, and loved nothing better than to be in the midst of youth and beauty. Seats were crowded on the Judge's platform, on both sides, and behind the Judge, and an array of brilliant and beautiful ladies almost encircled the Court. Mr. Butterfield, dressed *à la Webster*, in blue dress-coat and metal buttons, with buff vest, rose with dignity, and amidst the most profound silence. Pausing, and running his eyes admiringly from the central figure of Judge Pope, along the rows of lovely women on each side of him, he said:

"May it please the Court,

"I appear before you to-day under circumstances most novel and peculiar. I am to address the 'Pope' (bowing to the Judge) surrounded by angels, (bowing still lower to the ladies), in the presence of the holy Apostles, in behalf of the Prophet of the Lord."

Among the most lovely and attractive of these "angels," were the daughters of Judge Pope, a daughter of Mr. Butterfield, Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Dunlap, afterwards Mrs. Gen. Jno. A. McClernard, and others, some of whom still live, and the tradition of their youthful beauty is verified by their lovely daughters and grandchildren.

But the chief actors in that drama, on the issue of which, hung not only the life of Smith the Prophet, but of his followers, and, perhaps, the peace of two States, the *dramatis personæ* have all, or nearly all, passed away. The genial and learned Judge, the prisoner, and his able counsellor, so full of wit and humor, the eloquent Attorney-General, the Governors of both States, the Marshal and Clerk, and nearly all of the distinguished lawyers and public men, Lincoln, Logan, Judge Breese, Baker, and others, who laughed and joked so merrily over the happy allusions of Mr. Butterfield, have passed away: and we old lawyers may well repeat the sad words,

"When I remember all
The friends so linked together
I've seen around me fall
Like leaves in wintry weather,
I feel like one, who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted,
Whose lights are fled,
Whose garlands dead
And all but he departed."

To a contemporary of those early members of the Bar, the roll of Attorneys admitted in those days brings up sad and pleasant

memories. On that roll, in 1836, you find the name of Thomas Drummond, now a venerable Judge of the Northern District of our State; David Davis, late Judge, and now Senator; Archy Williams, and Anthony Thornton. In 1837, I find the names of Abraham Lincoln, William A. Richardson, Lyman Trumbull, Mahlon D. Ogden, Joseph Gillespie, and in 1838, Justin Butterfield, James A. McDougall, Hugh T. Dickey, Schuyler Strong, John J. Hardin, Ebenezer Peck, J. Young Scammon, and others and from that time on the names became more numerous.

In those early days it was my habit, and that, also, of those practising in the United States Court, to come to Springfield twice each year, to attend the semi-annual terms of the Court held in June and December. We made our trips in Frink & Walker's coaches, and I have known the December trip to take five days and nights, dragging drearily through the mud and sleet, and there was an amount of discomfort, vexation, and annoyance, about it, sufficient to exhaust the patience of the most amiable. I think I have noticed that some of my impulsive brethren of the Chicago Bar, have become less profane, since the rail-cars have been substituted for stage-coaches. But the June journey was as agreeable as the December trip was repulsive. A four-in-hand, with splendid horses, the best of Troy coaches, good company, the exhilaration of great speed, over an elastic road, much of it a turf of grass, often crushing under our wheels the most beautiful wild flowers, every grove fragrant with blossoms, framed in the richest green, our roads not fenced in by narrow lanes, but with freedom to choose our route; here and there a picturesque log-cabin, covered with vines; the boys and girls on their way to the log-schools, and the lusty farmer digging his fortune out of the rich earth. Everything fresh and new, full of young life and enthusiasm, these June trips to Springfield would, I think, compare favorably even with those we make to-day in a luxurious Pullman car. But there were exceptions to these enjoyments; sometimes a torrent of rain would, in a few hours, so swell the streams, that the log-bridges, and banks, would be entirely submerged, and a stream, which, a few hours before, was nearly dry, became a foaming torrent. Fording, at such times, was never agreeable, and sometimes a little dangerous.

FORDING SALT CREEK.

I recall a ludicrous incident on our way to Springfield, I think, in June, 1842. We had a coach, crowded with passengers, most of us lawyers, on our way to the United States Court. In passing from Peoria to Springfield, we attempted to ford one of

these streams, which had been lately raised, so that its banks were nearly a-quarter of a mile apart. When we had driven half across, the horses left the track, got into a bad slough, and were stalled. All efforts to extricate the coach failed, and, at length, the driver gave up the attempt in despair; said he must take off the horses, and go to the next station for help: those who chose, might mount a horse and ride ashore; or, if they preferred, might wade ashore, or stay in the coach until he returned, or wait until another coach, which was behind, should come up; we might wait for it, provided we were not carried down the stream by the current. Some decided to try their fortunes on a stage-horse; others stripped off trousers, boots, and stockings, and taking their coat-tails under their arms, started to wade ashore. Old Dr. Maxwell was of our party, a very stout gentleman, with short legs, and weighing near three hundred pounds. The Doctor sat by the window of the coach, grimly watching the various groups, and turning his eyes now to the equestrians, and now to those buffeting the current on foot, and envying some of the long-legged gentlemen who were struggling towards the shore. Seeing the Doctor unusually grave, a friend called to him:

"What is the matter, Doctor? Why don't you come on?"

"I don't like the aspect," said he. "The diagnosis is threatening. My legs are too short to wade, and there is not a horse in the team that can carry my weight through this current. Sink or swim; survive or perish; I shall stick by the ship."

"Well," replied an irreverent and saucy young lawyer, "if you are washed away, and cast ashore, by the current, I should like to have the opinion of Judge Dickey (not the present Chief-Justice) whether you would not be *flotsam* and *jetsam*, and belong, medicines and all, to the sovereign people of Illinois?"

Fortunately, our driver soon returned and rescued our genial Doctor.

I must not omit to mention the old-fashioned, generous hospitality of Springfield—hospitality, proverbial to this day throughout the State. Among others, I recall, with a sad pleasure, the dinners, and evening parties, given by Mrs. Lincoln. In her modest and simple home, everything orderly and refined, there was always, on the part of both host and hostess, a cordial and hearty Western welcome, which put every guest perfectly at ease. Mrs. Lincoln's table was famed for the excellence of many rare Kentucky dishes, and in season, it was loaded with venison, wild turkeys, prairie chickens, quail, and other game, which was then abundant. Yet it was her genial manners, and ever-kind wel-

come, and Mr. Lincoln's wit and humor, anecdote, and unrivalled conversation, which formed the chief attraction. We read much of "merrie England," but I doubt if there was ever anything more "merrie" than Springfield in those days. As, to-day, I walk your streets, and visit the capitol, and your court-rooms, as I enter the old home of Lincoln, for the first time since 1860, memories of the past come thronging back; I see his tall form, his merry laugh breaks upon my ear; I seem to hear the voices of Douglas, of Baker, of Harden, and of Logan!

"How are we startled in the winds low tones
By voices that are gone."

Nor, in recalling the past, must I forget the hospitable home of Judge Treat, who, to-day, as then, in his ample library, may well say:

"That place that does contain,
My books, the best companions, is to me
A glorious court, where hourly I converse
With the old sages and philosophers."

TRIAL OF OWEN LOVEJOY FOR HARBORING RUNAWAY SLAVES.

I have spoken of Mr. Butterfield; the firm name of Butterfield & Collins, partners, was in those early days always associated. Mr. Collins, was a good lawyer, a man of perseverance, pluck, and resolution, and as combative as an English bull-dog. He was an early, and most violent and extreme Abolitionist; a contemporary with Dr. Charles V. Dyer, the Lovejoys, Ichabod Coddington, Eastman, Freer, Farnsworth, and other pioneer Abolitionists in Northern Illinois. I wish I could re-produce a full report of the case of *The People v. Owen Lovejoy*.

At the May term, 1842, of the Bureau County Circuit Court, Richard M. Young presiding, Norman H. Purple, Prosecuting-Attorney, *pro tem.*, the Grand Jury returned a "true bill" against Owen Lovejoy (then lately a preacher of the Gospel), for that "a certain negro girl named Agnes, then and there being a fugitive slave, he, the said Lovejoy, knowing her to be such, did harbor, feed, secrete, and clothe," contrary to the statute, etc.,—and the Grand Jurors did further present "that the said Lovejoy, a certain fugitive slave called *Nance*, did harbor, feed, and aid," contrary to the statute, etc. At the October term, 1842, the Hon. John Dean Caton, a Justice of the Supreme Court, presiding, the case came up for trial, on a plea of *not guilty*. Judge Purple, and B. F. Fridley, States' Attorney, for the people, and James H. Collins, and Lovejoy in person, for the defence. The trial lasted nearly a week, and Lovejoy and Collins fought the case with a

vigor and boldness almost without a parallel. The prosecution was urged by the enemies of Lovejoy with an energy and vindictiveness with which Purple and Fridley could have had little sympathy. When the case was called for trial, a strong pro-slavery man, one of those by whom the indictment had been procured, said to the States' Attorney:

"Fridley, we want you to be sure and convict this preacher, and send him to prison."

"Prison! Lovejoy to Prison!" replied Fridley, "your persecution will be a damned sight more likely to send him to Congress."

Fridley was right—Lovejoy was very soon after elected to the State Legislature, and then to Congress, where, as you all know, he was soon heard from by the whole country. The prosecution was ably conducted, and Messrs. Collins and Lovejoy not only availed themselves of every technical ground of defence, but denounced, vehemently, the laws under which the indictment was drawn, as unconstitutional and void; justifying every act charged as criminal. A full report of the trial would have considerable historic interest. The counsel engaged were equal to the important legal and constitutional questions discussed. Judge Purple, for logical ability and wide culture, for a clear, concise style, condensing the strong points of his case into the fewest words, had rarely an equal. Fridley, for quaint humor, for drollery and apt illustration, expressed in familiar, plain, colloquial, sometimes vulgar language, but with a clear, strong common sense, was a very effective prosecutor. Collins was indefatigable, dogmatic, never giving up, and if the Court decided one point against him, he was ready with another, and if that was overruled, still others.

Lovejoy always suggested to me a Roundhead of the days of Cromwell. He was thoroughly in earnest, almost if not quite fanatical in his politics. His courage was unflinching, and he would have died for his principles. He had a blunt, masculine eloquence rarely equalled, and on the slavery question, as a stump-speaker, it would be difficult to name his superior. Collins and Lovejoy, after a week's conflict, won their cause. Lovejoy himself made a masterly argument, and Mr. Collins' closing speech extended through two days. They extorted a verdict from a hostile jury. It is very doubtful, however, if they could have succeeded with all their efforts, but for the accidental disclosure by the alleged owner, on his cross-examination, of a fact unknown to the defence. He said he was taking the slave girl *Nance* from Kentucky to Missouri through Illinois. He was

ignorant that by voluntarily bringing his supposed chattel from a slave to a free-State, she became free. Messrs. Collins and Lovejoy saw the importance of this fact—indeed, the turning point in the case. Lovejoy quoted with great effect the lines of Cowper, now so familiar:

“Slaves cannot breathe in England, if their lungs

Receive our air, that *moment* they are free—

They *touch* our country and their shackles fall!”

“And,” said he, “if this is the glory of England, is it not equally true of Illinois, her soil consecrated to freedom by the ordinance of 1787, and her own Constitution?”

Mr. Collins, in his summing up, read the great and eloquent opinion of Lord Mansfield in the Somersett case, an opinion which Cowper so beautifully paraphrased in his poem.

Judge Caton’s charge, which will be found in the *Western Citizen*, of October 26th, 1843, was very fair. He laid down the law distinctly, that “if a man voluntarily brings his slave into a free-state, the slave becomes free.”

In February, 1859, at the Capitol in Washington, speaking of the acts which led to this trial, there is one of the boldest and most effective bursts of eloquence from Lovejoy to be found in all the literature of anti-slavery discussion. He had been taunted and reproached on the floor of Congress, and stigmatized as one who, in aiding slaves to escape, had violated the laws and constitution of his country. He had been denounced as a “nigger-stealer,” threatened by the slave-holders, and they attempted to intimidate and silence him. They little knew the man, and his reply silenced them, and extorted the admiration of friend and foe. He closed one of the most radical and impassioned anti-slavery speeches ever made in Congress, by unflinchingly declaring: * “I do assist fugitive slaves. Proclaim it, then, upon the house-tops; write it on every leaf that trembles in the forest; make it blaze from the sun at high noon, and shine forth in the milder radiance of every star that bedecks the firmament of God; let it echo through all the arches of heaven, and reverberate and bellow along all the deep gorges of hell, where slave-catchers will be very likely to hear it. Owen Lovejoy lives at Princeton, Illinois, three-quarters of a mile east of the village; and he aids every fugitive that comes to his door and asks it. Thou invisible demon of Slavery, dost thou think to cross my humble threshold, and forbid me to give bread to the hungry and shelter to the houseless? *I bid you defiance in the name of God!*”

* *Congressional Globe*, February 21, 1859, p. 199.

I heard Lovejoy declare, that after the death of his brother, he went to the graveyard at Alton, and kneeling upon the sod which covered the remains of that brother, he there, before God, swore eternal war and vengeance upon slavery. He kept his vow.

He was a man of powerful physique, intense feeling and great magnetism as a speaker, and he now went forth like Peter the Hermit, with a heart of fire, and a tongue of lightning, preaching his crusade against Slavery.

In the log school-houses, in the meeting-house, and places of worship, and in the open air, he preached and lectured against slavery with a vehemence and passionate energy which carried the people with him. The martyrdom of his brother was a sufficient excuse for his violence, and the name of Lovejoy, the martyr, like the name of Rob Roy or Douglas in Scotch history, became a name to "conjure" with; and he scattered broadcast seed, the fruit of which was apparent in the great anti-slavery triumph of 1860. Some idea of his dramatic power may be obtained from a sermon, preached at Princeton in January, 1842, on the death of his brother. After describing his murder by a cruel mob, because he would not surrender the freedom of the press, he declared, solemnly, that for himself, "come life or death, I will devote the residue of my life to the anti-slavery cause." "The slave-holders and their sympathizers," said he, "have murdered my brother, and if another victim is needed, I am ready."

His aged and widowed mother was present in the church. Pausing and turning to her, he said:

"Mother, you have given one son, your elder, to liberty, are you willing to give another?"

And the heroic mother replied:

"Yes, my son,—you can not die in a better cause!"

He lived to see slavery die, amid the flames of war which itself had kindled.

When I heard him speak of his brother's martyrdom, I recalled the words applied by an English poet to the reformer Wyckliffe, illustrating how much Wyckliffe's persecution had aided to spread his principles. Wyckliffe's body, you will remember, was burned and his ashes thrown into the Avon, and the poet-prophet says of the incident:

"The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea,
And Wyckliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
Wide as the waters be."

The death of Elijah P. Lovejoy, on the banks of the Mississippi,

his lonely grave on the bluffs of Alton, were among the influences, and not the least, which have caused that mighty river and all its vast tributaries, on the East and on the West, to flow "unvexed to the sea." No longer "vexed" with slavery, the Mississippi flows on exultingly from the land of ice to the land of the sun, and all the way through soil which the blood of Lovejoy helped to make free. A monument to the Lovejoys on the summit of Pilot Knob, or some other rocky crag on the banks of that river, should tell and commemorate their story.

GENERAL SHIELDS AND THE SHOT THAT KILLED BREESE.

All the old members of the bar will recall with pleasant recollections, a gallant and genial Irishman, James Shields, of Tyrone County, Ireland. He was, however, more distinguished as a politician and soldier, than as a lawyer and judge. In 1848, he was elected to the United States Senate, succeeding and defeating for re-election Senator Breese.

At the battle of Cerro Gordo, in the war against Mexico, he was shot through the lungs, the ball passing out at his back. His nomination over a man so distinguished as Judge Breese was a surprise to many, and was the reward for his gallantry and wound. His political enemies said his recovery was marvellous, and that his wound was miraculously cured, so that no scar could be seen where the bullet entered and passed out of his body. All of which was untrue. The morning after the nomination, Mr. Butterfield, who was as violent a Whig as General Shields was a Democrat, met one of the Judges in the Supreme Court-room, who expressed his astonishment at the result, but, added the Judge, "It was the war and that Mexican bullet that did the business." "Yes," answered Mr. Butterfield, dryly, "and what an extraordinary, what a wonderful shot that was! The ball went clean through Shields without hurting him, or even leaving a scar, and killed Breese a thousand miles away!"

"OYER" AND "TERMINER."

It was on one of the Northern Circuits, held by Judge Jesse B. Thomas, that Mr. Butterfield, irritated by the delay of the Judge in deciding a case, which he had argued some time before, came in one morning and said with great gravity, "I believe, if your Honor please, this Court is called the 'Oyer and Terminer.' I think it ought to be called the 'Oyer SANS Terminer,'" and sat down. The next morning, when Counsel were called for motions, Mr. Butterfield called up a pending motion for new trial in an important case. "The motion is over-ruled," said Judge Thomas,

abruptly. "Yesterday, you declared this Court ought to be called *Oyer sans Terminer*, so," continued the Judge, "as I had made up my mind in this case, I thought I would decide it *promptly*." Mr. Butterfield seemed for a moment a little disconcerted, but directly added, "May it please your Honor, yesterday, this Court was a Court of *Oyer sans Terminer*; to-day your Honor has reversed the order,—it is now *Terminer sans Oyer*. But I believe I should prefer the injustice of interminable delay rather than the swift and inevitable blunders your Honor is sure to make by guessing without hearing argument."

VALUATION AND APPRAISAL LAWS, AND MY FIRST \$500 FEE.

Few, if any, decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have been so influential upon State legislation, and I think I may add, upon public morals, as the judgments of that Court, declaring the laws enacted by the State Legislature, known as valuation and stay laws, void. In 1841, the people were heavily in debt, and the State had ceased to pay the interest upon her bonds, having incurred great responsibilities by a reckless system of internal improvements. It was a period of great business depression and depreciation of property. Under these circumstances, demagogues sought to debauch the public morals and stain the public faith, by advocating the repudiation of the State liabilities, and the indefinite postponement of the legal enforcement of private contracts.

To this end, the Legislature, in February, 1841, enacted laws, giving the right of redemption in all cases of land to be sold under mortgages and deeds of trust, whether such sales should be made under decrees in equity or at law, and providing that before any judicial sale, the property should be appraised, and unless two-thirds of its appraised value should be bid, it should not be sold. Practically, these laws suspended for the time being the collection of debts. The levying of a moderate tax to aid in paying the interest on the State debt, the passage of the Canal bill of 1842-3, and the decision of the Supreme Court holding all these stay-laws, so far as they applied to existing contracts, void, all contributed very much to the growth and prosperity of our State, and to the high credit which Illinois has ever since enjoyed. I did what I could to oppose all schemes of repudiation, and I opposed the stay-laws both in the Legislature and in the Courts. I believed them to be unconstitutional, and took measures to bring that question before the Federal Courts.

In December, 1841, I filed a bill in the United States Circuit

Court, for Arthur Bronson, of New York, against my friend, John H. Kinzie, upon a mortgage given to secure money loaned, praying for a strict foreclosure, or a sale to the highest bidder for cash, and without regard to the redemption, appraisal, and stay-laws. At the hearing, Judges Pope and McLean being divided in opinion, certified the questions arising upon the validity of these laws to the Supreme Court of the United States for decision. At the January term, 1843, the case of *Bronson v. Kinzie* was argued, and will be found reported in the 1st of Howard, 311. In preparing the argument, I found a volume giving in full, with many pamphlets, the controversy in Kentucky between the Old and the New court parties. The Judges of the Old court in Kentucky held that the stay-laws of that State were void. Thereupon, the Legislature legislated the Judges out of office, and created a new court, made on purpose to sustain the stay-laws, which, as a matter of course, they did. This created great excitement in that State, and at one time threatened anarchy. The volume I refer to, was a magazine of the ablest arguments against this class of legislation, and was as applicable to Illinois as Kentucky. From this volume I drew largely in the preparation of my argument. I was then young and ambitious in my profession, and you will sympathize with my gratification, when Chief-Justice Taney announced the decision of the Court sustaining my position, and holding these laws unconstitutional and void, on the ground that they impaired the obligation of contracts.

In the case of *McCracken v. Hayward*, (2 Howard, 608), I raised the same questions on a sale under an execution upon a judgment at law, and the decision in *Bronson v. Kinzie* was re-affirmed.

I hope I shall be pardoned for relating the, to me, pleasing incident, of receiving, in the *Bronson* case, my first \$500 fee. I had spent much time in preparing the argument, and I did my best, and being on the right side, gained my cause. It was the day of small fees, and my charges were moderate and modest. I think I charged only \$150, beside expenses. A few days after the case was decided, I received from Bronson the amount of my bill, as made out, and a check for \$500, in addition, with a letter much more complimentary than my argument deserved: also a few copies of the argument and opinion of the Court, bound in crushed Levant Morocco, with all the beautiful ornamentation, which a Bedford, or a Mathews could have desired.

I was a poor young lawyer then, but I valued the books quite

as much as the check. The proceeds of the check were, as is usual with us lawyers, quickly spent, but I kept one of the books, until, with all my other books and papers, it went up in the great fire of 1871. There were a few copies of the argument printed, and distributed to some of my friends, and if any one possessing a copy, should happen to see this egotistical digression, and send it to me, I shall not regret indulging in the weakness of mentioning the incident.

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.

When forty years ago the Bar used to meet here, at the capitol, in the Supreme and United States Courts, and ride the circuit in our different sections of the State, Lincoln and Douglas did not occupy a position of such over-shadowing importance as they do to-day. They did not beat us in our cases, when law and justice were with us, and we did not realize that they were so greatly our superiors. But these two men have passed into history, and justly, as our great representative men. These are the two most prominent figures, not only in the history of Illinois, but of the Mississippi Valley, and their prominence, certainly that of Mr. Lincoln, will be increased as time passes on. I will, therefore, endeavor to give such rough and imperfect outlines of them as lawyers, and advocates, and public speakers, as I can. We, who knew them personally, who tried causes with them and against them, ought, I think, to aid those who shall come after us, to understand them, and to determine what manner of men they were. In the first place, no two men could be found more unlike, physically and intellectually, in manners, and in appearance, than they.

Lincoln was a very tall, spare man, six feet four inches in height – and would be instantly recognized as belonging to that type of tall, large-boned men, produced in the Northern part of the Mississippi Valley, and exhibiting its peculiar characteristics in the most marked degree in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Illinois.

In any Court-Room in the United States, he would have been instantly picked out as a Western man. His stature, figure, dress, manner, voice, and accent, indicated that he was of the North-West.

In manner, he was always cordial and frank, and, although not without dignity, he made every person feel quite at his ease. I think the first impression a stranger would get of him, whether in conversation, or by hearing him speak, was, that this is a kind, frank, sincere, genuine man; of transparent truthfulness and integrity: and before Lincoln had uttered many words, he would

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be impressed with his clear good sense, his remarkably simple, homely, but expressive Saxon language, and next, by his wonderful wit and humor. Lincoln was more familiar with the Bible than any other book in the language, and this was apparent, both from his style and illustrations, so often taken from that Book. He verified the maxim, that it is better to know, thoroughly, a few good books than to read many.

Douglas was little more than five feet high, with a strong, broad chest, and strongly marked features: his manners, also, were cordial, frank, and hearty. The poorest and humblest found him friendly. He was, in his earlier years, hale-fellow well-met with the rudest and poorest man in the Court-Room.

Those of you who practised law with him, or tried causes before him, when on the bench, will remember that it was not unusual to see him come off the bench, or leave his chair at the bar, and take a seat on the knee of a friend, and with one arm thrown familiarly around his friend's neck, have a friendly talk, or a legal or political consultation. Such familiarity would have shocked our English cousins, and disgusted our Boston brothers, and it has, I think, disappeared. In contrast with this familiarity of Douglas, I remember an anecdote, illustrating Col. Benton's ideas of his own personal dignity. A distinguished member of Congress, who was a great admirer of Benton, one day approached, and slapped him, familiarly and rudely, on the shoulder. The Senator haughtily drew himself up, and said, "That is a familiarity, Sir, I never permit my friends, much less a comparative stranger. Sir, it must not be repeated."

Lincoln and Douglas were, as we know, both self-educated, and each the builder of his own fortune. Each became, very early, the recognized leader of the political party to which he belonged. Douglas was bold, unflinching, impetuous, denunciatory, and determined. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities which create personal popularity, and he was the idol of his friends. Both Lincoln and Douglas were strong jury-lawyers. Lincoln, on the whole, was the strongest jury-lawyer we ever had in Illinois. Both were distinguished for their ability in seizing, and bringing out, distinctly and clearly, the real points in a case. Both were very happy in the examination of witnesses; I think Lincoln the stronger of the two, in cross-examination. He could compel a witness to tell the truth when he meant to lie. He could make a jury laugh, and, generally, weep, at his pleasure. Lincoln on the right side, and especially when injustice or fraud were to be exposed, was the strongest advocate. On the wrong

side, or on the defence, where the accused was really guilty, the client, with Douglas for his advocate, would be more fortunate than with Lincoln.

Lincoln studied his cases thoroughly and exhaustively.—Douglas had a wonderful faculty of extracting from his associates, from experts, and others, by conversation, all they knew of a subject he was to discuss, and then making it so thoroughly his, that all seemed to have originated with himself. He so perfectly assimilated the ideas and knowledge of others, that all seemed to be his own, and all that went into his mind came out improved.

The ablest argument I ever heard him make, was in the case of Daniel Brainard *v.* The Canal Trustees, argued at Ottawa, June, 1850, reported in 12 Ill. Reports, 488. The question involved the extent of the right of pre-emption by settlers upon Canal lands, within the City of Chicago. The Judges were Treat, Trumbull, and Caton. Judges Treat and Trumbull concurred in deciding the case against Douglas, Judge Caton dissenting. He made, in this case, one of the ablest arguments I ever heard at any Bar.

In 1841, Mr. Douglas, being then not quite twenty-eight years old, was elected one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. He was not a profound lawyer, but with his clear common sense and incisive mind, after a case was well argued, he always knew how to decide it. He held the position of Judge for about two years, and was then, after a very active canvass, elected to Congress by a small majority, over O. H. Browning. From this time, until his death, in the early Summer of 1861, he remained in Congress, serving in the House until 1846, when he was elected to the Senate, of which he continued a member to the time of his death. His ablest speech in the House was made on the 7th of January, 1844, on a bill to refund to General Jackson the fine imposed upon him by Judge Hall, during the defence of New Orleans. In this masterly argument, he took the then bold and novel ground that the fine was imposed in violation of law. It is a curious fact, that, in this speech, Douglas claimed for General Jackson many of the war-powers exercised by President Lincoln, and his generals, during the rebellion, and for which the President was so bitterly denounced by his political opponents. This speech gave him a national reputation. After the death of the hero of New Orleans, a pamphlet copy of the speech was found among his papers, with an endorsement in Jackson's handwriting, and signed by him, in these words: "*This speech constitutes my defence. I lay it aside as an inheritance for my grandchildren.*"

Mr. Lincoln remained in active practice at the bar until his nomination for the Presidency in 1860. His reputation as a lawyer and advocate was rising higher and higher. He had a large practice on the circuit all over the central part of this State, and he was employed in most of the important cases in the Federal and Supreme Courts. He went on special retainers all over Illinois, and occasionally to St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Indiana. His law arguments addressed to the Judges, were always clear, vigorous, and logical: seeking to convince rather by the application of principle, than by the citation of authorities and cases. On the whole, I always thought him relatively stronger before a jury than with the Court. He was a quick and accurate reader of character, and understood, almost intuitively, the jury, witnesses, parties, and judges, and how best to address, convince, and influence them. He had a power of conciliating and impressing every one in his favor. A stranger coming into court, not knowing him, or anything about his case, listening to Lincoln a few moments, would find himself involuntarily on his side, and wishing him success. His manner was so candid, so direct, the spectator was impressed that he was seeking only truth and justice. He excelled all I ever heard in the statement of his case. However complicated, he would disentangle it, and present the turning point in a way so simple and clear that all could understand. Indeed, his statement often rendered argument unnecessary, and often the Court would stop him and say, "If that is the case, we will hear the other side." He had, in the highest possible degree, the art of persuasion and the power of conviction. His illustrations were often quaint and homely, but always clear and apt, and generally conclusive. He never misstated evidence, but stated clearly, and met fairly and squarely his opponent's case. His wit and humor, and inexhaustible stores of anecdote, always to the point, added immensely to his power as a jury-advocate. Time will not permit me to linger over particular trials. I will only refer to two or three.

The great patent case of *McCormick v. Manny*, reported in 6 McLean, Rep. 539, was argued at Cincinnati in 1855. He, with Edwin M. Stanton, afterwards his Secretary of War, and George Harding, of Philadelphia, were for Manny. McCormick was represented by William H. Seward, Reverdy Johnson, Edward N. Dickinson, and Arnold and Larned, as the local solicitors. It has been often said that Mr. Stanton did not, on this trial, treat his associate with proper professional courtesy, and that Mr. Lincoln's argument was crowded out. He went to Cin-

cinnati fully prepared, and I believe with the expectation of making an argument, but made none. Those who knew him, and especially his great natural skill in mechanics, will need no assurance that, however able the arguments of Messrs. Stanton and Harding, his would have fully equalled them. If the story is true, that Stanton somewhat rudely crowded Mr. Lincoln's argument out, their subsequent history furnishes another illustration of his magnanimity, and disregard of personal considerations when he selected Stanton as one of his cabinet.

The last case Mr. Lincoln ever tried, was that of *Jones v. Johnson*, tried in April and May, 1860, in the United States Circuit Court, at Chicago. The case involved the title to land of very great value, the *accretion* on the shores of Lake Michigan. During the trial, Judge Drummond, and all the counsel on both sides, including Mr. Lincoln, dined together at my house. Douglas and Lincoln were at the time both candidates for the nomination for President. There were active and ardent political friends of each at the table, and when the sentiment was proposed, "May Illinois furnish the next President," it was, as you may imagine, drank with enthusiasm by the friends of both Lincoln and Douglas.

THE CASE OF THE NEGRO GIRL NANCE.

One of the most interesting and important cases which Mr. Lincoln ever argued in the Supreme Court, and one, the study of which, I believe, in part prepared the way for his anti-slavery measures, was the case of *Bailey v. Cromwell*, argued and decided at the December term, 1841, and an imperfect report of which will be found in 3d Scammon's Rep., p. 71.

A negro girl named *Nance*, alleged to have been held as an indentured servant, or slave, had been sold by Cromwell to Bailey, and promissory note given in payment. Suit was brought in the Tazewell Circuit Court upon the note, and judgment recovered for the amount. The case was taken to the Supreme Court, and was presented by Mr. Lincoln on one side, and Judge Logan on the other, and Mr. Lincoln made an elaborate argument in favor of reversing the judgment. He maintained, among other positions, that the girl was free by virtue of the ordinance of 1787, as well as by the Constitution of the State prohibiting slavery; he insisted that as the record showed the consideration of the note to have been the sale of a human being, in a free-State, the note was void; that a human being could not, in a free-State, be the subject of sale. The Court opinion, by Judge Breese, reversed the judgment. The argument of Mr. Lincoln, a very

brief statement of which is given in the report, was most interesting. The question of slavery under the ordinance, and the Constitution, as well as under the law of Nations, was very carefully considered. This was probably the first time that he gave to these grave questions so full and elaborate an investigation. He was then thirty-two years of age, and it is not improbable that the study of this case deepened and developed the anti-slavery convictions of his just and generous mind.

THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS DEBATE.

I now propose to speak for a few moments of what I regard as the greatest debate which has occurred in this country, the Lincoln and Douglas debate, of 1858.

The two most prominent men in Illinois, at that time, were Douglas and Lincoln. Each was in the full maturity of his powers, Douglas being forty-five, and Lincoln forty-nine years old. Douglas had for years been trained on the stump, in the lower house of Congress, and in the Senate, to meet in debate, the ablest speakers in the State and Nation. For years, he had been accustomed, on the floor of the Capitol, to encounter the leaders of the old Whig and Free-Soil parties. Among them were Seward, and Fessenden, and Crittenden, and Chase, and Trumbull, and Hale, and Sumner, and others, equally eminent, and his enthusiastic friends insisted, that never, either in single conflict, or when receiving the assault of a whole party, had he been discomfited. His style was bold, vigorous, and aggressive, and at times, defiant. He was ready, fertile in resources, familiar with political history, terrible in denunciation, and handled with skill, all the weapons of debate. His iron will, restless energy, united with great personal magnetism, made him very popular; and with these qualities, he had indomitable physical and moral courage, and his almost uniform success, had given him perfect confidence in himself.

Lincoln was, also, a thoroughly trained speaker. He had contended successfully, year after year, at the Bar, and on the stump, with the ablest men of Illinois, including Lamborn, Logan, John Calhoun, and others, and had often met Douglas himself—a conflict with whom he always rather courted than shunned. Indeed, these two great orators had often tested each others power, and whenever they did meet, it was, indeed, “Greek meeting Greek,” and the “tug of war” came, for each put forth his utmost strength.

In a speech of Mr. Lincoln in 1856, he made the following

beautiful, eloquent, and generous allusion to Douglas. He said: "Twenty years ago, Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted; we were both young then, he, a trifle younger than I. Even then, we were both ambitious, I, perhaps, quite as much as he. With me, the race of ambition has been a failure. With him, it has been a splendid success. His name fills the Nation, and it is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached; so reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

We know, and the world knows, that Lincoln did reach that high, nay far higher eminence, and that he did reach it, in such a way that "the oppressed" did share with him in the elevation.

Such were the champions who, in 1858, were to discuss before the voters of Illinois, and with the whole Nation as spectators, the political questions then pending, and especially the vital questions relating to slavery. It was not a single combat, but extended through a whole campaign, and the American people paused to watch its progress, and hung, with intense interest, upon every movement of the champions. Each of these great men, I doubt not, at that time, sincerely believed he was right. Douglas' ardor, while in such a conflict, would make him think, for the time being, he was right, and I *know* that Lincoln argued for freedom against the extension of slavery, with the most profound conviction that, on success, hung the fate of his country. Lincoln had two advantages over Douglas; he had the best side of the question, and the best temper. He was always good humored, always had an apt story for illustration, while Douglas, sometimes, when hard pressed, was irritable.

Douglas carried away the most popular applause, but Lincoln made the deeper and more lasting impression. Douglas did not disdain an immediate, *ad captandum* triumph, while Lincoln aimed at permanent conviction. Sometimes, when Lincoln's friends urged him to raise a storm of applause, which he could always do, by his happy illustrations and amusing stories, he refused, saying the occasion was too serious, the issue too grave. "I do not seek applause," said he, "nor to amuse the people, I want to convince them."

It was often observed during this canvass, that, while Douglas was sometimes greeted with the loudest cheers, when Lincoln closed, the people seemed solemn and serious, and could be

heard, all through the crowd, gravely and anxiously discussing the topics on which he had been speaking.

Douglas, by means of a favorable apportionment, succeeded in securing a majority of the Legislature, but a majority of the vote was with Lincoln. These debates made Douglas Senator, and Lincoln President. There was something magnetic, something almost heroic, in the gallantry with which Douglas threw himself into this canvass, and dealt his blows right and left, against the Republican party on one side, and Buchanan's administration, which sought his defeat, on the other. The Federal patronage was used, by the unscrupulous Slidell, against Douglas—but in vain; a few were seduced, but the mass of the Democratic party, with honorable fidelity, stood by him. This canvass of Douglas, and his personal and immediate triumph, in being returned to the Senate, over the combined opposition of the Republican party, led by Lincoln and Trumbull, and the administration, with all its patronage, is, I think, the most brilliant personal triumph in American politics. If we look into English struggles on the hustings for its parallel, we shall find something with which to compare it, in the late triumph of Mr. Gladstone. If we seek its counterpart in military history, we must look into some of the earlier campaigns of Napoleon, or that in which Grant captured Vicksburg.

Douglas secured the immediate object of the struggle, but the manly bearing, the vigorous logic, the honesty and sincerity, the great intellectual powers, exhibited by Mr. Lincoln, prepared the way, and two years later, secured his nomination, and election, to the Presidency. It is a touching incident, illustrating the patriotism of both these statesmen, that, widely as they had differed, and keen as had been their rivalry, just as soon as the life of the Republic was menaced by treason, they joined hands to shield and save the country they loved.

It would be a most attractive theme to follow Mr. Lincoln, step by step, from the time of this contest; to enumerate, one after another, his measures, until he led the loyal people of America in triumph, to the complete overthrow of slavery, and the restoration of the Union. From the time when he left this City, the political horizon, black with rebellion and treason, the thunder-cloud just ready to burst—on,—and on,—through those long, dreary years of war and danger, down to his triumph and his death; what a drama, what a spectacle for the admiration of men, and angels! From the argument of the case of the negro girl *Nance*, to the debate with Douglas, the final overthrow of

slavery, and his own tragic death, his life has all the dramatic unities, and the awful ending of the old Greek tragedies.

I know of nothing in all history more pathetic, than the scene when Mr. Lincoln bade good-bye to his old friends and neighbors here, in Springfield, when he mounted the cars at yonder railway station, to be borne away to the Capitol, to struggle with what seemed unconquerable difficulties and dangers, to struggle,—to triumph—and—to die. Conscious of these difficulties, with a sadness which seemed like a presentiment, but with a deep religious trust, which, in spite of what infidels have said, or may say, was wholly characteristic, as he said fare-well, he asked your prayers to Almighty God for himself and his country. And, as he grasped the hard hand of many an old friend and client, he heard the response, "God bless and keep you, and God save you from all traitors." Well was it said, happily was it written on one of those mottoes on your State-house, at his funeral:

"He left us, borne up by our prayers,
He returns embalmed in our tears."

I have detained you already too long. Let me, in concluding these fragmentary recollections of some members of the early Bar, let me congratulate you that thus far, the good name of our noble profession has been unstained. Fidelity to every trust, integrity and intelligence in the discharge of every duty, has characterized its members, whether at the Bar, or upon the Bench. No breach of faith, no judicial or professional corruption, no embezzlement stains our records. And, as we review the past, we may be justly proud of what the Bar has achieved. It has administered justice, preserved order, and maintained the supremacy of the law. It has done more: it has been the guardian, under law, of all our liberties; it has furnished the teachers of all parties, and led the advance in all true civilization and progress. Run your eye over the roll of the great men of our State; Presidents, Senators, Governors, members of Congress, members of Cabinets, Ministers abroad, and soldiers, and take from the record the lawyers, and how few would be left! Hitherto, in our history, the trained intellect of the Bar has led, and vindicated its right to lead, by results. Some call the Bar an aristocracy; it will be happy for the republic, if there shall be, in the future, as in the past, such an aristocracy of intellect, honor, and culture, made up largely from the members of the Bar. Happy is that country, where talents, intelligence, and high character, rather than money, control political affairs, and make and execute the laws.

slavery, and his own tragic death, his life has all the dramatic unity, and the awful ending of the old Greek tragedies.

I know of nothing in all history more pathetic than the story when Mr. Lincoln made goodbye to his old friends and neighbors here in Springfield when he mounted the cars at Foster railway station to be borne away to the Capital, to struggle with what seemed unsurmountable difficulties and dangers, to struggle—to triumph—and—to die. Conditions of these difficulties with a sadness which seemed like a prearrangement, but with a deep religious trust, which in spite of what individuals have said or say, was wholly characteristic as he said farewell to his country. And your prayers to Almighty God for himself and his country. And as he grasped the hand of many an old friend and client, he heard the response "God bless and keep you and (and save you from all dangers." Well, was it said happily was it written on one of those notices on your Statehouse at the present?

"Let us hope up his prayers
The nation embodied in our laws."

I have defined you already too long. Let me in concluding these hasty, recollections of some members of the body that has so long congratulated you that this the good name of our noble profession has been maintained—fidelity to every trust, integrity and intelligence in the discharge of every duty has characterized its members whether at the bar or upon the bench. No breach of faith no judicial or professional corruption, no embarrassment stains our records. And as we review the past, we may be justly proud of what the bar has achieved. It has administered justice, protected only, and maintained the supremacy of the law. It has done more; it has been the guardian, under law, of all our liberties; it has furnished the teachers of all parties and led the advance in all true civilization and progress. How good you were the roll of the great men of our State: President, Secretary, Governor, members of Congress, members of Cabinet, Ministers abroad and soldiers and sailors from the record the lawyers and how few would be left. Historic in our history the names of the bar have led and vindicated its right to lead by example. You call the bar an aristocracy; it will be happy for the republic if there shall be in the future as in the past such an aristocracy of intellect, honor, and culture, made up largely from the members of the bar. Happy is that country, whose talents, intelligence and high character, rather than money, control political affairs and make and execute the laws.

Wealth acquired, or inherited, is to be protected, but money, as a means of political power, is necessarily corrupt, and is to-day the most dangerous enemy to our institutions. It has been well said, "An aristocracy of mere money is essentially the coarsest and rudest, the most vulgar, and demoralizing of all aristocracies."

The accumulation of vast fortunes by individuals and corporations, seems to be greater than at any time since the days of Roman corruption. If the day should ever come, when money shall control the legislation and politics of the country, we shall deserve, and may expect, the fate of Rome. But let us cherish faith in the destiny of the Republic.

Some of us have seen Illinois grow from infancy to be the third or fourth State of the Union. But it is not her material prosperity of which we should be chiefly proud. She has something better. That was a bright page in her history, when, in her early days, she banished slavery from her borders. She may be justly proud of the intellectual conflict, when her prairies echoed to the great arguments of Lincoln and Douglas, and still more proud when Lincoln proclaimed liberty throughout the land. That was a proud day for her when her great soldier, after clearing the West of every hostile flag, was called to the command of the armies of the East, and on the banks of the Potomac and the James, and at Appomatox closed the war in triumph.

Illinois, in the future, as in the past, will hold the Union together. She will seek the markets of the world, across the great lakes, and through the Hudson, the Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico to the sea; but never through foreign territory. No foreign flag or custom-house must ever intervene in any direction between her and salt-water. All that has been accomplished in the past, should inspire us with a still higher ambition. If in arms, in eloquence, in jurisprudence, in statesmanship, Illinois can compare favorably with her proudest sisters, the time is not remote, we hope, when she will emulate and rival their success in arts and literature.

OBITUARY.

DAVID McKEE,

One of the early pioneers of Chicago, died April 9, 1881, near Aurora, Kane Co., at his own residence. Mr. McKee died at the ripe age of four-score years. During his long life he had enjoyed uninterrupted good health, and old age was the cause of his death.

Mr. McKee was well known to the early settlers of Chicago. With the solitary exception, perhaps, of Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, he was the oldest living settler of early Chicago. He was born in Loudon County, Virginia, Dec. 2, 1800. His parents emigrated to this country from Scotland, and after living some time in Virginia moved to Pennsylvania, and thence to Ohio. At the age of 13, young David was put at the trade of blacksmithing in Cincinnati. In 1821 he went to New Orleans, which was then comparatively a small place. He saw little there to encourage him to remain. The swamps were full of malaria and alligators, and the people were far from thrifty. After a short stay, he returned to Cincinnati, and soon after he got an appointment from the Government to go to Chicago, and do the blacksmithing for the Indian tribes under the treaty stipulations. His business was to attend to the wants of the untutored savage, to repair his rifle, mend his tomahawk, and otherwise prepare him for emergencies.

There was not much to be seen when young McKee came to Chicago. Fort Dearborn was the only white man's residence of any importance. There were some log-cabins on the banks of the river, and there lived the four original white men,—John Craft, agent of the American Fur Company; John Kinzie and his family; Alexander Wolcott; and one other old resident, whose name McKee could not remember, in late years. These were the only white men not wearing uniforms.

In 1826, McKee was appointed mail-carrier, and used to carry the mail once a month to Fort Wayne and back. Indians were as thick as grasshoppers all along the line of his route, but he journeyed on his old pack-horse from place to place, and was never molested by them. It took two weeks to go to Fort Wayne and back. One could not take a train at 5:15 p.m. and get there

at midnight. The stopping-places for refreshments were at the will of the traveler, and were generally in some leafy grove. The refreshments were such as the traveler chose to take with him.

In June, 1827, McKee was married to Miss Scott, the ceremony being performed by John Kinzie, J. P. McKee was a constable at the time, and was Justice Kinzie's right-hand man. In 1829, he became a parent, and his son Stephen was the first white child born to a citizen of Chicago. One or two births may have occurred in the garrison, but none had been known to take place among the citizens. Gurdon S. Hubbard, Jr., was, according to Mr. McKee, born in Danville.

According to Mr. McKee, in an interview with a TRIBUNE reporter in 1875, the first bridge built across the river was at the foot of Dearborn Street. The first frame house—in contradistinction to a log-cabin—was built on the South Side. It was a warehouse built by Newberry & Dole, on the south-east corner of South Water and Dearborn Streets, and the proprietors were very fond of boasting of it when speaking of it elsewhere.

During the interview referred to, Mr. McKee called to mind his recollections of seeing the bones of the victims of the massacre of Fort Dearborn, in 1812. The massacre occurred near the pine clump in the neighborhood of the University Building, and there the bones lay for twenty years. In 1832, Capt. Bradley, then commanding at Fort Dearborn, ordered the bones to be gathered up and interred, as they were, in the wood close by. Eight or ten years ago, some workmen, while digging a sewer in the vicinity, came across this burying-ground, and supposed at first they had encountered an Indian cemetery, until the history of the affair was published subsequently.

Mr. McKee left this city in 1832. He had acquired some little property in Chicago, consisting of four lots, 80 feet front by 140 deep, near where the Northwestern Depot now stands. He sold the land for \$800, which was then regarded as an enormous sum. With the proceeds of the sale he purchased a farm in Dupage County, where he lived until 1874, when he moved to Aurora.

Stephen McKee, his son, spoken of above as the first white child born in Chicago, is now in Nebraska, getting on in years, and with a family of his own. The first vote polled by him was in 1825. A copy of the poll-list* with his name in it is now in the possession of Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago. J. W.

Chicago Tribune, April 13, 1881.

* See Wentworth's "Early Chicago," No. 7, p. 16, Fergus' Hist. Publ'ns.

The First Murder-Trial in Iroquois County

FOR

The First Murder in Cook County.

The Sixth Judicial Circuit of Illinois was created out of the Fifth, of which Richard M. Young was then Judge, at the Legislative session of 1834-35. It was composed of the counties of Peoria, Putnam, Iroquois, then just organized, Cook, Jo Daviess, and Rock Island.

Thomas Ford, who had been prosecuting-attorney in the Fifth Circuit, was appointed Judge, and James Grant, then a young adventurer, in his twenty-second year, from North Carolina, was, through the influence of Richard J. Hamilton, John H. Kinzie, and Gurdon S. Hubbard, prosecuting-attorney.

In the month of May, 1836, a man was found dead on the prairie, near the road side, between what was then called Lawton's Ford, on the Desplaines, and Elijah Wentworth's Buckhorn Tavern, seventeen or eighteen miles west of south-west from Chicago, on the traveled trail—you could hardly call it a road—to Ottawa.

A knife wound on the body showed that the man had been murdered. Stephen Forbes, the Sheriff of Cook County, lived on the west side of the Desplaines at Lawton's Ford, and between his house and Wentworth's, a distance of about six miles, there was no dwelling.

The prosecuting-attorney, who, as well as Forbes, knew every foot of the prairie in this distance, aided Forbes in hunting up the history of this homicide. In a few days the circumstances, as thus discovered, led to the arrest of a man calling himself Joseph F. Morris or Norris, and he was indicted by the grand jury at the June Term of the Court, and the feeling in the then sparse population of Cook County was so strong against him that Mor-

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ris, on advice of his counsel, changed the venue to what was regarded as the wilderness of Illinois, Iroquois County. This man had been traced, by the prosecuting-attorney, from Ottawa to Chicago, and hence he preferred Iroquois County as the place of his trial.

From the *Watseka Times*,* January 4, 1879:

The Circuit Court of Iroquois County was organized on the 28th day of September, 1835. Here is the *placita*:

"Be it remembered, that a Circuit Court for the County of Iroquois, Illinois, begun and held at the house of Richard Montgomery, in said county, on the 4th Monday of September, 1835.

Present. The Honorable Stephen T. Logan, Judge of the First Judicial Circuit, presiding by exchange with the Honorable Thomas Ford, Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit.

JAMES GRANT, State's-Attorney.

HUGH NEWELL, Clerk, *pro tem*.

S. M. DUNN, Sheriff."

The house of Richard Montgomery was a hewed log-house used as a tavern on the south side of the river at Bunkum (properly Montgomery.) It was at the second Term of this Court that the first trial for murder was held in this county. A man had

* A proof of the following was sent to Hon. James Grant, who returned it with the additions made, and the following letter:

Mr. Robert Fergus, 244-8 Illinois St., Chicago, Ill. *Dear Sir*:—I have yours of the 27th. I wish you to send to me the ten publications named in your historical list. I enclose you three dollars. I also send you a narrative of some circumstances, connected with the trial of Morris:—I had no difficulty in convicting him; but was astonished at the ability manifested by Henry Moore, who was at the Court on other business, and was appointed to defend Morris. He relied upon the insufficiency of circumstantial evidence; made the usual argument in such cases, but with much more than the usual ability. This was the second, and last, homicide that I prosecuted for murder, during the period of my State's-attorneyship, from January, 1835, to January, 1837. The first was at Jo Daviess County, Spring Circuit, of the same year, when one Goodwin was prosecuted for killing his friend or foe, a brother miner, in a fight by agreement. This trial secured me the friendship of Benjamin Mills, one of the most brilliant of Illinois' orators of that day; and the trial of Morris, the friendship and esteem of Judge Stephen T. Logan, one of the ablest lawyers and judges that I have known in the history of Illinois, now in his eightieth year, having survived all his compeers of the early days of Illinois. I regarded myself as a boy in his presence, and feel so now, though I shall be sixty-seven on the 12th of December next.

Your Obedient Servant,

JAMES GRANT.

Davenport, Iowa, Nov. 2d, 1879.

been killed in the "Oak Woods," south-west of Chicago. The accused was the last one seen with him before the murder, and had been apprehended and arraigned before the Court in Cook County, from which he had taken a change of venue to Iroquois.

The trial came on at the May Term of the Court on the 16th, 17th, and 18th days of May, 1836. Present,

Hon. THOMAS FORD, Judge.

HUGH NEWELL, Clerk.

S. M. DUNN, Sheriff.

JAMES GRANT, State's-Attorney.

On the first day, as the record shows, State's-attorney filed in Court the record of proceedings and papers in the case on change of venue, and the Sheriff of Cook County returned his writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and brought the body of the said Joseph F. Morris, *alias* Joseph F. Norris, into Court. The accused was asked if he had been served with a copy of the indictment, a list of the jurors and witnesses, and if he had any counsel, and answered that he knew not if he had had the documents named, and the counsel employed by him was not present nor expected. The State's attorney then made oath that the accused had been served with the necessary papers above enumerated at the October Term of the Cook County Circuit Court.

Henry Moore, Esq., a counsellor of the Court, was then appointed counsel for the prisoner, and the case continued till the next day.

On the 17th, the prisoner's counsel asked for a continuance, but was refused; thereupon the defendant being arraigned, and having been furnished with a copy of the indictment and a list of the jurors and witnesses previous to his arraignment, pleaded *Not Guilty*, and for trial put himself upon the country. Thereupon came a jury of twelve good and lawful men, to wit: Benjamin Fry, Jacob A. Whiteman, Samuel Rush, Alexander Wilson, James Frame, Jacob Wagner, Westly Spitler, William A. Cole, William John, Ira Lindsey, and Isaac Fry, who were duly sworn, etc., etc.

The testimony of the people was introduced, and the cause continued until the next day.

The evidence for the State, which was in no way contradicted by the defendant, showed, that the murdered man was a comparative stranger to the then village of Chicago, where he had stopped long enough to be identified, and to have had and shown to more than one person a peculiar pocket-knife, which was easily recognized and identified. This stranger had left Chicago in the morning, was seen at the Forbes Tavern, and was seen in company and in conversation with Morris on the road

been killed in the "Oak Woods" south-west of Chicago. The accused was the last one seen with him before the murder and had been apprehended and arraigned before the Court in Cook County, from which he had taken a change of venue to Morgan County. The trial came on at the May Term of the Court on the 14th, 15th, and 16th days of May, 1876. Present:

Hon. Thomas Ford, Judge.

Hon. Newton Clark.

S. M. Dwyer, Sheriff.

James Grant, State's Attorney.

On the first day of the second session, State's attorney filed in Court the record of proceedings and papers in the case on change of venue, and the Sheriff of Cook County returned his writ of Habeas Corpus and brought the body of the said Joseph K. Moore, now Joseph F. Moore, into Court. The record was asked if he had been served with a copy of the indictment, a list of the jurors and witnesses, and if he had any counsel, and answered that he knew not if he had the documents named, and the counsel employed by him was not present nor expected. The State's attorney then made oath that the accused had been served with the necessary papers above enumerated at the October Term of the Cook County Circuit Court.

Henry Moore, Esq., a counselor of the Court, was then appointed counsel for the prisoner, and the case continued till the next day.

On the 17th, the prisoner's counsel asked for a continuance, but was refused; thereupon the defendant being arraigned, and having been furnished with a copy of the indictment and a list of the jurors and witnesses previous to his arraignment, pleaded *Not Guilty*, and for trial put himself upon the country. Thereupon came a jury of twelve good and lawful men to wit: Benjamin Fry, Jacob A. Whitcomb, Samuel Ross, Alexander Williams, James R. Smith, Jacob W. Brown, Henry Spitzer, William A. Cole, William John, Jas. Lindsay, and Isaac Fry, who were duly sworn, etc. The testimony of the people was introduced, and the case continued until the next day.

The evidence for the State, which was in no way contradicted by the defendant, showed that the murdered man was a common stranger to the then village of Chicago, where he had stopped long enough to be identified, and to have had and shown to more than one person a peculiar pocket-knife, which was easily recognized and identified. The stranger had left Chicago in the morning, was seen at the Forbes Tavern, and was seen in company and in conversation with Moore on the road

between Forbes' and Wentworth's, near which, on the next day, his dead body was found. Morris was also seen at the Forbes Tavern late in the day on his way to Chicago, which he reached the same night, and where he stayed until he was arrested.

Whether he was seen to exhibit the dead man's knife, or whether the prosecuting-attorney had him arrested on suspicion and the knife was found upon him, is not remembered; but it was found upon him; it was identified by more than one witness; the death-wound corresponded in size with the knife, and the prisoner's excuse that he had traded for the knife, or that he was the owner of it, and that it was not the dead man's knife, was his sole defence. His presence with the deceased near the fatal spot could not be gainsaid. The confession of the prisoner, while denying his part in the homicide, that he knew who the murderer was, satisfied the small portion of dissentents from a verdict of guilty on circumstantial evidence, that he was the stranger's murderer.

Neither Ford, the judge, nor Grant, the prosecutor, nor the jury who tried him, would solicit the Governor for his pardon.

On the 18th. "This day came the people by James Grant, state's-attorney, and the Sheriff of Cook County again produced the defendant in Court attended by Henry Moore, Esq., his counsel, and after hearing the testimony in behalf of the defendant, and the arguments of counsel for the people and defendant, the jury retired to consider of their verdict at about half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, and after continuing with the officer in charge of them until about half-past six o'clock in the afternoon, returned into Court and stated that they had not agreed upon their verdict, and by order of the Court, they were provided with proper refreshment, and again retired to consider of their verdict, and about fifteen minutes after seven o'clock in the afternoon the jury came into Court and returned the following verdict, to wit: We, the jurors, find the defendant *Guilty* in manner and form as he is charged in the indictment."

On the 19th, a motion for a new trial being overruled, the Court passed sentence as follows:

"It is ordered and adjudged by the Court that the said defendant be taken hence by the Sheriff of Iroquois County, and confined and safely kept by said Sheriff at some convenient place in said county (there being no jail), until Friday, the tenth day of June next, on which day the said defendant shall be taken by said Sheriff to some convenient place in said county and then and there, between the hours of ten o'clock in the morning and

between Forbes' and Wentworth's, seen which on the next day his dead body was found. Moore was also seen at the Forbes Tavern late in the day on his way to Chicago, which he reached the same night, and where he stayed until he was arrested.

Whether he was seen to exhibit the dead man's knife, or whether the prosecuting attorney had been arrested on suspicion and the knife was found upon him, is not remembered; but it was identified by more than one witness. The death wound corresponded in size with the knife, and the prisoner's remark that he had traded for the knife on that day is the owner of it, and that it was not the dead man's knife was his sole defense. His presence with the deceased near the fatal spot could not be gainsaid. The confession of the prisoner, while denying his part in the homicide, that he knew who the murderer was, satisfied the small portion of the court from a verdict of guilty on circumstantial evidence, that he was the stranger's murderer.

Verdict found the judge, not Grant, the prosecutor, not the jury who tried him would select the Governor for his pardon. On the 18th. "This day came the people by James Grant, state attorney, and the Sheriff of Cook County again produced the defendant in Court attended by Henry Moore Esq. his counsel, and after hearing the testimony in behalf of the defendant, and the arguments of counsel for the people and defendant, the jury retired to consider of their verdict at about half past one o'clock in the afternoon, and after consulting with the officer in charge of them until about half past six o'clock in the afternoon, returned into Court and stated that they had not agreed upon their verdict, and by order of the Court, they were provided with proper refreshment, and again retired to consider of their verdict, and about fifteen minutes after seven o'clock in the afternoon the jury came into Court and returned the following verdict, to wit: We, the jurors, find the defendant Guilty in manner and form as he is charged in the indictment."

On the 19th, a motion for a new trial being overruled, the Court passed sentence as follows:

"It is ordered and adjudged by the Court that the said defendant be taken hence by the Sheriff of Cook County, and confined and safely kept by said Sheriff at some convenient place in said county (where being on jail) until Friday the tenth day of June next, on which day the said defendant shall be taken by said Sheriff to some convenient place in said county and then and there, between the hours of ten o'clock in the morning and

three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, by the said Sheriff, hanged by the neck until he shall be dead."

The criminal is described, by those who saw him, as a large, fine-looking fellow. Throughout his trial, and after, he protested his innocence, saying that he was not guilty of the crime, but that he knew who was guilty. He refused to give any names, however, intimating that he was pledged to secrecy. It is evident from the record that the jury did not readily agree, and his bearing may have created some doubt, but it is said there could be no reasonable doubt of his guilt.

He was ironed and confined in one of the houses near by until the day of his execution, which took place at the appointed time.

Morris was taken to a blacksmith, to have irons riveted on him, and while it was being done, he picked up some kind of a missile and threw it into the crowd at the door of the shop, and it struck Mr. Edward Mulford, the jeweler, on the face.

His guards were Sheriff Dunn and George Courtright, (the latter now of Watseka.) With the utmost diligence he came near escaping. He managed to weaken his fetters, and, when left alone for a short time, broke them off, and would have escaped had he not moved too soon. The noise he made recalled the guard, and he was secured.

A large crowd of people came from long distances to witness the execution. The day was one of rain and storm. The place selected was a walnut tree just across the bridge, north, at Bunkum, and the rope was attached to a limb about 30 or 40 feet from the ground. The criminal walked part way, smoking his cigar with great fortitude; when mounted on the box in the wagon which served for a scaffold he made a short speech, in which he justified his past life, saying he had stolen from the rich and given to the poor, etc.

When the Sheriff adjusted the noose, he said "That rope would hang a steamboat." When life was extinct, the body was taken down and buried at a point a little south-east of Bunkum. It was afterward taken up for anatomical purposes, and it is said that one of the resurrectionists died from the effects of his exposure during the operation.

I am much indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Micajah Stanley for the matters herein related not shown by the records, and I hereby return my thanks.

B. F. SHANKLAND.

From the proceedings of "The First Old-Settlers Re-Union" of Iroquois County, at Dunning's Grove, Iroquois, Ill., August 13th, 14th, and 15th, 1879.

three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, by the said Sheriff, charged by the neck until he shall be dead."

The criminal is described by those who saw him as a large, one-looking fellow. Throughout his trial and after he protested his innocence, saying that he was not guilty of the crime, but that he knew who was guilty. He refused to give any names, however, intimating that he was pledged to secrecy. It is evident from the record that the jury did not readily agree, and his last day may have created some doubt, but it is said there could be no reasonable doubt of his guilt.

He was ironed and confined in one of the houses near by until the day of his execution, which took place at the appointed time. He was taken to a blacksmith to have irons riveted on him, and while it was being done he picked up some kind of a missile and threw it into the crowd at the door of the shop, and it struck the Edward killed the Jeweler, on the spot.

His guards were Sheriff Dunn and George Combs, (the late now of Warsaw). With the greatest diligence he came near escaping. He managed to weaken his fetters, and when left alone for a short time broke them off and would have escaped had he not moved too soon. The warden he again recalled the guards, and he was returned.

A large crowd of people came from long distances to witness the execution. The day was one of rain and storm. The place selected was a walnut tree just across the bridge north of the town, and the rope was attached to a limb about 20 or 25 feet from the ground. The criminal walked past very smoking the sign with great forbearance, when mounted on the box in the wagon which served for a scaffold he made a short speech in which he justified his past life, saying he had stolen from the rich and given to the poor, etc.

When the sheriff adjusted the noose, he said "That rope would hang a steamboat." When the was exact, the body was jerked down and landed at a point a mile south-east of the town. It was afterwards taken up for anatomical purposes, and it is said that one of the dissectionists died from the effects of his exposure during the operation.

I am much indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Michael Stanley for the account herein related not shown by the records, and I hereby return my thanks.

B. F. SHAWHAN.

From the proceedings of "The First Old-Schooler Rev-union of Indiana County at Bushy's Grove, Indiana, Ill., August 14th and 15th, 1879."

The exercises of the day (Thursday) were concluded by an entertaining sketch, by the President, (Amos O. Whiteman), relative to the arrest, trial, conviction, and hanging." * * *

MR. WHITEMAN said "I have been requested to give the historical facts in regard to the stump of the tree on which Thomasson was hanged, and also the log that was part of the jail in which he was confined, and the man that gave them renown. He very much regretted it, for this reason,—his inability to do justice under the circumstances. He was not an inhabitant of this county at the time of the event to which your minds will be directed in reference to these relics. He was, however, in possession of some of the facts, and they were simply these: Some time in the forepart of 1836, a gentleman by the name of Charles Lagree, who was a journeyman blacksmith in a shop in Chicago; he worked there about six months, and at the expiration of that time made a settlement with his employer and shortly after started on his way to Joliet. It so happened that on the settlement there was exceeding the sum of fifty dollars due from his employer to him; it was paid over and he started on his journey. During the first day's travel, it appears, along the way an individual was seen traveling the same road on horseback. Sometimes he was seen riding along in company with this man who was on foot—generally supposed to be in conversation with him. Persons having met the two, the one on horseback and the other on foot, heard conversation taking place between these two men. It next appeared in the early part of the day they were first noticed together and were noticed continually. Sometimes this man would be in advance of the footman and alternately the footman would be in advance of the other. Late in the afternoon, as he was traveling in a southwesterly direction, a teamster discovered the two traveling together. Afterward, they were seen together again after the teamster met them. The teamster gave it as his opinion afterward and before the arrest was made, that he apprehended something serious would take place between these two travelers, and he made the announcement on the day they were seen on the journey. Not far from the village known as Plainfield,—no doubt a number of you are acquainted with it—not a great way from that place there was a house of entertainment, kept by a farmer. In a northeasterly direction from that public-house, on an elevated plot of land, late in the evening, two individuals were discovered, the one on foot, the other on horseback. That being nothing new on the highway in the vicinity of a public-house, no notice was taken of it. On the following morning, there was a strange-looking object on the elevated spot, from a

The exercises of the day (Thursday) were concluded by an interesting sketch by the President (James A. Whitman) relative to the great trial conviction and hanging. * * * Mr. Whitman said "I have been requested to give the historical facts in regard to the slaying of the man on whom Thompson was hanged, and also the fact that was part of the trial in which he was convicted, and the man that gave the name. The very much requested it for this reason—known history to the judges under the circumstances. He was an inhabitant of this county at the time of the event to which your minds will be directed in reference to these things. He was, however, in possession of some of the facts, and they were simply these: Some time in the month of 1856, a gentleman by the name of Charles L. Carter, who was a young man, blacksmith in a shop in Chicago, he worked there about six months, and at the expiration of that time made a settlement with his employer and shortly after started on his way to Joliet. It so happened that the settlement there was exceeding the sum of fifty dollars due from his employer to him; it was paid over and he started on his journey. During the first day's travel, it appeared along the way, an individual was seen traveling the same road on horseback. Sometimes he was seen riding along in company with this man who was on foot—generally supposed to be in conversation with him. Persons having met the two, the one on horseback and the other on foot, heard conversation taking place between these two men. It next appeared in the early part of the day they were noticed together and were noticed continually. Sometimes this man would be in advance of the footman and alternately the footman would be in advance of the other. Late in the afternoon, as he was traveling in a southerly direction, a tentist discovered the two traveling together. Afterward they were seen together again after the tentist met them. The tentist gave it as his opinion afterward and before the arrest was made, that he apprehended something serious would take place between these two travelers, and he made the announcement on the day they were seen on the journey. Not far from the village known as Tumbler, there was a number of you are acquainted with it—not a great way from that place there was a house of entertainment kept by a farmer. In a southerly direction from that public-house, as an elevated spot of land, late in the evening, two individuals were discovered, the one on foot, the other on horseback. They were being nothing new on the highway in the vicinity of a public-house, no notice was taken of it. On the following morning there was a strange-looking object on the elevated spot, from a

quarter to a half-mile from this house of entertainment, that called the attention of the settlers to that place; so much so, that they dispatched a person to examine what the appearance might be. On arriving at the spot, the body of a man was found dead; afterward ascertained to be the body of this man Charles Lagree, this blacksmith that left Chicago.

The country was alarmed; and soon the public were in pursuit, and the individual that was recognized as the one on horseback, in company with this man, was arrested on suspicion; he was brought before the proper authorities at Chicago, and committed to jail. At the proper sitting of the court and grand jury for Cook County, he was indicted for murder; his counsel, Henry Moore, advised him to take a change of venue, and the venue was awarded to Iroquois County, (the nearest seat of justice,) in the month of May. I am not able to state the day, but in May, 1836, Thomas Ford, one of the Judges of the Circuit Court, was assigned to the duties of holding court for Iroquois County. On the opposite bank of the river, the court convened at the house of Richard Montgomery. The prisoner did not give his name correctly, but it was ascertained to be Joseph Thomasson, and so was tried and convicted of murder. I am told by persons who were on the jury that tried him, that the conviction was entirely upon circumstantial evidence. This man Lagree, while in Chicago, had picked up a Barlow knife and carried it into the shop, and some of the boys, in a joking way, asked if it was a pretty good article; that knife he kept for the purpose of trimming horses' feet. When he started out of the shop to leave Chicago he went out without the knife, and one of the journeymen, in a joking way, asked him if he was going to take that knife along or leave it, and he put the knife in his pocket and went off. That knife was found on Joseph Thomasson after he was arrested. This man that had employed Lagree identified the knife; at the time of the trial they had collected perhaps thirty old knives, and this knife was kept out, and this gentleman was called to identify the knife; he looked over them, and said it was not there. Again they mixed them up, and he said it was not there. The third time, they put in the knife, this same knife that was taken from Thomasson; he looked them over, and the first clap he made he picked it up. They mixed up the knives again, and did not put the knife in again, and he said, "You must put the knife in if you want me to find it." They put the knife in again, and he picked the knife up as before. Another strong circumstance was, Thomasson had a pound weight tied up in a piece of shirting, and the broken skull of Lagree and the weight exactly corresponded.

quarter to a half-mile from the house of confinement, then called the attention of the officers to that place, so much so, that they dispatched a person to examine what the appearance might be. On arriving at the spot the body of a man was found dead; afterwards ascertained to be the body of the man Charles Lagare, this blacksmith that left Chicago.

The country was alarmed; and soon the public were in pursuit, and the individual that was recognized as the one on horseback, in company with this man, was arrested on suspicion; he was brought before the proper authorities at Chicago, and committed to jail. At the proper sitting of the court and grand jury for Cook County, he was indicted for murder, his counsel Henry Morton, advised him to take a change of venue, and the venue was granted to Morgan County, (the nearest seat of justice) in the month of May, and not able to state the day, but in May, 1842, Thomas Ford, one of the judges of the Circuit Court, was assigned to the duties of holding court for Morgan County. On the opposite bank of the river, the court resided at the house of Richard Montgomery. The prisoner did not give his name correctly, but it was ascertained to be Joseph Thompson, and he was tried and convicted of murder. I am told by persons who were on the jury that tried him, that the conviction was entirely upon circumstantial evidence. This man Lagare, while in Chicago, had picked up a barrow knife and carried it into the shop, and some of the boys in a joking way, asked if it was a pretty good article; that knife he kept for the purpose of throwing horses over. When he started out of the shop to leave Chicago he went out without the knife, and one of the journeymen, in a joking way, asked him if he was going to take that knife along or leave it, and he put the knife in his pocket and went off. That man was found on Joseph Thompson after he was arrested. This man had had employed Lagare, indicated the knife; at the time of the trial they had collected perhaps thirty old knives, and this knife was kept out, and this gentleman was called to identify the knife; he looked over them and said it was not there. Again they mixed them up and he said it was not there. The third time they put in the knife, this same knife that was taken from Thompson; he looked them over, and the first time he made no picket it up. They mixed up the knives again, and did not put the knife in again, and he said, "You must put the knife in if you want me to find it." They put the knife in again, and he picked the knife up as before. Another strong circumstance was, Thompson had a pound weight tied up in a piece of shroud, and the broken skull of Lagare and the weight exactly corresponded.

Uncle John Fry with eleven other men tried him. Judge Grant was prosecuting-attorney. The trial lasted through the whole of the day, and the jury went out late in the day. Some time after, they returned with their verdict; it was brought into court; the court had not yet adjourned; they brought in, without a dissenting voice, "guilty." That night, Thomasson was sentenced by Judge Ford; on the following June, on the tenth day, he was to be hanged by the head until he was dead, *dead*, DEAD. There was a walnut tree, perhaps two feet in diameter, that stood on the bank of the river, on the other side. S. M. Dunn, who was the sheriff of this County at that time, proceeded to make the arrangements for carrying out the sentence of this man Thomasson. About ten feet west of this tree he has described, ordered a post planted in the ground about two feet deep and eight or nine in height; on the top of that post was a scantling, four by four, put across and fastened to the side of the tree; the prisoner was placed in a lumber-wagon and driven under it. John Bean was the teamster; two brothers of his were called up there to constitute a guard. He thinks there was twenty-four men selected to constitute a guard; the guard was in attendance from the time of the sentence of the prisoner until his execution. He was executed on the tenth day of June, 1836; and he was guarded twenty-two days. It would not be out of the way to say a little about Bunkum. It is said this log was a portion of the jail in which he was confined; he was in a room fourteen feet square. * * *

The prisoner was manacled by having a chain to his ankles and a link between them about the size of a log-chain, fastened to a staple, about five inches in length and three-quarters of an inch thick, and that was driven into a log in the side of the building; he was thus confined until the day of his execution.

He had been bound to a man, in the State of Ohio, by the name of Wood; he said he had stolen a clevis from this man Wood, but he never acknowledged the killing of Lagree. This foster-father of his promised him, prior to his execution, that he would either bury him or see that he was decently buried. He was taken to the public land, near the residence of James Hoagland, and there interred in the usual way; this was in June, 1836. Afterward, they took what they could find as the last memory of this man Thomasson, and were taken possession of by a physician by the name of Harwood. The last time he saw Dr. Harwood, fifteen years ago, he was in possession of the bones of this prisoner. These, ladies and gentlemen, are the fragments of the facts as they have been handed to me, in substance.

Uncle John fit with seven other men tried him. Judge Cass was prosecuting attorney. The trial lasted through the whole of the day, and the jury went out late in the day. Some time after they returned with their verdict; it was brought into court; the count had not yet adjusted, they brought in without a dissenting voice, "guilty." That night Thompson was sentenced by Judge Ford; on the following forenoon he was dead, dead, dead, hanged by the head until he was dead, dead, dead. There was a witness there, perhaps two but in doubt, that stood on the bank of the river, on the other side. S. M. Dunn, who was the attorney of this County at that time, proceeded to make the arrangements for carrying out the sentence of the man Thompson. After ten feet west of the tree he has described, ordered a post planted in the ground about two feet deep and right or near its height on the top of that post was a scabbard four by four feet set and fastened to the side of the tree; the prisoner was placed in a lumber-wagon and driven under it. John Bean was the teamster; two brothers of his were called up there to conduct the guard. He thinks there was twenty-four men selected to conduct a guard, the guard was in attendance from the time of the execution of the prisoner until his execution. He was executed on the tenth day of June, 1870; and he was guarded twenty-four days. It would not be out of the way to say a little about him. It is said this day was a portion of the fall in which he was confined; he was in a room fourteen feet square. The prisoner was manacled by having a chain to his ankle and a bar between them about the size of a log-chain fastened to a staple, about five inches in length and three-quarters of an inch thick, and then was driven into a log in the side of the jail; he was thus confined until the day of his execution. He had been bound to a nail in the State of Ohio by the name of Wood; he said he had stolen a clock from the man Wood, but he never acknowledged the killing of James. The father of his promised him prior to his execution that he would either buy him or see that he was decently buried. He was taken to the public land near the residence of James Thompson and there interred in the usual way; this was in June, 1870. Afterwards they took what they could find as the last money of this man Thompson, and were taken possession of by a physician by the name of Harwood. The last time he saw Dr. Harwood fifteen years ago, he was in possession of the bones of this prisoner. These ladies and gentlemen are the fragments of the facts as they have been handed to me in substance.

1.
Annals of Chicago: A Lecture read before the Chicago Lyceum, Jan. 21, 1840. By JOSEPH N. BALESTIER, Esq., Republished from the original edition of 1840, with an Introduction, written by the Author in 1876; and, also, a Review of the Lecture, published in the *Chicago Tribune*, in 1872. Pp. 48; 8vo. 1876. Price, 25 cents.

2.
Fergus' Directory of the City of Chicago, 1839; with City and County Officers, Churches, Public Buildings, Hotels, etc.; also, list of Sheriffs of Cook County and Mayors of the City since their organization; together with the Poll-list of the First City Election (Tuesday, May 2, 1837). List of Purchasers of Lots in Fort Dearborn Addition, the No. of the Lots and the prices paid, etc. (Historical Sketch of City compiled for Directory of 1843, etc.) Compiled by ROBERT FERGUS. Pp. 68; 8vo. 1876. Price, 50 cents.

3.
The Last of the Illinois, and a Sketch of the Pottawatomies: A Lecture read before the Chicago Historical Society, Dec. 13, 1870. Also,
Origin of the Prairies: A Lecture read before the Ottawa Academy of Natural Sciences, Dec. 30, 1869. By Hon. JOHN DEAN CATON, LL.D., late Chief Justice of Illinois. Pp. 56; 8vo. 1876. Price, 25 cts.

4.
Early Movement in Illinois for the Legalization of Slavery: An Historical Sketch read at the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, Dec. 5, 1864. By Hon. WM. H. BROWN. Pp. 32; 8vo. 1876. Price, 25 cents.

5.
Biographical Sketches of Early Settlers of Chicago. Part I:—Hon. S. Lisle Smith, Geo. Davis, Dr. Phillip Maxwell, John J. Brown, Richard L. Wilson, Col. Lewis C. Kerchival, Uriah P. Harris, Henry B. Clarke, and Sheriff Samuel J. Lowe. By W. H. BUSHNELL. Pp. 48; 8vo. 1876. Price, 25 cts.

6.
Biographical Sketches of Early Settlers of Chicago. Part II:—Hon. Wm. H. Brown, with Portrait, B. W. Raymond, Esq., with Portrait, Hon. J. Y. Scammon, Chas. Walker, Esq., Thos. Church, Esq. Pp. 48; 8vo. 1876. Price, 25 cents.

7.
Early Chicago: A Sunday Lecture read in McCormick's Hall, May 7th, 1876. With Supplemental Notes. 2d Lecture. By Hon. JOHN WENTWORTH. Portrait. Pp. 56; 8vo. 1876. Price, 35 cts.

8.
Early Chicago: A Sunday Lecture read in McCormick's Hall, April 11, 1875. With Supplemental Notes. 1st Lecture. By Hon. JOHN WENTWORTH. Portrait. Pp. 48; 8vo. 1876. Price, 35 cts.

9.
Present and Future Prospects of Chicago: An Address read before the Chicago Lyceum, Jan. 20, 1846. By Judge HENRY BROWN, author of "History of Illinois."

Rise and Progress of Chicago: An Address read before the Centennial Library Association, March 21, 1876. By JAMES A. MARSHALL, Esq.

Chicago in 1836: "Strange Early Days." By HARRIET MARTINEAU, author of "Society in America," etc. Pp. 48; 8vo. 1876. Price, 25 cents.

10.
Addresses Read before Chicago Historical Society, By Hon. J. Y. SCAMMON, Hon. I. N. ARNOLD, Wm. HICKLING, Esq., Col. G. S. HUBBARD, and HIRAM W. BECKWITH, Esq.; Sketches of Col. John H. Kinzie, by his wife, JULIETTE A. KINZIE; Judge Geo. Manierre, Luther Haven, Esq., and other Early Settlers; also, of Billy Caldwell and Shabonee, and the "Winnebago Scare," of July, 1827; and other important original matter connected with "Early Chicago." Pp. 52; 8vo. 1877. Price, 25c.

11.
Early Medical Chicago: An Historical Sketch of the First Practitioners of Medicine; with the Present Faculties, and Graduates since their Organization of the Medical Colleges of Chicago. By JAMES NEVINS HYDE, A.M., M.D. Illustrated with numerous Wood Engravings and Steel Engravings of Professors J. Adams Allen, N. S. Davis, and the late Daniel Brainard. Pp. 84; 8vo. 1879. Price, 50 cts.

12.
Early Illinois.—Kaskaskia and its Parish Records. A Paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, Dec. 16, 1879. By EDWARD G. MASON. Etc., etc. (In Press.)

13.
Recollections of Early Illinois and her Noted Men. By Hon. JOSEPH GILLESPIE, Edwardsville. Read before the Chicago Historical Society, March 16, 1880. With Portraits of Author, Govs. Reynolds and Bissell, and Henry Gratiot. Pp. 52; 8vo. 1880. Price, 50 cents.

14.
The Earliest Religious History of Chicago. By Rev. JEREMIAH PORTER, its 1st Resident Pastor. An Address read before the Chicago Hist. Soc., 1859.

Early History of Illinois. By Hon. WILLIAM H. BROWN. A Lecture read before the Chicago Lyceum, Dec. 8, 1840.

Early Society in Southern Illinois. By Rev. ROBERT W. PATTERSON, D.D. An Address read before the Chicago Historical Society, Oct. 19, 1880.

Reminiscences of the Illinois-Bar Forty Years Ago: Lincoln and Douglas as Orators and Lawyers. By Hon. ISAAC N. ARNOLD. Read before the State Bar Association, Springfield, Jan. 7, 1881.

The First Murder-Trial in Iroquois County for the First Murder in Cook County. Pp. 112; 8vo. 1881. Price, 50 cents.

REYNOLDS' HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

My Own Times; Embracing also The History of My Life. By JOHN REYNOLDS, Late Gov. of Ill., etc. Portrait. (Original edition of 1855 reprinted, with complete Index added. Cloth boards; Gilt-top; Side and bottom uncut; Antique Paper; Pp. 423; 8vo. 1879. Edition of 112 copies. Price, \$7.50.)

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REYNOLDS' HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

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We are pleased to learn that the Fergus Printing Company has undertaken the work of reprinting the volume of "My Own Times: embracing also the History of My Life," written by the late Gov. John Reynolds. * * * Copies of the volume referred to are exceedingly rare, and hardly could be procured at any price. The publishers are deserving of thanks for their efforts to rescue from oblivion a meritorious work like the above.—*Belleville Advocate*, Dec. 1, 1879.

This is a reproduction, in an attractive form, and with the addition of a full index, of a book the story of which is an illustration of the difficulties which all who have devoted themselves to historical investigation have had to encounter in this country. Governor Reynolds was one of the most prominent figures in western public life, and it would be supposed this epitome of the story of the young days of the western country would have commanded a ready sale. It so. Completed in 1854, the first edition, probably not more than four hundred copies, as printed in a small job office at Belleville, and taken by a single bookseller of Chicago, at the author's personal instigation. Nearly the whole edition was destroyed in the great fire of 1857. Practically out of print, the present volume is rather a new work than the reprint of an old; and a creditable one it is. The extensive range of politics, internal improvement, public life and personal experience, naturally traversed in this bulky volume, render even a slight analysis impossible. It is discursive and sketchy, and abounds in details of purely local value, but it contains also a mass of information which the quiver would look for in vain elsewhere. Above all it is stamped with an originality and individuality which set well upon the shoulders of a western man.—*Mag. of Am. Hist.*, Aug., 1880.

The year 1800 found the territory now occupied by the populous State of Illinois a savage wilderness, with a total white population—American and French—of about 2,000 scattered throughout its domain. Of these it is estimated that the French creoles numbered some 600, and the negroes (slaves and freemen) but 200 more. The white colonies extended sparse settlements, from Kaskaskia, fifty miles or more, to Cahokia, and back east from the Kaskaskia river only a few miles. The colonies of Kaskaskia, Turkey Hill, the New Design, Horse Prairie, another not far from Kaskaskia, Eggot's Fort, Whiteside Station, Belle Fountain and another very small one, comprised all the American settlements in Illinois at that period. Their population was about 800 strong, all told. The period of the history of Illinois is noted here, and probably will be for many generations, as the time when the parents of Gov. Reynolds removed to Illinois from Tennessee and added the seventh family to the population of a white settlement two and a-half miles from Kaskaskia. Gov. Reynolds was then twenty years old. In the volume before us he describes the condition of the country, the Indians, the privations of the whites, their progress in agriculture, education, government and social characteristics during the next nine years, in considerable length, and thus furnishes a mass of useful and interesting information.

About this time, having reached his 20th year, the Governor entered a college some six miles from Knoxville, Tenn., where he spent two years in improving his mind, returning to Illinois in 1811. Afterward he studied law at Knoxville.

Then began the War of 1812 with Great Britain, and then, too, the growing State of Illinois became the theater of stirring public events which gave her a prominent place in the history of the West. Four chapters are devoted to this period, including the massacre at Chicago, the destruction of Peoria and affairs in that vicinity, etc.

Then came the organization of the Territory of Illinois, the administration of Governor Edwards, the revision of the laws, and the first Legislature; Lewis and Clark's expedition to the Pacific coast; the extension of the settlements; the reign of "regulators" and mob-law; the history of religious denominations in Illinois; the professions; the history of slavery in the Territory, and the author's domestic record, with numerous other events of more or less interest.

In 1818 the State Government was formed, and its progress is noted in detail. A large space is given to the subsequent political history and internal improvement of the State, until the breaking out of the war with the Winnebago Indians. Several chapters are filled with the history of the Blackhawk war and its attendant excitements and events. The history of education and early newspapers in Illinois receives due attention.

The Governor also relates the national situation during his term in Congress from 1834 to 1841, inclusive; his visit to Europe in 1839; the pioneer railroad operations in the State; the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, with other internal improvements, and the history of the Mormon troubles and excitement.

Such is a brief outline of Gov. Reynolds' book. It is valuable as reflecting the spirit of the pioneer days of Illinois, and as the record of a young and enterprising State struggling against adverse circumstances, and becoming one of the most prosperous of American commonwealths. Nor will the private history of Gov. Reynolds, the sturdy pioneer Executive and Representative of the State, fail to interest the reader. He belongs to Illinois, because he aided in bringing her to the present prosperity which she enjoys. He passed nearly half a century in prominent public life in Illinois—as Judge Advocate, Judge of the Supreme Court, member of the Legislature, Governor, Congressman, Canal Commissioner and Speaker of the House—and is so closely identified with the State that their histories can not be separated.

This volume was first published by Gov. Reynolds in 1855. The edition was small, and most of it was destroyed before it was sold in a fire in Chicago. Thus it became one of the lost books of the earth. Fortunately it was not totally exterminated, and now its revival by the enterprising Chicago house whose imprint it bears is no less important than it is gratifying to those who have the interests of the State at heart.—*Chicago Journal*, Dec. 30, 1879.

Sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

A PAPER

READ BEFORE THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
LONDON, JUNE 16TH, 1881.

BY

HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD, F.R.H.S.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS:

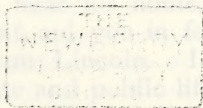
AN EULOGY

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CHICAGO UNIVERSITY,

JULY 3D, 1861.

BY

HON. JAMES W. SHEAHAN.



CHICAGO:

FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY.

1881.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

A Paper read before the Royal Historical Society, London, June 16, 1881.

THE noblest inheritance we, Americans, derive from our British ancestors is the memory and example of the great and good men who adorn your history. They are as much appreciated and honored on our side of the Atlantic as on this. In giving to the English-speaking world Washington and Lincoln we think we repay, in large part, our obligation. Their preëminence in American history is recognized, and the republic, which the one *founded* and the other *preserved*, has, already, crowned them as models for her children.

In the annals of almost every great nation some names appear standing out clear and prominent, names of those who have influenced, or controlled, the great events which make up history. Such were Wallace and Bruce, in Scotland, Alfred and the Edwards, William the Conqueror, Cromwell, Pitt, Nelson, and Wellington, in England, and such in a still greater degree were Washington and Lincoln.

I am here, from near his home, with the hope that I may, to some extent, aid you in forming a just and true estimate of Abraham Lincoln. I knew him, somewhat intimately, in private and public life for more than twenty years. We practised law at the same bar, and, during his administration, I was a member of Congress, seeing him and conferring with him often, and, therefore, I may hope without vanity, I trust that I shall be able to contribute something of value in enabling you to judge of him. We in America, as well as you in the old world, believe that "blood will tell;" that it is a great blessing to have had an honorable and worthy ancestry. We

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believe that moral principle, physical and intellectual vigor in the forefathers are qualities likely to be manifested in the descendants. Fools are not the fathers or mothers of great men. I claim for Lincoln, humble as was the station to which he was born, and rude and rough as were his early surroundings, that he had such ancestors. I mean that his father and mother, his grandfather and grandmother, and still further back, however humble and rugged their condition, were physically and mentally strong, vigorous men and women; hardy and successful pioneers on the frontier of American civilization. They were among the early settlers in Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois, and knew how to take care of themselves in the midst of difficulties and perils; how to live and succeed when the weak would perish. These ancestors of Lincoln, for several generations, kept on the very crest of the wave of Western settlements—on the frontier, where the struggle for life was hard and the strong alone survived.

His grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, and his father, Thomas, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia.

About 1781, while his father was still a lad, his grandfather's family emigrated to Kentucky, and was a contemporary with Daniel Boone, the celebrated Indian fighter and early hero of that State. This, a then wild and wooded territory, was the scene of those fierce and desperate conflicts between the settlers and the Indians which gave it the name of "The dark and bloody ground."

When Thomas Lincoln, the father of the President, was six years old, his father (Abraham, the grandfather of the President) was shot and instantly killed by an Indian. The boy and his father were at work in the corn-field, near their log-cabin home. Mordecai, the elder brother of the lad, at work not far away, witnessed the attack. He saw his father fall, and ran to the cabin, seized his ready-loaded rifle and springing to the loop-hole cut through the logs, he saw the Indian, who had seized the boy, carrying him away. Raising his rifle and aiming at a silver medal, conspicuous on the breast of the Indian, he instantly fired. The Indian fell, and the lad, springing to his feet, ran to the open arms of his mother, at the

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cabin door. Amidst such scenes, the Lincoln family naturally produced rude, rough, hardy, and fearless men, familiar with wood-craft; men who could meet the extremes of exposure and fatigue, who knew how to find food and shelter in the forest; men of great powers of endurance—brave and self-reliant, true and faithful to their friends and dangerous to their enemies. Men with minds to conceive and hands to execute bold enterprises.

It is a curious fact that the grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, is noted on the surveys of Daniel Boone as having purchased, of the Government, five hundred acres of land. Thomas Lincoln, the father, was also the purchaser of government land, and President Lincoln left, as a part of his estate, a quarter-section (one hundred and sixty acres), which he had received from the United States, for services rendered in early life as a volunteer soldier, in the Black-Hawk Indian war. Thus for three generations the Lincoln family were land-owners directly from the Government.

Such was the lineage and family from which President Lincoln sprung. Such was the environment in which his character was developed.

He was born in a log-cabin, in Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809.

It will aid you in picturing to yourself this young man and his surroundings, to know that, from boyhood to the age of twenty-one, in winter his head was protected from the cold by a cap made of the skin of the coon, fox, or prairie-wolf, and that he often wore the buckskin breeches and hunting-shirt of the pioneer.

He grew up to be a man of majestic stature and Herculean strength. Had he appeared in England or Normandy, some centuries ago, he would have been the founder of some great Baronial family, possibly of a Royal dynasty. He could have wielded, with ease, the two-handed sword of Guy, the great Earl of Warwick, or the battle-axe of Richard of the Lion-heart.

HIS EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

The world is naturally interested in knowing what was the education and training which fitted Lincoln for the

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great work which he accomplished. On the extreme frontier, the means of book-learning was very limited. The common free schools, which now closely follow the heels of the pioneer and organized civil government, and prevail all over the United States, had not then reached the Far-West. An itinerant school-teacher wandered occasionally into a settlement, opened a private school for a few months, and, at such, Lincoln attended at different times in all about twelve months. His mother, who was a woman of practical good sense, of strong physical organization, of deep religious feeling, gentle and self-reliant, taught him to read and write.

Although she died when he was only nine years old, she had already laid deep the foundations of his excellence. Perfect truthfulness and integrity, love of justice, self-control, reverence for God, these constituted the solid basis of his character. These were all implanted and carefully cultivated by his mother, and he always spoke of her with the deepest respect and the most tender affection. "All that I am, or hope to be," said he, when President, "I owe to my sainted mother."

He early manifested the most eager desire to learn, but there were no libraries, and few books in the back settlements in which he lived. Among the stray volumes, which he found in the possession of the illiterate families by which he was surrounded, were Æsop's Fables, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, a life of Washington, the poems of Burns, and the Bible. To these his reading was confined, and he read them over and over again, until they became as familiar almost as the alphabet. His memory was marvellous, and I never yet met the man more familiar with the Bible than Abraham Lincoln. This was apparent in after-life, both from his conversation and writings, scarcely a speech or state paper of his in which illustrations and allusions from the Bible can not be found.

While a young man, he made for himself, of coarse paper, a scrap-book, into which he copied everything which particularly pleased him. He found an old English grammar, which he studied by himself; and he formed, from his constant study of the Bible, that simple, plain, clear Anglo-Saxon style, so effective with the people. He

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While his days were spent in hard manual labor, and his evenings in study, he grew up strong in body, healthful in mind, with no bad habits; no stain of intemperance, profanity, or vice of any kind. He used neither tobacco nor intoxicating drinks, and, thus living, he grew to be six feet four inches high, and a giant in strength. In all athletic sports he had no equal. I have heard an old comrade say, "he could strike the hardest blow with the woodman's axe, and the maul of the rail-splitter, jump higher, run faster than any of his fellows, and there were none, far or near, who could lay him on his back." Kind and cordial, he early developed so much wit and humor, such a capacity for narrative and story-telling, that he was everywhere a most welcome guest.

A LAND SURVEYOR.

Like Washington, he became, in early life, a good practical surveyor, and I have, in my library, the identical book from which, at eighteen years of age, he studied the art of surveying. By his skill and accuracy, and by the neatness of his work, he was sought after by the settlers, to survey and fix the boundaries of their farms, and in this way, in part, he earned a support while he studied law. In 1837, self-taught, he was admitted and licensed, by the Supreme Court of Illinois, to practise law.

A LAWYER.

It is difficult for me to describe, and, perhaps, more difficult for you to conceive the contrast when Lincoln began to practise law, between the forms of the administration of justice in Westminster Hall, and in the rude

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log court-houses of Illinois. I recall to-day what was said a few years ago by an Illinois friend, when we visited, for the first time, Westminster Abbey, and as we passed into Westminster Hall. "This," he exclaimed, "this is the grandest forum in the world. Here Fox, Burke, and Sheridan hurled their denunciations against Warren Hastings. Here Brougham defended Queen Caroline. And this," he went on to repeat, in the words of Macauley, (words as familiar in America as here), "This is the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which has resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, and which has witnessed the trials of Bacon and Somers and Strafford and Charles the First." "And yet," I replied, "I have seen justice administered on the prairies of Illinois without pomp or ceremony, everything simple to rudeness, and yet, when Lincoln and Douglas led at that bar, I have seen justice administered by judges as pure, aided by advocates as eloquent, if not as learned, as any who ever presided, or plead, in Westminster Hall."

The common-law of England (said to be the perfection of human wisdom) was administered in both forums, and the decisions of each tribunal were cited as authority in the other; both illustrating that reverence for, and obedience to, law, which is the glory of the English-speaking race.

Lincoln was a great lawyer. He sought to convince rather by the application of principle than by the citation of authorities. On the whole, he was stronger with the jury than with the court. I do not know that there has ever been, in America, a greater or more successful advocate before a jury, on the right side, than Abraham Lincoln. He had a marvellous power of conciliating and impressing everyone in his favor. A stranger entering the court, ignorant of the case, and listening a few moments to Lincoln, would find himself involuntarily on his side and wishing him success. He was a quick and accurate reader of character, and seemed to comprehend, almost intuitively, the peculiarities of those with whom he came in contact. His manner was so candid, his methods so direct, so fair, he seemed so anxious that truth and justice should prevail, that everyone wished him success.

He excelled in the statement of his case. However complicated, he would disentangle it, and present the important and turning-point in a way so clear that all could understand. Indeed, his statement often alone won his cause, rendering argument unnecessary. The judges would often stop him by saying, "If that is the case, brother Lincoln, we will hear the other side."

His ability in examining a witness, in bringing out clearly the important facts, was only surpassed by his skilful cross-examinations. He could often compel a witness to tell the truth, where he meant to lie. He could make a jury laugh, and generally weep, at his pleasure. On the right side, and when fraud or injustice were to be exposed, or innocence vindicated, he rose to the highest range of eloquence, and was irresistible. But he must have faith in his cause to bring out his full strength. His wit and humor, his quaint and homely illustrations, his inexhaustible stores of anecdote, always to the point, added greatly to his power as a jury-advocate.

He never misstated evidence or misrepresented his opponent's case, but met it fairly and squarely.

He remained in active practice until his nomination, in May, 1860, for the presidency. He was employed in the leading cases in both the federal and state courts, and had a large clientelage, not only in Illinois, but was frequently called, on special retainers, to other States.

AN ILLINOIS POLITICIAN.

By his eloquence and popularity he became, early in life, the leader of the old Whig party, in Illinois. He served as member of the State Legislature, was the candidate of his party for speaker, presidential elector, and United States senator, and was a member of the lower house of Congress.

SLAVERY.

When the independence of the American republic was established, African slavery was tolerated as a local and temporary institution. It was in conflict with the moral sense, the religious convictions of the people, and the political principles on which the government was founded.

But having been tolerated, it soon became an organized,

aggressive power, and, later, it became the master of the government. Conscious of its inherent weakness, it demanded and obtained additional territory for its expansion. First, the great Louisiana territory was purchased, then Florida, and then Texas.

By the repeal, in 1854, of the prohibition of slavery north of the line of 36°, 30' of latitude (known in America as the "Missouri Compromise"), the slavery question became the leading one in American politics, and the absorbing and exciting topic of discussion. It shattered into fragments the old conservative Whig party, with which Mr. Lincoln had, theretofore, acted. It divided the Democratic party, and new parties were organized upon issues growing directly out of the question of slavery.

The leader of that portion of the Democratic party which continued, for a time, to act with the slavery party, was Stephen Arnold Douglas, then representing Illinois in the United States Senate. He was a bold, ambitious, able man, and had, thus far, been uniformly successful. He had introduced and carried through Congress, against the most vehement opposition, the repeal of the law, prohibiting slavery, called the Missouri Compromise.

THE CONTEST BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

The issue having been now distinctly made between freedom and the extension of slavery into the territories, Lincoln and Douglas, the leaders of the Free-soil and Democratic parties, became more than ever antagonized. The conflict between freedom and slavery now became earnest, fierce, and violent, beyond all previous political controversies, and from this time on, Lincoln plead the cause of liberty with an energy, ability, and eloquence, which rapidly gained for him a national reputation. From this time on, through the tremendous struggle, it was he who grasped the helm and led his party to victory. Conscious of a great cause, inspired by a generous love of liberty, and animated by the moral sublimity of his great theme, he proclaimed his determination, ever thereafter, "to speak for freedom, and against slavery, until everywhere the sun shall shine, the rain shall fall, and the wind

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blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS DEBATE.

The great debate between Lincoln and Douglas, in 1858, was, unquestionably, both with reference to the ability of the speakers and its influence upon opinion and events, the most important in American history. I do not think I do injustice to others, nor over-estimate their importance, when I say that the speeches of Lincoln published, circulated, and read, throughout the Free-States, did more than any other agency in creating the public opinion, which prepared the way for the overthrow of slavery. The speeches of John Quincy Adams, and those of Senator Sumner, were more learned and scholarly, and those of Lovejoy and Wendel Philips were more vehement and impassioned; Senators Seward, Chase, and Hale spoke from a more conspicuous forum, but Lincoln's speeches were as philosophic, as able, as earnest as any, and his manner had a simplicity and directness, a clearness of illustration, and his language a plainness, a vigor, an Anglo-Saxon strength, better adapted, than any other, to reach and influence the understanding and sentiment of the common people.

At the time of this memorable discussion, both Lincoln and Douglas were in the full maturity of their powers. Douglas being forty-five and Lincoln forty-nine years old. Douglas had had a long training and experience as a popular speaker. On the hustings (stump, as we say in America) and in Congress, and especially in the United States Senate, he had been accustomed to meet the ablest debaters of his State and of the Nation. x

His friends insisted that never, either in conflict with a single opponent, or when repelling the assaults of a whole party, had he been discomfited. His manner was bold, vigorous, and aggressive. He was ready, fertile in resources, familiar with political history, strong and severe in denunciation, and he handled, with skill, all the weapons of the dialectician. His iron will, tireless energy, united with physical and moral courage, and great personal magnetism, made him a natural leader, and gave him personal popularity.

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Lincoln was also now a thoroughly trained speaker. He had contended successfully at the bar, in the legislature, and before the people, with the ablest men of the West, including Douglas, with whom he always rather sought than avoided a discussion. But he was a courteous and generous opponent, as is illustrated by the following beautiful allusion to his rival, made in 1856, in one of their joint debates. "Twenty years ago, Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted; we were both young then; he a trifle younger than I. Even then, we were both ambitious, I, perhaps, quite as much as he. With me, the race of ambition has been a flat failure. With him, it has been a splendid success. His name fills the Nation, and it is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached; so reached, that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

We know, and the world knows, that Lincoln did reach that high, nay, far higher eminence, and that he did reach it in such a way that the "oppressed" did share with him in the elevation.

Such were the champions who, in 1858, were to discuss, before the voters of Illinois, and with the whole Nation as spectators, the political questions then pending, and especially the vital questions relating to slavery. It was not a single combat, but extended through a whole campaign.

On the return of Douglas, from Washington, to Illinois, in July, 1858, Lincoln and Douglas being candidates for the senate, the former challenged his rival to a series of joint debates, to be held at the principal towns in the State. The challenge was accepted, and it was agreed that each discussion should occupy three hours, that the speakers should alternate in the opening and the close—the opening speech to occupy one hour, the reply one hour and a-half, and the close half an hour. The meetings were held in the open air, for no hall could hold the vast crowds which attended.

In addition to the immense mass of hearers, reporters, from all the principal newspapers in the country, attended,

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so that the morning after each debate, the speeches were published, and eagerly read by a large part, perhaps a majority of all the voters of the United States.

The attention of the American people was thus arrested, and they watched with intense interest, and devoured every argument of the champions.

Each of these great men, I doubt not, at that time, sincerely believed he was right. Douglas' ardor, while in such a conflict, would make him think, for the time being, he was right, and I *know* that Lincoln argued for freedom against the extension of slavery with the most profound conviction that on the result hung the fate of his country. Lincoln had two advantages over Douglas; he had the best side of the question, and the best temper. He was always good-humored, always had an apt story for illustration, while Douglas sometimes, when hard pressed, was irritable.

Douglas carried away the most popular applause, but Lincoln made the deeper and more lasting impression. Douglas did not disdain an immediate *ad captandum* triumph, while Lincoln aimed at permanent conviction. Sometimes, when Lincoln's friends urged him to raise a storm of applause (which he could always do by his happy illustrations and amusing stories), he refused, saying the occasion was too serious, the issue too grave. "I do not seek applause," said he, "nor to amuse the people, I want to convince them."

It was often observed, during this canvass, that while Douglas was sometimes greeted with the loudest cheers, when Lincoln closed, the people seemed solemn and serious, and could be heard, all through the crowd, gravely and anxiously discussing the topics on which he had been speaking.

Douglas secured the immediate object of the struggle, but the manly bearing, the vigorous logic, the honesty and sincerity, the great intellectual powers, exhibited by Mr. Lincoln, prepared the way, and, two years later, secured his nomination and election to the presidency. It is a touching incident, illustrating the patriotism of both these statesmen, that, widely as they differed, and keen as had been their rivalry, just as soon as the life of the Republic

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was menaced, by treason, they joined hands, to shield and save the county they loved.

The echo and the prophecy of this great debate was heard, and inspired hope in the far-off cotton and rice-fields of the South. The toiling blacks, to use the words of Whittier, began hopefully to pray:

"We pray de Lord. He gib us signs
Dat some day we be free.
De Norf wind tell it to de pines,
De wild duck to de sea.

"We tink it when de church-bell ring,
We dream it in de dream,
De rice-bird mean it when he sing,
De eagle when he scream."

THE COOPER-INSTITUTE SPEECH.

In February, 1860, Mr. Lincoln was called to address the people of New York, and, speaking to a vast audience, at the Cooper Institute (the Exeter Hall of the United States), the poet Bryant presiding, he made, perhaps, the most learned, logical, and exhaustive speech to be found in American anti-slavery literature. The question was, the power of the National Government to exclude slavery from the territories. The orator from the prairies, the morning after this speech, awoke to find himself famous.

He closed with these words, "Let us have faith that *right* makes *might*, and in that faith let us, to the end, do our duty as we understand it."

This address was the carefully finished product of, not an orator and statesman only, but also of an accurate student of American history. It confirmed and elevated the reputation he had already acquired in the Douglas debates, and caused his nomination and election to the presidency.

If time permitted, I would like to follow Mr. Lincoln, step by step, to enumerate his measures one after another, until, by prudence and courage, and matchless statesmanship, he led the loyal people of the republic to the final and complete overthrow of slavery and the restoration of the Union.

From the time he left his humble home, in Illinois, to assume the responsibilities of power, the political horizon

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"We pray the Lord, the gift we give
That some day we be free
The North wind tell us so the South,
We will back to the North."
"We think it when the church-bell rings
We dream it in the dream,
The north wind mean it when he sings
The night when the dream."

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black with treason and rebellion, the terrific thunder clouds,—the tempest which had been gathering and growing more black and threatening for years, now ready to explode,—on and on, through long years of bloody war, down to his final triumph and death—what a drama! His eventful life terminated by his tragic death, has it not the dramatic unities, and the awful ending, of the Old Greek tragedy?

HIS FAREWELL TO HIS NEIGHBORS.

I know of nothing, in history, more pathetic than the scene when he bade good-bye to his old friends and neighbors. Conscious of the difficulties and dangers before him, difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, with a sadness as though a presentiment that he should return no more was pressing upon him, but with a deep religious trust which was characteristic, on the platform of the rail-carriage, which was to bear him away to the Capital, he paused and said, "No one can realize the sadness I feel at this parting. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded but for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which, at all times, he relied. * * * I hope you, my dear friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I can not succeed, but with which, success is certain."

And as he waved his hand in farewell to the old home, to which he was never to return, he heard the response from many old friends, "God bless and keep you." "God protect you from all traitors." His neighbors "sorrowing most of all," for the fear "that they should see his face no more."

HIS INAUGURAL AND APPEAL FOR PEACE.

In his inaugural address, spoken in the open air, and from the eastern portico of the capitol, and heard by thrice ten thousand people, on the very verge of civil war,

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he made a most earnest appeal for peace. He gave the most solemn assurance, that "the property, peace, and security of no portion of the Republic should be endangered by his administration." But he declared, with firmness, that the union of the States must be "perpetual," and that he should "execute the laws faithfully in every state." "In doing this," said he, "there need be no bloodshed nor violence, nor shall there be, unless forced upon the National Authority." In regard to the difficulties which thus divided the people, he appealed to all to abstain from precipitate action, assuring them that intelligence, patriotism, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken the Republic, "were competent to adjust, in the best way, all existing troubles."

His closing appeal, against civil war, was most touching. "In your hands," said he, and his voice, for the first time faltered, "In your hands, and not in mine, are the momentous issues of civil war." * * "You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." * * "I am," continued he, "loth to close, we are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies, though passion may strain,—it must not break the bonds of affection."

The answer to these appeals was the attack upon Fort Sumpter, and immediately broke loose all the maddening passions which riot in blood and carnage and civil war.

I know not how I can better picture and illustrate the condition of affairs, and of public feeling, at that time, than by narrating two or three incidents.

DOUGLAS' PROPHECY, JANUARY 1, 1861.

In January, 1861, Senator Douglas, then lately a candidate for the presidency, with Mrs. Douglas, one of the most beautiful and fascinating women in America, a relative of Mrs. Madison, occupied, at Washington, one of the most magnificent blocks of dwellings, called the "Minnesota Block." On New-Year's-day, 1861, General Charles Stewart, of New York, from whose lips I write an account of the incident, says,

"I was making a New-Year's-call on Senator Douglas; after some conversation, I asked him,

he made a most earnest appeal for peace. He gave the most solemn assurance that "the property, peace, and security of no portion of the Republic should be endangered by his administration." That he declared, with firmness, that the union of the States must be "perpetual," and that he should "execute the laws faithfully in every state." "In doing this," said he, "there need be no blood shed nor violence, nor shall there be, unless forced upon the National Authority." In regard to the difficulties which thus divided the people, he appealed to all to abstain from precipitate action, assuring them that intelligent patriotism and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken the Republic, "were competent to adjust, in the best way, all existing troubles."

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Douglas prophesies, January 1, 1861.

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"I was making a New-Year's-call on Senator Douglas; after some conversation, I asked him,

“‘What will be the result, Senator, of the efforts of Jefferson Davis, and his associates, to divide the Union?’ We were,” said Stewart, “sitting on the sofa together, when I asked the question. Douglas rose, walked rapidly up and down the room for a moment, and then pausing, he exclaimed, with deep feeling and excitement:

“‘The Cotton States are making an effort to draw in the Border States, to their schemes of Secession, and I am but too fearful they will succeed. If they do, there will be the most fearful civil war the world has ever seen, lasting for years.’

“Pausing a moment, he looked like one inspired, while he proceeded: ‘Virginia, over yonder, across the Potomac,’ pointing toward Arlington, ‘will become a charnel-house—but in the end the Union will triumph. They will try,’ he continued, ‘to get possession of this Capital, to give them *prestige* abroad, but in that effort they will never succeed; the North will rise *en masse* to defend it. But Washington will become a city of hospitals, the churches will be used for the sick and wounded. This house,’ he continued, ‘the *Minnesota Block* will be devoted to that purpose before the end of the war.’

“Every word he said was literally fulfilled—all the churches nearly were used for the wounded, and the Minnesota Block, and the very room in which this declaration was made, became the ‘Douglas Hospital.’

“‘What justification for all this?’ said Stewart.

“‘There is no justification,’ replied Douglas.

“‘I will go as far as the constitution will permit to maintain their just rights. But,’ said he, rising upon his feet and raising his arm, ‘if the Southern States attempt to secede, I am in favor of their having just so many slaves, and just so much slave territory, as they can hold at the point of the bayonet, and no more.’”

WILL THE NORTH FIGHT?

Many Southern leaders believed there would be no serious war, and labored industriously to impress this idea on the Southern people.

Benjamin F. Butler, who, as a delegate from Massachusetts, to the Charlestown Convention, had voted many

times for Breckenridge, the extreme Southern candidate for president, came to Washington, in the winter of 1860-1, to inquire of his old associates what they meant by their threats.

"We mean," replied they, "we mean Separation—a Southern Confederacy. We will have our independence, a Southern government—with no discordant elements."

"Are you prepared for war?" said Butler, coolly.

"Oh, there will be no war; the North won't fight."

"The North *will* fight," said Butler, "the North will send the *last man* and expend the *last dollar* to maintain the Government."

"But," replied Butler's Southern friends, "the North can't fight—we have too many allies there."

"You have friends," responded Butler, "in the North, who will stand by you so long as you fight your battles in the Union, but the moment you fire on the flag, the North will be a unit against you." "And," Butler continued, "you may be assured if war comes, *slavery ends*."

THE SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS, JULY, 1861.

On the brink of this civil war, the President summoned Congress to meet on the 4th of July, 1861, the anniversary of our Independence. Seven States had already seceded, were in open revolt, and the chairs of their representatives, in both houses of Congress, were vacant. It needed but a glance at these so numerous vacant seats to realize the extent of the defection, the gravity of the situation, and the magnitude of the impending struggle. The old pro-slavery leaders were absent. Some in the rebel government, set up at Richmond, and others marshalling troops in the field. Hostile armies were gathering, and from the dome of the Capitol, across the Potomac, and on toward Fairfax, in Virginia, could be seen the Confederate flag.

Breckenridge, late the Southern candidate for president, now Senator from Kentucky, and soon to lead a rebel army, still lingered in the Senate. Like Cataline among the Roman Senators, he was regarded with aversion and distrust. Gloomy and, perhaps, sorrowful, he said, "I can

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"We mean," replied they, "we mean separation—a Southern Confederacy. We will have our independence. A Southern Government—with no discordant elements."

"Are you prepared for war?" said Butler coolly.

"Oh, there will be no war; the North won't fight." "The North will fight," said Butler; "the North will send the war and expend the war dollar to maintain the Government."

"But," replied Butler's Southern friends, "the North can't fight—we have too many allies there."

"You have friends," responded Butler, "in the North, who will stand by you so long as you fight your battles in the Union, but the moment you fire on the flag, the North will be a wall against you." "And," Butler continued, "you may be assured it will come, steady and

THE SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS, JULY, 1861.

On the brink of this civil war the President summoned Congress to meet on the 4th of July, 1861, the anniversary of our independence. Seven States had already seceded, were in open revolt, and the chairs of their representatives in both houses of Congress were vacant. It needed but a glance at these so numerous vacant seats to realize the extent of the defection, the gravity of the situation, and the magnitude of the impending struggle. The old pro-slavery leaders were absent. Some in the rebel government, set up at Richmond, and others marshalling troops in the field. Hostile armies were gathering and from the dome of the Capitol across the Potomac and on toward Fairfax in Virginia could be seen the Confederate flag.

Breckinridge, late the Southern candidate for president, now Senator from Kentucky, and soon to lead a rebel army, still lingered in the Senate. Like Cataline among the Roman Senators, he was regarded with aversion and distrust. Gloomy and, perhaps, sorrowful, he said, "I can

only look with sadness on the melancholy drama that is being enacted."

Pardon the digression, while I relate an incident which occurred in the Senate, at this special session.

Senator Baker, of Oregon, was making a brilliant and impassioned reply to a speech of Breckenridge, in which he denounced the Kentucky senator, for giving aid and encouragement to the enemy, by his speeches. At length he paused, and, turning toward Breckenridge, and fixing his eye upon him, he asked, "What would have been thought if, after the battle of Cannæ, a Roman senator had risen, amidst the conscript Fathers, and denounced the war, and opposed all measures for its success."

Baker paused, and every eye in the Senate, and in the crowded galleries was fixed upon the almost solitary senator from Kentucky. Fessenden broke the painful silence, by exclaiming, in low deep tones, which gave expression to the thrill of indignation, which ran through the hall, "He would have been hurled from the Tarpeian Rock."

Congress manifested its sense of the gravity of the situation by authorizing a loan of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and empowering the President to call into the field five hundred thousand men, and as many more as he might deem necessary.

SURRENDER OF MASON AND SLIDELL.

No act of the British Government, since the "stamp act" of the Revolution, has ever excited such intense feeling of hostility toward Great Britain, as her haughty demand for the surrender of Mason and Slidell. It required *nerve*, in the President, to stem the storm of popular feeling, and yield to that demand, and it was, for a time, the most unpopular act of his administration. But when the excitement of the day had passed, it was approved by the sober judgment of the Nation.

Prince Albert is kindly and gratefully remembered in America, where it is believed that his action, in modifying the terms of that demand, probably saved the United States and Great Britain from the horrors of war.

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LINCOLN AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

When in June, 1858, at his home, in Springfield, Mr. Lincoln startled the people with the declaration, "This government can not endure, permanently, half slave and half free," and when, at the close of his speech, to those who were laboring for the ultimate extinction of slavery, he exclaimed, with the voice of a prophet, "We shall not fail, if we stand firm, we shall *not* fail. Wise councils may accelerate, or mistakes delay, but sooner or later the victory is sure to come;" he anticipated success, through years of discussion, and final triumph through peaceful and constitutional means by the ballot. He did not foresee, nor even dream (unless in those dim mysterious shadows, which sometimes startle by half revealing the future), his own elevation to the presidency. He did not then suspect that he had been appointed by God, and should be chosen by the people, to proclaim the emancipation of a race, and to save his country. He did not foresee that slavery was so soon to be destroyed, amidst the flames of war which itself kindled.

HIS MODERATION.

He entered upon his administration with the single purpose of maintaining national unity, and many reproached and denounced him for the slowness of his anti-slavery measures. The first of the series was the abolition of slavery at the National Capitol. This act gave freedom to three thousand slaves, with compensation to their loyal masters. Contemporaneous with this was an act conferring freedom upon all colored soldiers who should serve in the Union armies and upon their families. The next was an act, which I had the honor to introduce, prohibiting slavery in all the territories, and wherever the National Government had jurisdiction. But the great, the decisive act of his administration, was the "Emancipation Proclamation."

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

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and compensated emancipation, but in vain. He clearly saw, all saw, that the slaves, as used by the confederates, were a vast power, contributing immensely to their ability to carry on the war, and, that by declaring their freedom, he would convert millions of freedmen into active friends and allies of the Union. The people knew that he was deliberating upon the question of issuing this Emancipation Proclamation. At this crisis, the Union men of the Border States made an appeal to him to withhold the edict, and suffer slavery to survive.

They selected John J. Crittenden, a venerable and eloquent man, and their ablest statesman, to make, on the floor of Congress, a public appeal to the President, to withhold the proclamation. Mr. Crittenden had been governor of Kentucky, her senator in Congress, attorney-general of the United States, and now, in his old age, covered with honors, he accepted, like John Quincy Adams, a seat in Congress, that in this crisis he might help to save his country.

He was a sincere Union man, but believed it unwise to disturb slavery. In his speech, he made a most eloquent and touching appeal, from a Kentuckian to a Kentuckian. He said, among other things, "There is a niche, near to that of Washington, to him who shall save his country. If Mr. Lincoln will step into that niche, the *founder* and the *preserver* of the Republic shall stand side by side."

* * Owen Lovejoy, the brother of Elijah P. Lovejoy, who had been mobbed and murdered, because he would not surrender the liberty of the press, replied to Crittenden. After his brother's murder, kneeling upon the green sod which covered that brother's grave, he had taken a solemn vow, of eternal war upon slavery. Ever after, like Peter the Hermit, with a heart of fire and a tongue of lightning, he had gone forth, preaching his crusade against slavery. At length, in his reply, turning to Crittenden, he said, "The gentleman, from Kentucky, says he has a niche for Abraham Lincoln, where is it?"

Crittenden pointed toward Heaven.

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downward, to some dungeon in the temple of Moloch, who feeds on human blood, and where are forged chains for human limbs; in the recesses of whose temple woman is scourged and man tortured, and outside the walls are lying dogs, gorged with human flesh, as Byron describes them, lying around the walls of Stamboul." "That," said Lovejoy, "is a suitable place for the statue of him who would perpetuate slavery."

"I, too," said he, "have a temple for Abraham Lincoln, but it is in freedom's holy fane, * * * not surrounded by slave fetters and chains, but with the symbols of freedom—not dark with bondage, but radiant with the light of liberty. In that niche he shall stand proudly, nobly, gloriously, with broken chains and slave's whips beneath his feet. * * * That is a fame worth living for, aye, more, it is a fame worth dying for, though that death led through Gethsemene and the agony of the accursed tree." * * *

"It is said," continued he, "that Wilberforce went up to the judgment seat with the broken chains of eight hundred thousand slaves! Let Lincoln make himself the Liberator, and his name shall be enrolled, not only in this earthly temple, but it shall be traced on the living stones of that temple which is reared amid the thrones of Heaven."

Lovejoy's prophecy has been fulfilled—in this world—you see the statues to Lincoln, with broken chains at his feet, rising all over the world, and—in that other world—few will doubt that the prophecy has been realized.

In September, 1862, after the Confederates, by their defeat at the great battle of Antietam, had been driven back from Maryland and Pennsylvania, Lincoln issued the Proclamation. It is a fact, illustrating his character, and showing that there was in him what many would call a tinge of superstition, that he declared, to Secretary Chase, that he had made a solemn vow to God, saying, "if General Lee is driven back from Pennsylvania, I will crown the result with the declaration of FREEDOM TO THE SLAVE." The final Proclamation was issued on the first of January, 1863. In obedience to an American custom, he had been receiving calls on that New-Year's-day, and,

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for hours, shaking hands. As the paper was brought to him by the Secretary of State, to be signed, he said, "Mr. Seward, I have been shaking hands all day, and my right hand is almost paralyzed. If my name ever gets into history, it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it. If my hand trembles when I sign the proclamation, those who examine the document hereafter, will say, "he hesitated."

Then, resting his arm a moment, he turned to the table, took up the pen, and slowly and firmly wrote *Abraham Lincoln*. He smiled as, handing the paper to Mr. Seward, he said, "that will do."

From this day, to its final triumph, the tide of victory seemed to set more and more in favor of the Union cause. The capture of Vicksburg, the victory of Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Chicamauga, Lookout-Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Sheridan's brilliant campaign in the Valley of the Shenandoah; Thomas' decisive victory at Nashville; Sherman's march, through the Confederacy, to the sea; the capture of Fort McAllister; the *sinking of the Alabama*; the taking of Mobile, by Farragut; the occupation of Columbus, Charlestown, Savannah; the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond; the surrender of Lee to Grant; the taking of Jefferson Davis a prisoner; the triumph everywhere of the National Arms; such were the events which followed (though with delays and bloodshed) the "Proclamation of Emancipation."

THE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Meanwhile Lincoln had been triumphantly reelected, Congress had, as before stated, abolished slavery at the Capital, prohibited it in all the territories, declared all negro soldiers in the Union armies, and their families free, and had repealed all laws which sanctioned or recognized slavery, and the President had crowned and consummated all, by the proclamation of-emancipation. One thing alone remained to perfect, confirm, and make everlastingly permanent these measures, and this was to embody in the Constitution itself, the prohibition of slavery everywhere within the Republic.

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two-thirds' vote of a joint resolution, by Congress, and that this should be submitted to, and ratified by two-thirds of the States.

The President, in his annual message and in personal interviews with members of Congress, urged the passage of such resolution. To test the strength of the measure, in the House of Representatives, I had the honor, in February, 1864, to introduce the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Constitution should be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its existence in every part thereof forever" (Cong. Globe, vol. 50, p. 659). This was adopted, by a decided vote, and was the first resolution ever passed by Congress in favor of the entire abolition of slavery. But, although it received a majority, it did not receive a majority of two-thirds.

The debates on the Constitutional Amendment (perhaps the greatest in our Congressional history, certainly the most important since the adoption of the Constitution) ran through two sessions of Congress. Charles Sumner, the learned senator from Massachusetts, brought to the discussion, in the Senate, his ample stores of historical illustration, quoting largely in its favor from the historians, poets, and statesmen of the past.

The resolution was adopted in the Senate by the large vote of ayes, 38, noes, 6.

In the lower House, at the first session, it failed to obtain a two-thirds' vote, and, on a motion to reconsider, went over to the next session.

Mr. Lincoln again earnestly urged its adoption, and, in a letter to Illinois friends, he said, "The signs look better. * * * Peace does not look so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth keeping in all future time."

I recall, very vividly, my New-Year's-call upon the President, January, 1864. I said:

"I hope, Mr. President, one year from to-day I may have the pleasure of congratulating you on the occurrence of three events which now seem probable."

"What are they?" inquired he.

"1. That the rebellion may be entirely crushed.

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"I hope Mr. President, one year from to-day I may have the pleasure of congratulating you on the occurrence of these events which now seem probable."

"What are they?" inquired he.

"That the rebellion may be entirely crushed."

"2. That the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing and prohibiting slavery, may have been adopted.

"3. And that Abraham Lincoln may have been re-elected President."

"I think," replied he, with a smile, "I would be glad to accept the first two as a compromise."

General Grant, in a letter, remarkable for that clear good-sense and practical judgment for which he is distinguished, condensed into a single sentence the political argument in favor of the Constitutional Amendment, "The North and South," said he, "can *never* live at peace with each other except as *one nation* and *that without slavery*."

GARFIELD'S SPEECH.

I would be glad to quote from this great debate, but must confine myself to a brief extract from the speech of the present President, then a member of the House. He began by saying, "Mr. Speaker, we shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic, and in this Hall, until we know why sin outlives disaster and Satan is immortal." * *

"How well do I remember," he continued, "the history of that distinguished predecessor of mine, *Joshua R. Giddings*, lately gone to his rest, who, with his forlorn hope of faithful men, took his life in his hands and, in the name of justice, protested against the great crime, and who stood bravely in his place until his white locks, like the plume of Henry of Navarre, marked where the battle of freedom raged fiercest." *

* "In its mad arrogance, slavery lifted its hand against the Union, and since that fatal day it has been a fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth."

Up to the last roll-call, on the question of the passage of the resolution, we were uncertain and anxious about the result. We needed Democratic votes. We knew we should get some, but whether enough to carry the measure none could surely tell.

As the clerk called the names of members, so perfect was the silence that the sound of a hundred pencils keeping tally could be heard through the Hall.

Finally, when the call was completed, and the speaker announced that the resolution was adopted, the result was

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received by an uncontrollable burst of enthusiasm. Members and spectators (especially the galleries, which were crowded with convalescent soldiers) shouted and cheered, and, before the speaker could obtain quiet, the roar of artillery on Capitol Hill proclaimed to the City of Washington, the passage of the resolution. Congress adjourned, and we hastened to the White House to congratulate the President on the event.

He made one of his happiest speeches. In his own peculiar words, he said, "*The great job is finished.*" "I can not but congratulate," said he, "all present, myself, the country, and the whole world on this great moral victory."

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

And now, with an attempt to sketch very briefly some of his peculiar personal characteristics, I must close.

This great Hercules of a man had a heart as kind and tender as a woman. Sterner men thought it a weakness. It saddened him to see others suffer, and he shrunk from inflicting pain. Let me illustrate his kindness and tenderness by one or two incidents. One summer's day, walking along the shaded path leading from the Executive-mansion to the War-office, I saw the tall awkward form of the President seated on the grass under a tree. A wounded soldier, seeking back-pay and a pension, had met the President, and, having recognized him, asked his counsel. Lincoln sat down, examined the papers of the soldier, and told him what to do, sent him to the proper Bureau with a note, which secured prompt attention.

After the terribly destructive battles between Grant and Lee, in the Wilderness of Virginia, after days of dreadful slaughter, the lines of ambulances, conveying the wounded from the steamers on the Potomac to the great field hospitals on the heights around Washington, would be continuous,—one unbroken line from the wharf to the hospital. At such a time, I have seen the President, in his carriage, driving slowly along the line, and he looked like one who had lost the dearest members of his own family. On one such occasion, meeting me, he stopped and said, "I can not bear this; this suffering, this loss of life—is dreadful."

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I recalled to him a line from a letter he had years before written to a friend, whose great sorrow he had sought to console. Reminding him of the incident, I asked him, "Do you remember writing to your suffering friend these words:

*"And this too shall pass away,
Never fear. Victory will come."*

In all his State papers and speeches during these years of strife and passion, there can be found no words of bitterness, no denunciation. When others railed, he railed not again. He was always dignified, magnanimous, patient, considerate, manly, and true. His duty was ever performed "with malice toward none, with charity for all," and with "firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

NEVER A DEMAGOGUE.

Lincoln was never a demagogue. He respected and loved the people, but never flattered them. No man ever heard him allude to his humble life and manual labor, in a way to obtain votes. None knew better than he, that splitting rails did not qualify a man for public duties. He realized painfully the defects of his education, and labored diligently and successfully to supply his deficiencies.

HIS CONVERSATION.

He had no equal as a talker in social life. His conversation was fascinating and attractive. He was full of wit, humor, and anecdote, and, at the same time, original, suggestive, and instructive. There was in his character a singular mingling of mirthfulness and melancholy. While his sense of the ludicrous was keen, and his fun and mirth were exuberant, and sometimes almost irrepressible; his conversation sparkling with jest, story, and anecdote and in droll description, he would pass suddenly to another mood, and become sad and pathetic—a melancholy expression of his homely face would show that he was "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

I recalled to him a line from a letter he had years before written to a friend, whose great sorrow he had sought to console. Reminding him of the incident, I asked him, "Do you remember writing to your suffering friend these words:

"And this for all your many,
New Year, I pray will come."

In all his State papers and speeches during these years of strife and passion, there can be found no words of bitterness or denunciation. When others called he called not again. He was always dignified, magnanimous, patient, considerate, meekly and true. His duty was ever performed "with justice toward none, with charity for all," and with "firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

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HIS STORIES.

The newspapers, in America, have always been full of Lincoln's stories and anecdotes, some true and many fabulous.

He always had a story ready, and, if not, he could improvise one, just fitted for the occasion. The following may, I think, be said to have been *adapted*:

An Atlantic port, in one of the British provinces, was, during the war, a great resort and refuge for blockade-runners, and a large contraband trade was said to have been carried on from that port with the Confederates. Late in the summer of 1864, while the election of president was pending, Lincoln being a candidate, the Governor-General of that province, with some of the principal officers, visited Washington, and called to pay their respects to the executive. Mr. Lincoln had been very much annoyed by the failure of these officials to enforce, very strictly, the rules of neutrality, but he treated his guests with great courtesy. After a pleasant interview, the Governor, alluding to the approaching presidential election, said, jokingly, but with a grain of sarcasm, "I understand, Mr. President, everybody votes in this country. If we remain until November can we vote?"

"You remind me," replied the President, "of a countryman of yours, a green emigrant from Ireland. Pat arrived in New York on election day, and was, perhaps, as eager as Your Excellency, to vote, and to vote early and late and often. So, upon his landing at Castle Garden, he hastened to the nearest voting place, and, as he approached, the judge, who received the ballots, inquired, 'who do you want to vote for? on which side are you?' Poor Pat was embarrassed, he did not know who were the candidates. He stopped, scratched his head, then, with the readiness of his countrymen, he said:

"'I am forment the Government, anyhow. Tell me, if your Honor plases, which is the rebellion side, and I'll tell you how I want to vote. In Ould Ireland, I was always on the rebellion side, and, by Saint Patrick, I'll stick to that same in America.'

"Your Excellency," said Mr. Lincoln, "would, I should think, not be at all at a loss on which side to vote?"

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THE BOOKS HE READ.

The two books he read most were the Bible and Shakespeare. With them he was familiar, reading and quoting from them constantly. Next to Shakespeare, among the poets, was Burns, with whom he had a hearty sympathy, and upon whose poetry he wrote a lecture. He was extremely fond of ballads, and of simple, sad, and plaintive music.

I called one day at the White House, to introduce two officers of the Union army, both Swedes. Immediately he began and repeated from memory, to the delight of his visitors, a long ballad, descriptive of Norwegian scenery, a Norse legend, and the adventures of an old Viking among the fiords of the North.

He said he had read the poem in a newspaper, and the visit of these Swedes recalled it to his memory.

On the last Sunday of his life, as he was sailing up the Potomac, returning to Washington from his visit to Richmond, he read aloud many extracts from Macbeth, and, among others, the following, and with a tone and accent so impressive that, after his death, it was vividly recalled by those who heard him:

"Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well;
Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,
Can touch him further!"

After his assassination, those friends could not fail to recall this passage from the same play.

"This Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued against
The deep damnation of his taking-off."

HIS RELIGION.

It is strange that any reader of Lincoln's speeches and writings, should have had the hardihood to charge him with infidelity, but the charge, having been repeatedly made, I reply, in the light of facts accessible to all, that no more reverent christian (not excepting Washington)

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"The Duncan
Hath borne his battles on his head, his brain
So bent in his great office, that his frowns
Will bend like angry warring angels against
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It is strange that any reader of Lincoln's speeches and writings should have had the hardihood to charge him with infidelity, but the charge having been repeatedly made, I reply, in the light of facts accessible to all, that no more reverent Christian (not excepting Washington)

ever filled the chair of President. Declarations of his trust in God, his faith in the efficacy of prayer, pervade his speeches and writings. From the time he left Springfield, to his death, he not only himself continuedly prayed for Divine assistance, but never failed to ask the prayers of others for himself and his country.

His reply to the negroes of Baltimore, who, in 1864, presented him with a beautiful Bible, as an expression of their love and gratitude, ought to have silenced all who have made such charges. After thanking them, he said, "This great book is the best gift God has given to man. All the good from the Saviour of the world is communicated through this book."

When a member of Congress, knowing his religious character, asked him "why he did not join some church?" Mr. Lincoln replied, "Because I found difficulty, without mental reservation, in giving my assent to their long and complicated confessions of faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar the Saviour's condensed statement of law and gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart."

WHAT HE ACCOMPLISHED.

Let us try to sum up in part what he accomplished.

When he assumed the duties of the executive, he found an empty treasury, the National credit gone, the little nucleus of an army and navy scattered and disarmed, the officers, who had not deserted to the rebels, strangers; the party which elected him in a minority (he having been elected only because his opponents were divided between Douglas, Breckenridge, and Everett), the old Democratic party, which had ruled most of the time for half a century, hostile, and even that part of it in the North, from long association, in sympathy with the insurgents; his own party made up of discordant elements, and neither he nor his party had acquired prestige and the confidence of the people. It is the exact truth to say that when he entered the *White House* he was the object of personal prejudice to a majority of the American people, and of contempt to a

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powerful minority. He entered upon his task of restoring the integrity of a broken Union, without sympathy from any of the great powers of Western Europe. Those which were not hostile, manifested a cold neutrality, exhibiting toward him and his government no cordial good-will, nor extending any moral aid. Yet, in spite of all, he crushed the most stupendous rebellion, supported by armies more vast, by resources greater, and an organization more perfect, than ever before undertook the dismemberment of a nation. He united and held together, against contending factions, his own party, and strengthened it by securing the confidence and winning the support of the best part of all parties. He composed the quarrels of rival generals; and, at length, won the respect, and confidence, and sympathy of all nations and peoples. He was reflected, almost by acclamation, and, after a series of brilliant victories, he annihilated all armed opposition. He led the people, step by step, to emancipation, and saw his work crowned by an amendment of the Constitution, eradicating and prohibiting slavery forever, throughout the Republic.

Such is a brief and imperfect summary of his achievements during the last five years of his life. And this good man, when the hour of victory came, made it not the hour of vengeance, but of forgiveness and reconciliation.

These five years of incessant labor and fearful responsibility told even upon his strength and vigor. He left Illinois, for the Capital, with a frame of iron and nerves of steel. His old friends who had known him as a man who did not know what illness was; who had seen him on the prairies before the Illinois courts, full of life, genial, and sparkling with fun; now saw the wrinkles on his forehead deepened into furrows—the laugh of the old days lost its heartiness; anxiety, responsibility, care, and hard work wore upon him, and his nerves of steel, at times, became irritable. He had had no respite, had taken no holidays. When others fled away, from the dust and heat of the Capital, he stayed. He would not leave the helm until all danger was past, and the good ship of state had made her port.

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American people, at his shocking death. But I desire to express here, in this great City of this grand Empire, the sensibility with which the people of the United States received, at his death, the sympathy of the English-speaking race.

That sympathy was most eloquently expressed by all. It came from Windsor Castle to the White House; from England's widowed Queen to the stricken and distracted widow at Washington. From Parliament to Congress, from the people of all this magnificent Empire, as it stretches round the world, from England to India, from Canada to Australia, came words of deep feeling, and they were received by the American people, in their sore bereavement, as the expression of a kindred race.

I can not forbear referring in particular to the words spoken in Parliament on that occasion, by Lords Russell and Derby, and, especially, by that great and picturesque leader, so lately passed away, Lord Beaconsfield. After a discriminating eulogy upon the late President, and the expression of profound sympathy, he said:

"Nor is it possible for the people of England, at such a moment, to forget that he sprang from the same fatherland and spake the same mother-tongue."

God grant that, in all the unknown future, nothing may ever disturb the friendly feeling and respect which each nation entertains for the other. May there never be another quarrel in the family.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

EDWARDSVILLE, ILL., *Sept. 6, 1881.*

HON. I. N. ARNOLD,

Dear Sir:—I thank you for that copy of your admirable address before the London Historical Society touching our great and good friend Mr. Lincoln; and I doubly thank you for the truthful and attractive manner in which you presented his life and character in his lowly and higher walks.

Sometimes I feel that my life has been a mere delusion; that I could have personally known and been on terms of intimacy with one who fills so large a measure of space in the world's estimation appears impossible and unreal.

I became acquainted with the great commoner in 1832, in the second Blackhawk campaign. He was wrestling at the time with one Dow Thompson, the champion wrestler of Southern Illinois. Lincoln was Captain of a company from Menard County, and was champion of the Northern section. There was hardly any North at that time, in its present acceptation. They were both men of huge proportions and Herculean strength. Thompson was six feet high, Lincoln six feet four, and the bystanders concluded that Dow had the advantage in that respect, but Lincoln came out triumphant owing to his greater mental resources. He had more skill than his opponent.

I have talked with Mr. Lincoln about this incident after he became President, and it amused him exceedingly to

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I have talked with Mr. Lincoln about this incident after he became President, and it amused him exceedingly to

recall the scenes of his early life in the backwoods. He alluded very kindly to Dow Thompson, and had kept trace of him from St. Clair County, Illinois, to Arkansas. Dow was a true specimen of the genus Pioneer. His property was all absorbed in paying fines for fighting with the Germans, who began soon after the Blackhawk war to move into St. Clair County, and Dow had to emigrate, and, like most of his class, went to Arkansas where game was more abundant and he could fight in peace "without being troubled with the minions of the law." Dow had no malice in his composition. He seldom fought because he was mad, but just to find out who was the best man; but his curiosity on this head was intense and often gratified. He held Lincoln in high estimation because he was a funny fellow "and much of a man."

The next I saw of Lincoln was at Vandalia as a Representative in the Legislature from Sangamon County. He was one of the celebrated "long nine." By this time he had studied law, and was the acknowledged leader of the Whig party in the House, and was always put forth to squelch out some poor wight of a Democrat (who had made himself particularly obnoxious) by one of his inimitable stories.

Lincoln and I were born in the same year, of the same political faith and calling, and raised in the same backwoods fashion, and soon became intimate. I ever afterward followed his lead, and regarded him as a rough diamond of the purest water. But, with all my admiration for him, it never entered my head that he had those supreme qualities that are essential to enable a man to guide the ship of State safely through the storms, among the rocks, and over the quicksands of direful war.

Events have proven, however, that he had transcendent greatness stored away in the recesses of his nature, quali-

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ties that would make him equal to the greatest emergencies. And now that his fame knows no bounds, that the loftiest intellects and those occupying the highest positions in the world bow in deference to his greatness and his virtues, I can hardly realize that it was my lot to have been on terms of personal intimacy with one of his almost superhuman endowments. I see him at one view the rough, awkward, good-natured backwoods boy, delighting his companions with his apt and amusing stories and illustrations. Next I see him in the forum convincing the court and entrancing the juries; then I behold him in the halls of legislation and on the hustings the peer (I may say the superior) of all his antagonists, but yet he was not beyond rivalry; others were his equals thus far, but his time had not yet come. Now without any adventitious aids he has worked himself into the Presidential chair. He takes the helm of the ship of State in the most turbulent and trying period in the world's history. Will he be equal to this supreme occasion? We doubt, we almost despair. Day by day, however, his powers unfold themselves, and he meets and overcomes every difficulty with transcendent ability. We are beginning to feel that in the ungainly Illinois lawyer we have the right man in the right place. We soon make up our minds that Providence has raised up Abraham Lincoln for this special occasion, and we trust with childlike confidence in his wisdom and patriotism. Now he begins to attract the attention and command the admiration of all mankind. A Colossus has risen in the West. Two millions of men have sprung to arms at his bidding. Is he to be a disturber, or has he come for the repose of the nations? Let us see. He crushes out the Rebellion. He strikes the shackles from the limbs of 4,000,000 slaves. He preaches good-will to all men, even those who had been striving to destroy this blest Government. He has demon-

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strated that ours is not only the best, but the strongest Government in the world. At this juncture he is stricken by the hand of the assassin, while in the full blaze of his glory, when the whole earth was filled with his praises and deep regret at his death.

No impartial man has ever imputed to Abraham Lincoln an error of judgment or an unworthy intent. I claim my share of the credit of belonging to a race and a nation that is capable of producing so great and so good a man. I was proud to see that Englishmen could appreciate his abilities and his worth. None but the Anglo-Saxon blood could unite such greatness with such moderation. I delight in the admiration of England, and am vexed when she acts in a spirit of hostility toward us. I was for war with her on account of the Trent affair; but still I like her with all her faults. She has so many of the noblest of God's creation in her midst. Her John Bright, and her Goldwin Smith, and that sort of men prevented our swearing eternal hostility to our old mother.

I again thank you for giving our cousins a just and truthful view of our model man and President. Write at your earliest convenience. It always affords me pleasure to hear from you. I am your old friend,

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STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS.

By JAMES W. SHEAHAN, ESQ.

A Paper read before the Chicago University, Bryan Hall, July 3, 1861.

At a meeting of the Trustees and Regents of the Chicago University, held June 5, 1861, with other proceedings, touching the death of the Hon. S. A. Douglas, it was ordered that at the annual commencement exercises on the 3d of July, there be an oration upon the illustrious Statesman, and President of the Board of Trustees. The Hon. Samuel H. Treat, Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Illinois, was appointed orator for the occasion. Subsequently, on the 30th June, Judge Treat informed the committee of his inability to be present. In the meantime, committees of the Common Council, and of the Douglas Club having been similarly disappointed in the persons chosen by them to deliver a like oration, proposed to Mr. Sheahan to deliver the address, and for that purpose united with the committee on the part of the University, and agreed to have but one address, to be delivered at the commencement exercises. Extracts from this address are given in this publication.

WHEN the traveler hears, in his old age and retirement, the name of some distant city, village, or land which had been familiar to him in his journeys, how his eyes will brighten, and the blood course more warmly through his heart, as that name recalls scenes of love, of peril, of pleasure, or of storm. And to you, gentlemen, who were his political friends, and you who served with him in the establishment and conduct of this University, and to us all of Chicago, and of Illinois, will not, until the latest days of our lives, the name of Stephen Arnold Douglas carry back memories to days when he stood a tower of strength in the national edifice, and we found happiness and honor in resting at his feet?

And now, what shall I say of him? What shall I say of him whose name and achievements are familiar to us all? Shall I say to you that he was intellectually great? That fact is recorded in enduring characters upon the history of his country—characters carved by himself mid the

storms of controversy, the heat of popular anger, the tumult of popular passion as well as in the hours of rational peace. Stephen A. Douglas was a man not only intellectually great, but gifted with a mind that was extraordinarily active. Trace him from the day when having mastered his letters at his mother's knee, he was sent with his sister to the village school, down to the last moment before death stilled forever the massive, active brain, and you find that the mind of Douglas not only took in the present in its comprehensive grasp, but also and always sought to penetrate that future in which for the honor and glory of his country, he hoped and determined to bear an active and honorable part. He was rarely, if ever, merely disquieted. He rarely, if ever, gave a partial, cold or a careless support to any measure of public policy; he was either the firm and persevering and ardent advocate, or the was the firm and persevering and ardent opponent. His mind was so constituted, that even when surrounded by counsellors and friends urging him to a policy that would result in his own personal advancement, he could not govern his acts, control his speech, or regulate his movements by any thought of personal advantage; and hence it was that there was forever coming up from the lips of professional politicians the complaint that just as everything had been fixed, and every plan and preparation made for his elevation, Douglas would, by some speech, letter, or act blow their whole scheme to atoms, and dissipate all their hopes of ever reaching power and place through his statesmanship. If there be any present who ever participated in party struggles with him, they will I am sure verify the truth of what I have said. He was forever knocking over the paper houses and pasteboard castles which the professional politicians of his party were erecting for his benefit; and he did so because his mind was of that practical nature which rejected everything and all things that would not survive the severe test and crushing pressure of fixed and imperative principle.

He was remarkable for the almost instantaneous judgment he formed and expressed upon all propositions; he never wavered; he rarely doubted; and never changed his conviction. This peculiarity has been the subject of com-

plaint from friend, and has served to poison many a shaft from an adversary's bow. Political friends, whose notion of political navigation is to keep forever in smooth water, and never go out of sight of land, always considered Douglas an unsafe leader, because, instead of looking at new questions, with the view of taking such course as would avoid a storm, and keep the cargo of spoils safely stowed, he would promptly decide the matter upon its merits, and calling on all who dare defend the right, boldly launch out to meet the gale, and battle with its consequences.

And why, fellow-citizens, did Mr. Douglas act thus? I say that it was because he had the most unbounded confidence in the people. He believed, and the conviction had become part of his nature, that the popular heart was honest, that the popular mind was intelligent, and that time and reason would inevitably bring an honest and intelligent people to an appreciation of the right; and that a people thus led to appreciate and approve, would in the end prove far more reliable citizens, and a surer bulwark for the Union than a people cajoled by sophistry into a hasty endorsement of a policy, which, not having been examined and adopted by reason, might, at any moment of popular excitement be as hastily abandoned.

The great secret, or, the great means which enabled him to decide with such apparent rapidity and accuracy, upon all points of national politics, consisted in nothing more nor less than that he tried all such questions by certain principles. As parallel lines must be equally distant from each other at all points, and can not be parallel if otherwise, so if any measure, or policy, or doctrine deviated even to a hair's-breadth from the iron rule by which he marked the line of duty and of patriotism, then, to the extent of that deviation, be it great or small, that measure, or policy, or doctrine, in his judgment, was wrong. But do not let me be understood as saying that his judgments were after the Procrustean style. He did not say a thing should be so short or so long, so broad and so narrow; but he said the north star indicated the true pole, and that that compass that turned to the right or to the left, and pointed elsewhere than to the starry beacon, fixed from all time by

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God's own unerring hand, was a false compass, and, together with the pilot who persisted in its use, ought to be thrown overboard, and sunk into the sea.

It has been popular at times, with the enemies of Mr. Douglas, to charge him with truckling to the slave interest. Never, never, was there greater injustice. I speak of this not to vindicate his party fidelity, nor his patriotism, but to vindicate from an ungenerous aspersion, his powerful intellect. He truckle to any one! He stoop, and be mean and sordid! It was impossible for him to do so. He despised and held in utter abhorrence that system of political bondage which held free-born men of intelligence as servitors at the stirrup of those who claim by prescription the privilege of riding rough-shod over all who thronged the high-road of life. He was a FREEMAN in the fullest sense of the term. He resisted the aggressive claims of slavery, and with equal power the aggressive aims of the abolitionists. He could not unite with either wholly, because he held both to be wrong. He stood manfully beside slavery when slavery claimed what the Constitution granted it; he stood as manfully with the abolitionists in resisting slavery when it demanded more than the Constitution granted. But he would stand by neither slavery nor abolitionism when they sought to go beyond the Constitution. Had slavery been content with what the Constitution granted it, it would have been an easy task to crush out abolitionism. Had abolitionism sought only to confine slavery by the limits of the Constitution, it would have been as easy to crush out the wild advocates of extra Constitutional privileges. Mr. Douglas labored to bring either of these adverse factions to a Constitutional theory and practice, and would have succeeded, had he not been betrayed, even in the hour of success, by men who were ready to sacrifice themselves and country for the wretched satisfaction of ruining him.

Mr. Douglas never, I say it confidently, yielded one iota of principle to slavery. His intellect forbade it. His whole political system was like a delicately constructed apparatus, in which the motive power, as well as mechanical agents, were principles so intimately connected and harmoniously arranged, that were he to withdraw a single

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spring, or pivot, or wheel, or other part, no matter how minute, the whole fabric would fall to pieces, a total wreck and ruin. He took pride in being the architect of his own fame—a fame gained in spite of opposition, and those who knew him intimately know that there was always a greater probability of his seeking and provoking hostility than truckling or yielding to avoid it. He was brave; he was confident; he knew the power of his own great intellect; and it is unnatural to suppose that he would stoop when he might command.

Mr. Douglas was a Patriot, and his patriotism, his devotion to the flag, and honor and integrity of the Union, did not date their birth with the commencement of the present war. There have been other wars, and other occasions, when there was need of strong arms in the field, and stout hearts and eloquent words in council. Mr. Douglas, the moment this war commenced, promptly visited the President, tendering him all the aid he could render,—not seeking, like others, to be made a brigadier in a service of which he knew nothing—but tendering him for the support of the Constitution and the laws, a power in the nation which no one save himself could successfully wield. In this we have another instance of Mr. Douglas' promptness in decision. We all know how hostile a large body of our own people were to the war; we all know that had Stephen A. Douglas hesitated; had he played false to himself and his country; had he called on the disloyal and disaffected to resist the war, the campaign would have commenced not on the banks of the Potomac, but on the shores of Lake Michigan. In this case, as in all others, his conduct was governed by principle; that principle he had expressed in these bold and emphatic words: "Patriotism emanates from the heart; it fills the soul; inspires the whole man with a devotion to his country's cause; and speaks and acts in the same language. The Union wants no friends, acknowledges the fidelity of no citizen who, after war is declared, condemns the justice of her cause and sympathizes with her enemies. All such are traitors in their hearts, and it only remains for them to commit some overt act, for which they may be dealt with according to their deserts."

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When were these memorable words uttered? Were they spoken when Sumter was sustaining the fiery cannonade? Were they uttered when hostile legions were investing Pickens? When traitorous Twiggs was giving up the country's arms and munitions to the traitors in Texas? Was it when preparations were maturing for the capture of the federal city? Not so, fellow-citizens! Stephen A. Douglas had not lived to the mature age of forty-eight to have his tongue touched for the first time with the fire of patriotism. He was a patriot in 1861, but he had been as patriotic before that period. The words I have quoted were uttered when the brave and gallant old veteran Taylor occupied the east bank of the Rio Grande, and a miserable faction in Congress were disputing, as another miserable faction is now disputing in Congress,* over the point whether the President of the United States had not exceeded his constitutional authority in defending the soil and government from invasion. If the words I have read are just and patriotic to-day, and who will say they are not? they were as just and patriotic fifteen years ago; and being just and patriotic then, he did not hesitate to utter them *then*, but left to craven time-servers and sycophantic demagogues the privilege of waiting until 1861 to say it was treason to give aid or comfort, material or moral, to the enemies of their country's flag.

I have spoken of his confidence in the honesty and intelligence of the people. This was the grand foundation of all his plans and policies. He proposed nothing, suggested nothing, planned nothing that did not have as the foundation the honest will of the people. Take up all the schemes that he may have framed, examine them closely, notice the varied styles and purposes of the superstructures, and then you will find that each and all of them rest, or were intended to rest, upon the virtuous intelligence of his countrymen. He never, even in the darkest hours of popular hostility, never despaired of the people. He never complained of them, but the records of the country contain many an expression of his estimate of the demagogues who ride upon every storm, not caring into what folly or

* This Oration was, by invitation, repeated July 18th, in Chicago, for the benefit of the "Douglas Fund."

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You have heard that in the conduct of military matters the fortunes of a disastrous conflict or campaign are sometimes reversed by the indomitable energy and bravery of a forlorn hope—that body of men who are sent out on a desperate enterprise, as a last resort, to overcome, by a bold adventure, the advantages of the enemy. You can well understand the feelings of the brave hearts engaged in this enterprise, as they march upon a mission that is to end in their death and in the defeat of their cause, or in rolling back the tide of defeat that has pursued them. Yet they have *hope*. The chances may be fearful, but nevertheless, there is hope, and history is filled with instances of the successful achievements of a forlorn hope. But in November last, what a spectacle was presented! One million five hundred thousand freemen, with an un-failing constancy, a devotion and a heroic fidelity to their cause, marched up to the polls and voted for Stephen A. Douglas! Their cause was in as desperate a strait as ever

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was that of a defeated army; they knew they were marked men; they were conspicuously adorned for the shots of the enemy, yet they hesitated not, they faltered not, nor were they dismayed. They were forlorn, but they could not call themselves a forlorn hope, for they had no *hope*; all was lost, all was gone. An active enemy in front, a base and treacherous foe in the rear; nevertheless, with bayonets fixed, shoulder to shoulder, and with locked step, in solid column, and with rapid stride, they marched boldly to the last encounter! That was devotion to be proud of, and the noble leader, whose courage had led him personally into the very recesses of the enemy's camp, felt prouder of these million and half of unbought votes, given for him by men who knew he had not and would not have offices or rewards to bestow, than if he had been elected by the exertions of those who were confident of favors from him.

Since Clay, no American ever had such hosts of devoted personal friends, ever had such multitudes follow him because they loved him personally. In the consciousness of this popular affection, Mr. Douglas found ample compensation for his public labors. And it was his boast and his pride, that he had never, by precept or example, taught any of his countrymen to refuse to honor and to follow the flag of his country, or to resist, oppose, and defy the laws and Constitution of the Union. So strong was this honorable pride, so ever-present was the gratifying thought, that even in his dying hours, rousing temporarily from the delirium of fever, he gave that memorable message to his children: "TELL THEM TO LOVE AND OBEY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES."

I have said Mr. Douglas was an American. His Americanism was of a peculiar nature. Long before he entered Congress, during the political controversies of 1841-'42, he laid down as a fact which he hoped to see demonstrated in recorded history, that North America was not too large for this American republic, that the American flag could cover but one nation, and that nation should extend from the extreme north to the lowest waters of the Gulf of Mexico. Twenty years ago, he declared in Congress that there was not room enough on this continent for another government—either republican or monarchical, and at the

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hour of his death, this nation, with the government in the hands of men who had sneered at his doctrine, and styled his policy as demagogism, was about to try, by the ordeal of battle, whether the national ensign could be kept extended over our present existing limits, or a banner with a strange device, planted over half the republic. I can not do him greater justice than to quote his own clear and forcible language: "It therefore, becomes us to put this nation in a state of defence; and when we are told that this will lead to war, all I have to say is this: violate no treaty stipulations, nor any principle of the law of nations; preserve the national honor and integrity of the country; but, at the same time, assert our right to the last inch, and then, if war comes, let it come. We may regret the necessity which produced it, but when it does come, I would administer to our citizens Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity, and not terminate it until the question was settled forever." That was his language twenty years ago, and yet there are those who affect to believe that Stephen A. Douglas did not become a patriot until after he had lost all hope of Southern support. It is true that this was said respecting anticipated trouble with a foreign foe, but the language is perfectly applicable to a domestic enemy. He had more respect for, and could recognize and admit a degree of honor on the part of a foreign enemy, that he could not concede to a domestic one. His memorable words—that in civil war there can be no neutrals—we must be patriots or traitors—will serve to show his estimate of those who dare to violate the Constitution of the United States.

But that was not all he said. In almost prophetic language, he then described a case which is now before the country for decision. He declared that he would never consent that rival petty republics should grow up on our border, engendering jealousy of each other, and interfering with each other's domestic affairs, and continually endangering the peace of all. And the reason given for this was, that the establishment of a new republic on this continent would at once excite a jealousy toward our own, and as that new republic must naturally be the weaker, it would seek European alliances, and these alliances would,

hour of his death, this nation, with the government in the hands of men who had entered at his bedside, and styled his policy as demagogism, was about to try, by the ordeal of battle, whether the national ensign could be kept extended over our present existing limits, or a banner with a strange device, planted over half the republic. I can not do him greater justice than to quote his own clear and decisive language: "If therefore, becomes us to put this nation in a state of defence; and when we are told that this will lead to war, all I have to say is this: violate no treaty stipulations, nor any principle of the law of nations; preserve the national honor and integrity of the country; but at the same time, assert our right to the last inch, and then if war comes, let it come. We may regret the necessity which produced it, but when it does come I would administer to our citizens Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity, and not terminate it until the question was settled forever." That was his language twenty years ago, and yet there are those who affect to believe that Stephen A. Douglas did not become a patriot until after he had lost all hope of Southern support. It is true that this was said respecting anticipated trouble with a foreign foe, but the language is perfectly applicable to a domestic enemy. He had more respect for, and could recognize and admit a degree of honor on the part of a foreign enemy, that he could not concede to a domestic one. His memorable words—that in civil war there can be no neutrals—must be patriots or traitors—will serve to show his estimate of those who dare to violate the Constitution of the United States.

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of course, make this rival an instrument in the hands of British power, through which to assail our interests. An ocean-bound republic, with the whole continent under one flag, was the favorite project of his early statesmanship, and he lived just long enough to see the commencement of an attempt, by the very men who repudiated his policy, which, if successful, will see the Union split into as many governments as there are States, and each of them a prey to the avarice or intrigues of despotism abroad.

Time will not permit, nor is this altogether an appropriate occasion to dwell upon the many and varied national matters in which Mr. Douglas took an active part. For twenty years he was a leading man in the politics of the country. During that time he has borne a conspicuous part. His name has been blended with the legislative history of his country, and in all the branches of its progress. The debates of Congress are an imperishable monument to his industry, his sagacity, and his love of country. The great act of legislation upon which his opponents have assailed him most fiercely, and which, even after death, has been quoted as "the great mistake, not to say crime" of his life, was the one in which he took the most pride, and which he felt to be the wisest and the best. It was the Nebraska Act. A defence of that act is not needed here, but as it served for years as a battery from which he was assailed, it is but proper that in a few sentences it be stated why he proposed it, why he pressed it, and why it failed.

Mr. Douglas was one of those who saw that the agitation of the slavery question in Congress could accomplish nothing, save to widen the social and political breach that has always existed between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. Seven years experience in Congress confirmed him in the opinion that it was necessary to remove that question from the halls of the national legislature. In 1850, the compromise bills of that year, of which he wrote every word, were passed. California had been acquired, and a road to the Pacific was indispensable. In 1854, the immense tract of territory, now known as Nebraska and Kansas, was closed, by law, to emigration and to travel. Like a huge block, it barred the natural pathway to the Pacific. The South was pressing a railroad

from Memphis, and south-westerly across the continent. Mr. Douglas wanted a fair chance to have that railroad lead from the north, where it could find communication through Chicago to the Atlantic. Our railroads had already reached the Mississippi, and others were projected, extending to the Missouri. He wanted Nebraska and Kansas opened, and the country made free to the enterprise of the north. In case of a dissolution of the Union, it was essential to have the Pacific connected by some other route than one through a hostile section. That was the motive for organizing these territories—a motive having its origin in the desire to benefit the whole nation, and especially to give to the northwest a fair opportunity to compete for the commerce of the great east.

But that curse of all things, the question of African slavery, lay at the threshold. He could not open Kansas and Nebraska without waking the sleeping Demon. He therefore determined to make one grand struggle, to seize the monster, to invite both North and South to unite in chaining it; and, having it in chains, to remove it forever beyond the limits of national legislation. For that purpose he framed the Nebraska Act, by which he asked the North and the South forever to bind themselves to leave the question of the existence or non-existence of slavery to the exclusive adjudication and determination of the people of the respective territories. The bill passed, and became a law. Its design and intent plainly stamped upon its face, and its friends all committed to abide its results. He had accomplished all his purposes, so far as they could be done by legislation. The rest he left to time and to the intelligence of the people; and throughout the eventful years that followed he was not an indifferent but a confident spectator, waiting for results which every day seemed more inevitably certain. For two years he fought rebellion in Kansas, and to Pierce he offered just what he offered to Lincoln—his aid in suppressing rebellion, and resistance to the laws and Constitution. In 1856, the Cincinnati convention met. He was but little troubled as to who should be the nominee, but he was greatly agitated lest some portion of the South would not ratify and approve the great act of 1854. But that convention, with-

out a dissenting voice, did ratify that act, and then from the very bottom of his heart he rejoiced. The chain which bound fanaticism forever had been riveted, and the territories were no longer to be divided by a black line, but freedom was as free to go to the lowest confines of the continent as it was to tread the ocean-washed shores of Oregon. Never, except by something approaching a miracle, would there be another slave-State formed by the free will of the people, and no State, except formed by the free will of the people, could ever be admitted without a violation of the contract. In the fullness of his joy, and in the tumult of his gratitude, he sent that dispatch which, while it withdrew his name, unfortunately made Mr. Buchanan President.

Despite the civil war and rebellion which had reigned in Kansas, the great measure worked its own way successfully toward the contemplated result; when lo, there came a blow so sudden and unexpected, that no human sagacity could have been prepared to meet it. The Lecompton fraud was taken to the executive bosom, nursed into life; a message was sent to Congress, requesting that, after the manner of royal infants in other lands, this only child of the bachelor President, should be portioned, pensioned, and provided for at the national charge. Had Mr. Buchanan been true to his trust, true to his plighted honor, and true to the solemn oath of office, the issue of disunion would have been tried on the Lecompton question, and rebellion would have been compelled to take up arms in defence of that horrid fraud—a fraud covered with blood, and reeking with the stench of the most shocking corruptions. Had he been true, Mr. Douglas' original design and expectations would have been verified, and the ultraists of the South, and not of the North, would have heaped contumely upon the Nebraska bill and its author.

As the corner-stone of this University was laid under an malediction upon the Nebraska bill and its living author, I have thought it not inappropriate, that in burying the illustrious dead beneath its monumental towers, a record of the motive should be placed where posterity may find that and the malediction together.

Mr. Douglas was an independent statesman. Looking

at all questions from an immovable stand-point of principle, he could neither be coaxed nor driven into an approval of what he deemed to be wrong. To you, fellow-citizens, in whose memory the eventful struggle of 1857-'58 is still fresh, it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of the wicked and desperate efforts to destroy him, put forth by the relentless old tyrant that fancied he was President, but who was a mere puppet in the hands of that junta that since then have openly avowed themselves traitors, even while in office, to the government of which they were sworn members. His offence was that he would not truckle to the South, would not support a fraud, would not overturn popular liberty, and would not falsify every act and speech of his life. Party rule and party lash were threatened; party rule and party lash were applied, but strong and powerful as were his fealty and obligations to his party, he acknowledged a higher fealty to the people, and a stronger obligation to his own conscience. He spurned executive smiles when those smiles were invitations to crime, and with giant arm, he struck to the dust the slaves who sought to bind him with chains of executive despotism. Standing almost alone in the Senate House, he met the storm, and sustained the shock unmoved, and never laid down his arms until the foul monster—LECOMPTON—lay dead and prostrate beneath his feet. That contest afforded a fairer exhibition of Mr. Douglas' varied talents than any that had preceded it. But it also conveyed to the heart of every honest man, the conviction that he was sincere. No man had ever been subjected to such an ordeal. Denounced and proscribed by the Democratic administration; excluded, as far as a mean and vengeful cabinet could do so, politically and socially; surrounded by thousands of politicians, from every part of the country, beseeching him not to sacrifice his party, by dividing it, and not to sacrifice his friends, by having them thrust from office; deserted by the entire Democratic press outside of his own State, and abandoned by all those public men upon whose support he had reason to rely; with a watchful enemy in front, anxious for him to trip, or overstep the line of principle, that they might precipitate his ruin, and elect one of their own men in his

place; with his house watched by detectives, to report who visited him, and with visitors coming under the guise of confidence and friendship, to hold conversations, which they purposed revealing to his injury; stricken even in the midst of these fearful circumstances, by a painful and disabling illness, it is not too much to say that the mental faculties must have been strong indeed to have passed through that protracted contest without once giving way to doubt or hesitancy. And when, so far as the Senate was concerned, the last vote was to be taken, how that mind, operating sympathetically upon his physical nature, enabled him to rise from a bed, where, for days, he had been racked with pain, and in that chamber deliver a speech which has never been surpassed.

His power of endurance, both physical and mental, were truly surprising, commencing as long ago as 1838, when he traversed in his campaign with Mr. Stuart, a region that now has nine congressional districts, down to 1840, and annually to 1852; and then the stormy campaigns of 1854, where opposite every hustings hung his own effigies; and again in 1856, when he traveled, up to the very hour of the election, pledging himself that Buchanan was a patriot and a man of truth. Hardly had he placed that individual in power, before he was called upon to vindicate himself from his agency in the fraud. And then followed the campaign (I use the term by which these affairs are popularly known) of 1858, with its excitements, its personalities, and you will pardon a soldier in that memorable contest, for saying—its brilliant results. That election Mr. Douglas never claimed as a personal victory; he did not regard it as a defeat of Mr. Lincoln, but he claimed it as a triumph of the PEOPLE, in a direct conflict with executive tyranny. In 1860, his physical and mental endurance was again fearfully tested. Commencing on the Potomac, I may say, he spoke day and night along the Atlantic coast, until he reached the shores of New England; his voice then sounded on his own native hills of Vermont, and the valley of the Connecticut echoed to its clarion notes. Passing westward through New York, he reached Lake Erie, and then by another route returned to the sea-coast. We hear of him awaking the yeomanry of Pennsylvania, and then

place, with his house watched by detectives, to report who visited him, and with visitors coming under the guise of confidence and friendship, to hold conversations which they purposed revealing to his injury, stricken even in the midst of these fearful circumstances by a painful and disabling illness. It is not too much to say that the mental faculties must have been strong indeed to have passed through that protracted contest without once giving way to doubt or hesitancy. And when, so far as the Senate was concerned, the last vote was to be taken, how that mind, operating sympathetically upon his physical nature, enabled him to rise from a bed where, for days, he had been racked with pain, and in that chamber deliver a speech which has never been surpassed.

His power of endurance, both physical and mental, were truly surprising, commencing as long ago as 1828, when he traversed in his campaign with Mr. Stuart a region that now has nine congressional districts down to 1840, and annually to 1852; and then the stormy campaign of 1854, where opposite every hustings hung his own critics; and again in 1856 when he traveled up to the very hour of the election, pleading himself that Buchanan was a patriot and a man of truth. Hardly had he placed that individual in power, before he was called upon to vindicate himself from his agency in the fraud. And then followed the campaign of 1858, with its excitement, its personalities, and you will pardon a soldier in that memorable contest, for saying—its brilliant result. That election Mr. Douglas never claimed as a personal victory; he did not regard it as a defeat of Mr. Lincoln, but he claimed it as a triumph of the PROPER in a direct conflict with executive tyranny. In 1860 his physical and mental endurance was again fearfully tested. Commencing on the Potomac I may say, he spoke day and night along the Atlantic coast, until he reached the shores of New England; his voice then sounded on his own native hills of Vermont, and the valley of the Connecticut echoed to his claxon notes. Passing westward through New York, he reached Lake Erie, and then by another route returned to the sea-coast. We hear of him awaking the yeomanry of Pennsylvania, and then

he is electrifying the Van Winkles of North Carolina and Virginia. He then turned to the west, and through Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and his own loved Illinois, he spoke to the gallant hosts that everywhere greeted him, not in the despairing mood of one who knew that all was lost, but in the language of a patriot and brother, finding more consolation in a virtuous defeat than a victory bought with personal shame and national ruin. His words may be said to have been these: "We have stood thus long defending the altars of our country; if we must be overcome by numbers, let us fall side by side, and be buried with a constitution we can no longer successfully defend."

He was an Orator such as America has never known. His oratory was not exclusively adapted to any one, or any number of circumstances. Wherever he was, at the festive table, at the college exhibition, at a public reception, at a meeting of savans, at the village school, before the court, before a town meeting, in the Senate—everywhere, under all circumstances, he was equal to the occasion, and claimed and won the proud title of an Orator. His oratory was peculiar to himself. He was always natural. He never attempted the pedantic; he never sought to dazzle by fanciful imagery; he never employed any but the simplest language. The consequence was that gifted with a strong mind, a complete vocabulary of purest Saxon, and speaking always from an earnest conviction, he addressed himself to the minds of his hearers, and rarely ever failed to reach their hearts and enlist their sympathies.

No man owed more to his powers of oratory than Mr. Douglas, and no man every accomplished more by oratory than he did. In 1834, when he had not been in the State six months, he met, in debate, one of the ablest lawyers and distinguished speakers of that day. He was a beardless youth, unknown, small and delicately made. His opponent the political leader of his country, at home and among friends and neighbors who took pride in his success. That event is familiarly known. It was but a re-enactment of the story of David and Goliath, with this addition that the populace in their enthusiasm bestowed upon the victor the title of the vanquished, a term which followed him ever after.

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But it was in the Senate that this great power was shown in all its force. That was the great arena of his glory. There he stood without a successful rival. In that theatre he bid defiance to all opponents, and in that theatre he gained his most unfading laurels.

It was my good fortune, while engaged in another business than that I now follow, to have been a witness of, and to have heard all, the debates in the Senate on the compromises of 1850, and on the celebrated Kansas and Nebraska Act. And what debates they were! As I recall them at this time, when the literature and conversation of the day is altogether of a military and warlike character, that Senate seems to me as one general battle-field, in which every possible engine of war is playing its noisy and destructive part. * * * *

But I leave the public servant, and ask your patience while I speak of the man. And after all, there can be no true greatness that has not an honorable heart to support and maintain it. His integrity was unquestionable and unquestioned. Never, even in the fiercest and most pitiless of all the many storms that broke upon him, was there ever a stain or an imputation upon his personal honor. Clay, with all his greatness, did not escape the calumny of corruption; Webster had enemies mean enough to charge him with bribery; but high as party and personal malice may reach after their victim, they spared the personal honor of Douglas. He went through nearly thirty years of public life, and no word of suspicion against his integrity was uttered. Until within a few years he had been poor; for twenty-five years he held office continually, and as legislator, judge, and senator, he had remained not only pure, but unsuspected. He never received from office more than enough to yield him an ordinary support for himself and family. Some years ago he invested a few hundred dollars in real estate. That investment grew in wealth, and extended until it became magnificent. His purchases were in and near Chicago, and if he became rich, it was because Chicago became rich. His wealth increased with the wealth of the City, and as that receded so did the value of his possessions. He could never amass wealth by the regular rules of trade. What he had was

held by him only as trustee for the multitude who called him friend. With hand ever open, with purse-strings never drawn, he dealt out with liberal hand to all who sought his aid. He prized riches only as a means of aiding others, and he gave freely and cordially while a dollar was left. His was no ostentatious liberality. Instead of crediting his own sagacity with the fortune that resulted from his investments, he recognized the disbursement of that fortune for noble purposes, as an additional obligation imposed upon him by Providence. Hence it was that the establishment of the Chicago University, when proposed to him, met, as you (President Burroughs) well know, a prompt and ready response. He saw in it a means by which he could serve the State, this City, and his fellow-men, for all time to come, and with him Action always followed conviction. The establishment of the University at once became an object, and with the endowment came the practical and the only condition, that the building should at once be commenced. He did not fancy that spirit which hoards through life great masses of wealth, to be administered for good purposes after the owner is gone. He preferred to do good at once, and in seeing others enjoy the benefits of his liberality, found infinitely more happiness than if it had been retained by himself. He took the utmost pride in this University, and those who have supposed his life to have been devoted to the attainment of the Presidency, should know, as his friends do know, that personally, he found as much pleasure in the anticipation of presiding as President of the Regents of this University, and in the active business of all public enterprises, as in presiding at the cabinet councils of the nation. I do not say that he did not aspire to the Presidency of the Republic; but I do say, and say it from personal knowledge, that were it not for the sake of friends, and to gratify their devotion of unlimited zeal, his political ambition would have sought no higher title than the Leader of the American Senate. He often contrasted the two positions of President and Senator, and took great personal pride in the fact that it had been demonstrated in his own case, that a President, through backed by all the powers of the nation, was not equal to a contest with a single Senator who did his duty to the people.

He is buried within sight of the halls of this University. At evening hour its shadows reach his tomb, covering it with the mellow light so appropriate to its solemn silence. As the pilgrim to his tomb shall stand at its side, musing on the memory of the dead, he will turn involuntarily to the west, and gazing upon the noble edifice, will exclaim—there stands the monument to the MAN which shall live forever; and which each year shall send forth to the country its graduates, all bearing upon their hearts the lesson of Douglas' great example.

Yet, this man with the free and bountiful hand, whose whole life was devoted to the service of the people, and upon whose private purse there was a never-ending demand, died poor. From the magnificent domain, which a few years ago he called his own, his family is debarred by the legal claims of others. In the broad State of Illinois, enriched by his labors, developed by his genius, and peopled through his enterprise, there was not ground enough that his children could call their own, in which to deposit his coffin.

The faithful widow, faithful even to the memory of the love which her husband bore to Illinois, at the solicitation of the people, gave up all that was left of him, and gave too her own little tract of land for his grave.

Let us hope that his life, devoted to the benefit of his race, may not have been spent in vain. His great heart throbbed and pulsated only for the public good, and let us hope that his countrymen now and hereafter may find in his patriotism, integrity, and life an example worthy of imitation.

He has gone from among us, but he lives in his fame. No more will this City resound with the fierce clamor of popular rage, or be filled with the pageantry of his triumphal processions. No more will his voice be heard on the stump, in the forum, or in the Senate, but the student of history, during all coming time, will search in vain for the record of brighter deeds, of a purer life, of a nobler heart, of an equal eloquence, or for evidences of those indomitable attributes of intellect and manhood, that belong to, and must forever attach to the name of Douglas!

From the Chicago Tribune.

THE DOUGLAS MONUMENT.

The monument erected by the State of Illinois over the remains of Stephen A. Douglas, at Douglas place, was completed Thursday, August 18, 1881, when the fourth and last entablature was put in position on the south side of the base. The erection of this memorial has been the work of twenty years, the first meeting in the interest of it having been held in the parlors of the Tremont House, Oct. 22, 1861. The call for this meeting was signed by the following-named gentlemen: J. W. Sheahan, S. W. Fuller, S. H. Kerfoot, W. C. Goudy, Thomas Drummond, David A. Gage, J. P. Clarkson, and Leonard W. Volk. A monument association was organized, committees were appointed, and the work of erecting an enduring monument over the grave of the deceased Senator was proceeded with.

The ground upon which the monument is erected was intended as the site of the Douglas homestead, and was purchased by the State from the widow for the sum of \$25,000. It is now neatly laid out with walks and flower beds, and is surrounded by stone copings and hedges. The corner-stone of the monument was laid Sept. 6, 1866, with appropriate ceremony, and many prominent public men participated, including Pres. Johnson and his Cabinet. In 1877, the late Joseph E. Smith, of this city, who was a member of the Legislature at the time, introduced a bill appropriating \$50,000 for the completion of the monument, and finally succeeded in getting it through. Two years later, after he had retired from the Legislature, it was found that \$9000 more was needed to complete the monument, and Mr. Smith went to Springfield of his own accord and secured another appropriation, making an eloquent speech in favor of the measure.

The monument, as completed, together with the grounds, cost about \$97,000. The State Commission for the completion of the monument have had a great deal of gratuitous work to do, as their predecessors of the original Association, especially the gentlemen of the Executive Committee, — Judge J. D. Caton, Potter Palmer, Lyman Trum-

THE DOUGLAS MONUMENT.

The monument erected by the State of Illinois over the remains of Stephen A. Douglas, at Douglas place, was completed Thursday, August 18, 1887, when the fourth and last tablet was put in position on the south side of the base. The erection of this memorial has been the work of twenty years, the first meeting in the interest of it having been held in the parlors of the Tremont House, Oct. 22, 1861. The call for this meeting was signed by the following named gentlemen: J. W. Sherman, S. W. Palmer, H. Kierbohn, W. C. Goudy, Thomas Drummond, David A. Gage, J. P. Clarkson, and Leonard W. Volk. A monument association was organized, committees were appointed, and the work of erecting an enduring monument over the grave of the deceased Senator was preceded with.

The ground upon which the monument is erected was intended as the site of the Douglas homestead and was purchased by the State from the widow for the sum of \$25,000. It is now neatly laid out with walks and flower beds, and is surrounded by stone coping and hedges. The cornerstone of the monument was laid Sept. 6, 1867, with appropriate ceremony, and many prominent public men participated, including Peter Johnson and his family. In 1877, the late Joseph E. Smith of this city, who was a member of the Legislature at the time introduced a bill appropriating \$750,000 for the completion of the monument and finally succeeded in getting it through. Two years later, after he had retired from the Legislature, it was found that \$200,000 more was needed to complete the monument, and Mr. Smith went to Springfield to his own school and secured another appropriation, making an eloquent speech in favor of the measure.

The monument, as completed, together with the grounds, cost about \$57,000. The State Commission for the completion of the monument have had a great deal of gratification work to do as their predecessors of the original Association, especially the gentlemen of the Executive Commission—Judge J. D. Catton, Potter Palmer, Lyman Tamm, and

bull, Robert T. Lincoln, and Melville W. Fuller. Judge Caton is Chairman and Melville W. Fuller is Secretary, and the burden of the work attaching to the completion of the monument has fallen upon the latter gentlemen. They all worked without remuneration, and deserve credit for getting the work done so cheaply and so well.

Following is a description of the monument as completed:

The octagonal base coping, of Lemont, Ill., limestone, is 70 feet in diameter. The first of the three circular bases of the substructure is 42 feet 2 inches in diameter, and the height of the three together is 4 feet 3 inches. The tomb is octagonally formed, 20 feet 3 inches in diameter, and 10 feet high, to the plinth-base of superstructure. Its chamber is 8 feet 9 inches square by 7 feet 2 inches high. The pedestal at each of the four corners of the tomb is 6 feet high, with base 4 feet 2 inches square. The octagonally-formed pedestal of the superstructure above the tomb is 18 feet 10 inches high, to the circular base of the column. Its plinth-base is 15 feet in diameter. The length of the column, including its base, which is 2 feet thick, is 46 feet 5 inches, and is 5 feet 2 inches in diameter at the base, with a diameter of 3 feet 6 inches at the top. The cap, including the ornamental frieze, is 4 feet 6 inches high, and the statue-base above is 2 feet high, making the entire height of the monument, including the statue, 95 feet 9 inches. The ornamentation cut in the granite consists of a wreath and the letter "D" on the lintel of the tomb-door. There are raised shields on the corners of the main base of the superstructure, the pedestal of which is ornamented with festoons and wreaths of laurel, and flambeaux on the octagonal corners, all in high bas-relief.

The two main sections of the column are marked by belts of raised stars, indicating the number of States; and the frieze of the cap is encircled with oak leaves in high relief. Within the tomb-chamber repose the remains of Senator Douglas in an iron casket, which is placed in a white marble sarcophagus, lined with lead. Surmounting its top is a life-size bust of Douglas in marble, made by Volk in 1857.

The following inscription is lettered on the front side:

"STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

"Born April 23, 1813; died June 3, 1861.

"Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution."

The marble of the sarcophagus is from his native State and county—Rutland, Vt. The tomb has a heavy, wrought-iron, grated door, with padlock, and an inner iron safe door with combination lock. The entire superstructure of the monument is made of solid blocks of granite except the die of the pedestal, which is in four parts, and has a small hollow space within containing the copper box of records, coins, etc., which was deposited in the corner-stone of the original limestone tomb. The faces of the raised shields, stars, and panels are polished or glossed.

The last of the statues of the monument, representing Eloquence, was safely placed May 13, 1880. All these statues, including the Douglas, were first modeled in clay by Leonard W. Volk, in Chicago, and approved by the Commissioners; then cast in plaster of paris, and in that material forwarded to the bronze foundry of M. J. Power, New York, who has cast them in the best bronze metal,—*i. e.*, ninety parts copper, eight parts tin, and two parts zinc.

The statue of Douglas, which is 9 feet 9 inches high, weighs about 2200 pounds. The four symbolical statues, if standing in upright posture, would be about 7 feet 6 inches high, and the average weight of each is about 1150 pounds.

The colossal statue of Douglas surmounting the top of the column, looking eastward over the lake, represents him standing in repose, with scroll in left hand pressed against the hip, and the right hand thrust under the lapel of his tightly-buttoned undercoat.

The four pedestals at the base are occupied by heroicized statues representing Illinois, History, Justice, and Eloquence, in sitting attitudes; the former has her right hand placed on the State coat-of-arms, with ears of corn in her left hand, and crowned with a chaplet of wheat, and is supposed to be in the act of relating the story of the State to History, on the opposite corner, who, with stylus in hand, is about to record it upon the scroll lying across her lap; her left foot rests upon a pile of tablets.

"STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS"

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The marble of the sarcophagus is from his native State and county—Rutland, Vt. The tomb has a heavy wrought-iron, grated door with padlock, and an inner incense shelf with combination lock. The entire superstructure of the monument is made of solid blocks of granite except the base of the pedestal, which is in four parts and has a small hollow space within containing the copper box of record coins etc., which was deposited in the center stone of the original limestone tomb. The faces of the raised shield stars and panels are polished or glossed.

The last of the statues of the monument representing Elihu, was safely placed May 12, 1861. All the statues, including the Douglas, were first finished in clay by Leonard W. Volk in Chicago and approved by the Commission; then cast in plaster of Paris, and in the material forwarded to the bronze foundry of W. J. Fox, New York, who has cast them in the best bronze metal. A nearly pure copper, eight parts tin and two parts zinc. The statue of Douglas, which is 9 feet 9 inches high, weighs about 2500 pounds. The four symbolic statues standing in upright posture would be about 7 feet 11 inches high, and the average weight of each is about 1100 pounds.

The colossal statue of Douglas surmounting the top of the column looking eastward over the lake represents him standing in repose, with scroll in left hand crossed again the hip, and the right hand thrust under the label of his tightly-battered undercoat.

The four pedestals at the base are occupied by heraldic statues representing Liberty, History, Justice and Elihu, in sitting attitudes; the former has her right hand placed on the State coat-of-arms with ears of corn, her left hand, and crowned with a chaplet of wheat, and supposed to be in the act of relating the story of the State to History, on the opposite corner, who, with stylus in hand, is about to record it upon the scroll lying across her lap; her left foot rests upon a pile of tablets.

Justice rests her right hand upon a sheathed sword, and holds the balances in her left. Eloquence points with her right hand toward the statue of Douglas, while the left rests upon a lyrical instrument.

All these statues are differently composed and robed in harmonious and classical garments.

The four bas-reliefs in the panels of the main base of superstructure represent the advance of civilization in America, first by an aboriginal Indian scene, on the east side, in which appears the sun rising above the horizon of a lake, upon which two Indians are about to embark in a canoe; wigwams, with sqaws and papoose, and an elder and two younger Indians, and a dog, the elder in the act of shooting a deer with bow and arrow.

The second, on the north side, represents pioneer settlers building log-cabin, plowing, sowing grain, and a group of mother, children, and dog resting before the unfinished cabin and the "prairie schooner" wagon.

In the third scene, on the west side, Commerce and Enterprise are represented by trackmen working on the railroad, a locomotive, vessels discharging and receiving merchandise, an elevator warehouse and telegraph line.

The fourth and last of the scenes, which was put in place yesterday, represents Legislation, by a group of statesmen, contemporaries of Douglas, in the interior of a public hall of Doric architecture. John C. Calhoun occupies the chair and Henry Clay is addressing the house. Grouped about listening to him are Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, John Quincy Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Thomas H. Benton, William H. Seward, Gov. Cullom, and others to make up the group, among them the late Joseph E. Smith. Mr. Volk said he had not noticed until just before this relief was put in place that of the nine central figures three had been Whigs, three Republicans, and three Democrats.

The ground upon which the monument stands is bounded on the north by Woodland Park, with a frontage of 260 feet; on the east by the Illinois Central Railroad and Lake Michigan, with a frontage of 300 feet; on the south by Douglas avenue or Thirty-fifth street, with a frontage of 412 feet; and on the west by an alley, and the width of the lot along the alley is 266 feet.

Justice rests her right hand upon a sheathed sword, and holds the balance in her left. Eloquence points with her right hand toward the statue of Douglas, while the left rests upon a lyrical instrument.

All these statues are differently composed and robed in harmonious and classical garments.

The four bas-reliefs in the panels of the main base of superstructure represent the advance of civilization in America, first by an aboriginal Indian scene, on the east side, in which appears the sun rising above the horizon of a lake, upon which two Indians are about to embark in a canoe; wigwams, with spaws and papoose, and an elder and two younger Indians, and a dog, the elder in the act of shooting a deer with bow and arrow.

The second, on the north side, represents pioneer settlers building log-cabin, plowing, sowing grain, and a group of mother, children, and dog resting before the unfinished cabin and the "prairie schooner" wagon.

In the third scene, on the west side, Commerce and Enterprise are represented by truckmen working on the railroad, a locomotive, vessels discharging and receiving merchandise, an elevator, warehouse and telegraph line.

The fourth and last of the scenes, which was put in place yesterday, represents Legislation, by a group of statesmen, contemporaries of Douglas, in the interior of a public hall of Doric architecture. John C. Calhoun occupies the chair, and Henry Clay is addressing the house. Grouped about listening to him are Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, John Quincy Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Thomas H. Benton, William H. Seward, Gov. Gilman, and others to make up the group, among them the late Joseph E. Smith. Mr. Volk said he had not noticed until just before this relief was put in place that of the nine central figures three had been Whigs, three Republicans and three Democrats.

The ground upon which the monument stands is bounded on the north by Woodland Park, with a frontage of 200 feet; on the east by the Illinois Central Railroad and Lake Michigan, with a frontage of 300 feet; on the south by Douglas avenue or Thirty-fifth street, with a frontage of 412 feet; and on the west by an alley, and the width of the alley is 200 feet.

THE MARTYRDOM OF LOVEJOY.

An account of the Life, Trials, and Perils of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, killed by a
Slavery Mob, at Alton, Ill., on the night of Nov. 7, 1837. By HENRY TANNER, of Buffalo, N.Y., an
Witness. Cloth boards; Gilt-top; Side and bottom uncut; Illustrated; Pp. 233; 8vo. 1881. Price

An exceedingly interesting and fully authentic narrative of one of the most thrilling episodes in the history of the great anti-slavery movement which culminated in the War of the Rebellion and the emancipation of the slaves by President Lincoln. But for such books as this, it would be difficult for us, in this day, to realize what heroic courage, what patience in suffering and self-sacrifice it required to stand up against the bitter opposition which the publication of anti-slavery sentiments elicited in the dark days of 1837, when Lovejoy published the *Alton Observer*. There is no doubt but that Lovejoy's name will go into history as the first American martyr for the right of free speech and a free press. He was a brave, great-souled, clear-headed man, and, like Samson of old, it may be said of him that he slew more Philistines by his death than in all his life. The publishers of this and other valuable documents relating to the early history of our State, are doing a good work for the general public and for posterity. They rank among the oldest printing companies of the City, and it seems peculiarly appropriate that they should seek to rescue from fast-approaching oblivion all accessible facts relating to early pioneer life within the bounds of our glorious Commonwealth. The "Martyrdom of Lovejoy" is not the only valuable work which has already issued from their press, and which they keep constantly on hand for sale.—*Chicago Journal*, Feb. 5, 1881.

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tone in the leaders of the *St. Louis Observer*. Mr. Tanner has clearly proved groundless: that the life of Elijah Parrish Lovejoy is worth to be ranked among the highest and purest; candid reader can pretend to doubt. "So shut a good deed in a naughty world."—*Buffalo press*, May 18, 1881.

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